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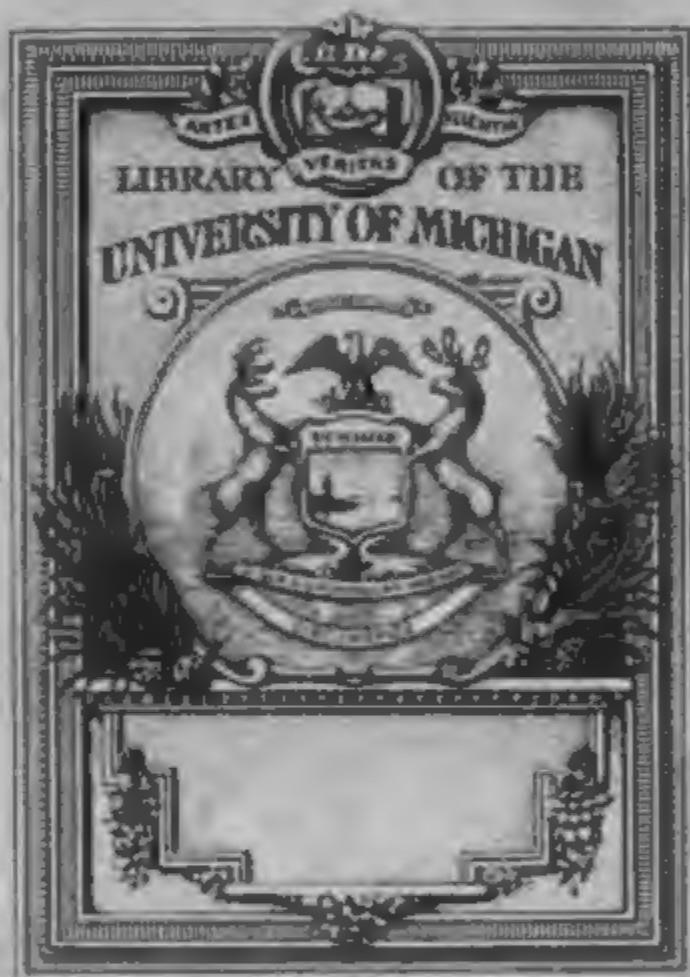
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THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW.

MDCCCXLVIII.

JANUARY—JUNE.

Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικουρεῖον τε καὶ Ἀριστοτελικήν· ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἐκάστη τῶν αἵρεσέων τούτων καλῶς, δικαιοσύνην μετὰ εὐσεβοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο σύμπαν το ἙΚΔΕΎΤΙΚΟΝ φιλοσοφίαν φῆμι. — CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* L. I.

NEW SERIES.

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THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR JANUARY, 1848.

ART. I.—1. *Correspondence referred to in the Order of the House of Commons, dated 6th of July, 1847, requiring Copies of Communications since 1st of January, 1847, between the Nonconforming or Protestant Dissenting Ministers in Ireland and the Irish Government or the Treasury, respecting any increase to their Grant, or any suspension of the Rules under which the Congregations have to pay certain sums, before their Ministers can receive the Parliamentary Grant.*

2. *The 'Scotsman'; October 9th, 1847.*

THE presbyterian clergy of the north of Ireland are signally distinguished for perseverance in all matters pertaining to their *regium donum* interests. They are resolved to keep to this point, whatever obstacles may be thrown in their way. Their singleness of purpose is striking. 'This one thing we do,' seems to be the motto they have assumed. The endowment of Maynooth, and the recently contemplated endowment of the Romish priesthood of Ireland, are appealed to in vain, to deter them from their state-pension-seeking course. They are told, 'You cannot protest against the endowment of Maynooth while you gladly pocket state pay yourselves. You even tie up your own hands, and gag your own mouths, as to any effort or testimony against the formation of a Romish ecclesiastical establishment in Ireland, by your acceptance of government gold. On you will lie the heaviest part of the guilt incurred by the perpetration of

this act.' But they are told so to no purpose. They hug their donum tighter, and thrust it deeper in their pockets; and entreatingly extend their hands again towards the government coffer, crying, 'Give, give.' Here are eight professors' chairs—endow them; and do be so paternally kind as to increase your grant to some of the poorer sort of us this hard year.' Yes; this has been the cry; and it has proved successful as to the professorial chairs; but, *miserabile dictu!* it has failed as to the other object of their modest request. To the exposition of this request, and the *unfeeling, unpaternal*, and repulsive reply which they have received, we now beg to direct our readers' attention.

On February 14th, 1847, as we learn from the important government document which stands at the head of this article, Dr. James Morgan, of Belfast, then the Moderator of the General Assembly, addressed a letter to the Chief Secretary of Ireland, in which he preferred two requests, both based on 'the distress consequent on the failure of the potatoe crop,' 'many congregations of the Assembly suffering severely from the visitation.' These requests are, *first*, the 'relaxation or suspension of the law' which 'requires the payment' by each congregation 'of £35. stipend to qualify them for the royal bounty being paid to the ministers.' And *secondly*, an 'addition' to their ministers' 'small salaries.' These requests were preferred by Dr. Morgan with great confidence, and hope of success. 'The experience of past kindness' encouraged him 'to indulge this hope.' Indeed, the presentation of this 'beggar's petition' could not have been entrusted to better hands. He appears not to be troubled with the feeling of shame, nor over-burdened with modesty. He knows, also, how to press his point with mingled urgency and respect. But alas! his fond 'hope' was doomed to disappointment. It was 'hope' which 'maketh ashamed.' In reference to the 'relaxation' of the rule referred to above, Sir H. Labouchere, the chief secretary, replied to Dr. Morgan in these terms: 'I have to say, that, after making the fullest inquiry into the subject, I am not of opinion that I ought to recommend a measure which could only be justified by the most urgent and undeniable necessity.' Before this 'official letter' was received, intimation to the same effect had been given through Mr. Mathews; but, in the application, great importunity had been displayed. 'Several communications both personal and by letter,' the chief secretary says, were received by him, 'upon the subject.' What a pity such perseverance should be fated to fail in its object!

But the most important part of the government document before us is, the 'Report on the Application of the Rev. Dr. Morgan,' drawn up by J. Mathews, Esq., of Dublin Castle, him-

self, be it observed, a zealous *presbyterian*. As an 'appendix' to this 'report,' there is a 'return for the year ending March the 31st, 1847, of the congregational income of the ministers of the General Assembly of the presbyterian church in Ireland, with the number of families belonging to each congregation, arranged into presbyteries.'

The substance of this 'report,' containing, as it does, the most shameful but most merited exposure which the Irish presbyterian church has ever received, we shall now endeavour to lay before our readers. We do this with regret, and under an imperative sense of duty. Enormous wrong is done to our protestant faith, the practical evils of which we expose, in order to their correction. Let none say that we have pleasure in revealing the misdoings of others. All minor considerations give place to the paramount importance of the interests which are at stake.

After Dr. Morgan's application had been transmitted to Mr. Mathews by the chief secretary, Mr. Mathews forwarded to the several presbyteries 'printed forms to be filled up with the customary statistical accounts of their various congregations, for the year ending March 31, 1847. Such forms are annually issued in March; and to follow the same course again appeared to be the best way of collecting the facts necessary for a decision of the matter. Shortly afterwards, 'many presbyterian ministers in Ulster intimated' to Mr. Mathews, that 'their congregations had not paid them the requisite thirty-five pounds of stipend, having been led by some newspaper reports to believe that, in consequence of the existing distress, the royal bounty would be issued this year 'without regard to any particular payments by the people to their ministers.' Mr. Mathews soon undeceived them on this point, telling them, that 'unless the stipulated sum were paid, no royal bounty would be paid to the ministers of the defaulting congregations.' This brought the parties to their senses, and led to the 'stipend being paid by all the congregations, except in two cases, which are still under consideration.' And, what is worthy of remark, 'the aggregate amount of stipend for the year ending 31st March last, is not now less than for former years, when no failure of the crops could be complained of.' This shows two things—first, that the presbyterian people do not feel it to be their duty to support their ministers, and will pay as little as they can; and, secondly, that they seem disposed, if possible, to hand over their ministers entirely to government; and to excuse themselves from all trouble and cost in the matter.

'But as the extract from Dr. Morgan's letter indicates the possibility of this application being submitted to government,

with reference to the year ending March 31st, 1848, notwithstanding every appearance of an abundant harvest,' Mr. Mathews thinks it his duty to go more into detail on the subject. Accordingly he does so, honestly and thoroughly, to the great scandal of his presbyterian brethren. The result of the first part of his inquiry is the disgraceful discovery, that the '*average payment*, by each individual' member of the presbyterian churches connected with the General Assembly, to his minister, is, '*forty-one farthings a year.*' This is the price at which the presbyterian community of Ulster prize their ministers, — ten-pence farthing a man! This is the value of their love to the ministry. Dr. Morgan tells the chief secretary, that if he knew 'the usefulness' of the presbyterian ministers in the country, he would have something done speedily for their advantage. Strange that the chief secretary should be expected to take such a deep interest in them, when their own people, the very objects of their 'usefulness,' seem so contented to allow them to starve! But we give Mr. Mathew's own words:

'In this,' the return already referred to, 'there are four hundred and fifty-one congregations accounted for, paying altogether £18,444 of stipend, or about £40 a-year each. The number of *families* is stated to be 86,450, and multiplying them by five (which is about the truth), the total number of persons will be 432,250. And if the aggregate stipend be divided by them, the average payment by each individual to his minister, is, *forty-one farthings a year.*'

But the population connected with the General Assembly is constantly affirmed by presbyterians to be twice the number here stated,' although the 'present census' was furnished to Mr. Mathews 'by the several presbyteries.' The *Belfast News Letter* asserts the number to be 800,000. 'So be it then,' says the *Scotsman*, who has done good service of late in the cause of voluntaryism. 'So be it, then; but increase the divisor, and down comes the dividend. Altered, therefore, according to the Belfast organ's wishes, the fact stands thus: the people of the Irish presbyterian church contribute for their ministers *five-pence halfpenny* per annum. Or, if Dr. Cook would like it better, it can be stated thus: 'one half of the people value their ministers at ten-pence farthing, and the other half hold them altogether valueless.' These are 'stubborn truths' indeed.

Nor let the plea of poverty be alledged to excuse the beggarly pittance thus contributed by the presbyterian people. 'No doubt,' says Mr. Mathews, in the *Report*, 'there are many poor in so large a denomination; but, as is known to every o acquainted with Ulster, there are also great numbers of



government objected, but arranged to give all £75., raising the £50. class at once to that sum, and reducing to the same the £100. class as vacancies occurred. At the same time regulations were under consideration rendering the payment of a certain stipend by each congregation the condition of their minister receiving the bounty; the amount of which stipend was ultimately fixed at £35. a-year. The equalisation took place in 1838, and the requirement of the payment of £35. stipend took effect in 1840. 'Great reluctance was manifested,' says Mr. Mathews, 'to this regulation, or to the payment of any prescribed amount of stipend being made an absolute condition of participating in the parliamentary grant;' but government was firm to its purpose. The bounty had been made the '*mainstay*' of the congregations. Congregations had often, during the continuance of the threefold classifications of bounty, on 'finding that their minister had got himself advanced from the third to the second class, or from the latter to the first, thereupon diminished their previous payment of stipend, and, by keeping down his income to its former amount, saved their own contributions at the expense of the treasury.' Without government interference this system, it was seen, would continue; the rule was, therefore, established, and the presbyterian church was compelled to submit to it. Every minister now receives (exclusive of the royal bounty) a *minimum* congregational income of £35., of which £20. *must* be paid by his congregation, while the balance may be made up by a free manse, or a permanent bequest or donation. It is only, be it observed, congregations endowed since 20th of October, 1838, and old congregations as they become vacant, that are subject to this regulation.

The effect of this rule on the presbyterian congregations is thus stated by Mr. Mathews:—

'Since the regulations have been in force, all congregations bound to make up the £35, are certified by their Presbyteries to do so; but it is apparent from a glance at the return, that they seldom exceed the prescribed amount. On the other hand, congregations formerly paying old ministers beyond £35, now pay new ministers exactly £35; and it is feared only pay that sum, just because the government regulations make it necessary. Wherever the bounty cannot be got without payment of a particular stipend, the requisite sum is paid and no more; such, with occasional exceptions, is becoming the practice. Three old rural congregations, which from change of ministers fell under the regulations during the past year, and who paid the former ministers not more stipend than from £10 to £15, at once made up the £35 to secure the bounty, notwithstanding the prevalent distress; and it is notorious that many congregations could well pay far more stipend than they do at present.'

This simple statement speaks volumes. It shows, at once, the bad character of *regium donum* influence over the people, and reflects no credit on the liberality of the people themselves. They like to have Christian instruction well enough, but, then, they like somebody else to pay for it for them. Their love for their religion scarcely admits a discount.

Mr. Mathews next proceeds to compare the presbyterians of the General Assembly with certain voluntary churches in Ireland, greatly to the disadvantage of the former:—

‘There are three small presbyterian bodies in Ulster, who accept no royal bounty; and their congregations which are suffering under the same difficulties as their neighbours, pay more than *double* the average stipend of the endowed congregations. One of these bodies, called the Eastern Reformed Synod, has indeed largely increased its stipend this year. Other protestant dissenters (not of the presbyterian denomination), in despite of all local pressure, likewise pay towards their own religious interests a much greater average sum than the presbyterians of the synods receiving parliamentary support.’

In the last place Mr. Mathews refers to the intimation in Dr. Morgan’s letter respecting an increase of *regium donum*, in doing which he administers a severe reproof to the state-paid presbyterians which should make both ministers and people blush.

‘Allusions,’ he says, ‘are made in Dr. Morgan’s letter to an increase of the bounty, from the inadequacy of £75 to maintain the ministers during the present high price of provisions. To many similar communications from other quarters, I have pointed out as an answer, the payment of the congregations to their ministers when contrasted with all around them; for while in the commonest hedge or infant school, the children give each a penny a week, the Presbyterian ministers, for affording religious instruction, do not receive from their people at the rate of even one farthing a week!! Other denominations are taxed for a parliamentary grant, to enable the Presbyterian laity to support their ministers; and by additional taxation still further to relieve that laity who contribute so little to this object themselves, would be *unjust* to those other denominations who have entirely to pay their own ministers, and do it liberally and cheerfully.’

This is home-striking. It could scarcely be better done; and we trust it will have the effect of rousing the reflective faculties of some, while it mantles the cheeks of the more modest with a blush. Let not state-church-men talk of respectability, as they sometimes do. *Begging* is no respectable employment, though it were at the doors of the palace of Queen Victoria. *Begging*—

that others should be taxed, in order to enrich ourselves, is still less respectable. The labourer who daily plies his spade, and lives on what it produces, is a respectable and independent man compared with the proud pauper who begs a large supply at the gates of princes, and is the object of their insults, or their scorn; how much more so the Christian minister, who 'lives by the gospel!'

The exposure made by Mr. Mathews of the endowed presbyterian church of Ulster, has been felt, and will be for many days to come. To get over the fact, 'that the average sum paid by each Ulster presbyterian, is only ten pence farthing per annum, the 'Belfast News Letter,' says the 'Scotsman,' referred magniloquently to the 'mighty operations carried on by the Ulster church 'in India and Damascus.' He was so rash as to 'challenge comparison between endowed and unendowed presbyterianism. The 'Scotsman' accepted the challenge, and the result is what might have been anticipated, increased disgrace to the endowed presbyterianism of Ireland. The sum contributed last ecclesiastical year, by the Irish presbyterian church for missions, home and foreign, was £8,703. 17s. 5d.; but the secession church, with a population of only two hundred and sixty thousand, raised for similar missions, £15,078. 8s. 9d., a sum proportionally more than five times greater than the endowed church. We do not give the 'Scotsman's' whole case, only part of it. Again he says:—

'There is another way of stating the case, which, however unwilling the Cook organ may be to see, cannot but open his eyes to the egregious mistake he has committed in mooting the comparison. Besides paying all their own expenses, the following congregations of the Scotch Secession raised, during the year ending 1st of May, 1847, the following sums for missionary and benevolent purposes:—

Regent-place, Glasgow.	Dr. Taylor.	£2,920	15	3½
Greyfriars, do.	Dr. King	2,178	8	10
Wellington-street, do.	Dr. Robson	1,136	2	7
Broughton-place, Edinburgh. .	Dr. Brown.	793	14	8½
Rose-street, do.	Mr. McGilchrist. .	791	14	1
Bresto-street, do.	Dr. Peddie.	533	0	3
South Church of Perth, do. . .	Dr. Young.	334	3	5
		<hr/>		
		£8,687	19	1½

The total sum raised for the same purposes in the same period by the Irish presbyterian church, was, according to its organ, £8,703. 17s. 5d. Let our Belfast friend try what he can make of that fact, that *seven* unendowed presbyterian congregations in Scotland do as much as the whole four hundred and fifty-one

endowed presbyterian congregations in Ireland! Let him look at this, and then repeat the proposition he has so solemnly and foolishly laid down: 'The voluntary spirit is not a missionary spirit, nor ever was, nor ever will be!' 'Solemnly and foolishly,' indeed; and we may add, ignorantly and impiously; for the proposition is a lie against the genius and the history of Christianity. That the man could write such a sentence, is accounted for on the ground of his ignorance of true religion, of the early spread of Christianity, and of what other religious communities, besides his own, are doing, combined with wonder at the fact, that the presbyterian church of Ulster, which, until a few years ago, did not possess a single missionary, has raised nearly £9,000. in one year for missionary purposes! Not habituated to look beyond the bounds of his own ecclesiastical inclosure, he does not know that all really effective missionary operations, both home and foreign, have been conducted by the voluntary principle; and not accustomed to study his Bible, he is ignorant that the voluntary spirit is the Christian spirit; if there be first a *willing* mind, it' (the contribution) 'is accepted according to what a man hath,' 2 Cor. viii. 12:—and that, in fact, voluntaryism is an essential characteristic of all true religion, the principle of compulsoryism being anti-christian and wicked.

In order to give our readers a clearer idea of the actual payments made by Irish presbyterian congregations towards the support of their ministers, we present the following statement: 'There are,—

16	Congregations who pay under £10 stipend per annum.			
17	do.	do.	20	do.
245	do.	do.	35	do."

A Presbyterian Layman in Londonderry Standard.

But our readers will say these are small congregations—congregations consisting of, perhaps, twenty or thirty poor people. Take, then, the following extract from the same pen:—

'I observe one congregation of two hundred and twenty *families*, or about eleven hundred *persons*, who raise the sum of SEVEN POUNDS TEN SHILLINGS STIPEND *per annum* for their minister! 'Tis a fact,—seven pounds ten shillings, or about *three half-pence* per annum for each individual. * * * Another congregation in the Route Presbytery, consisting of three hundred *families*, or fifteen hundred *persons*, whose annual liberality of stipend for their minister is the *munificent* sum of THIRTEEN POUNDS. And in the Ballymena Presbytery, a congregation of one hundred and thirty-two families, or about five hundred and fifty individuals, are just able to raise the sum of £5. 2s. 5d. sterling, per annum, for their pastor. Another, in the Armagh Presbytery, consisting of one hundred and forty-two

families, or seven hundred and ten *persons*, pay a stipend of FIVE POUNDS; and another, in Down, numbering one hundred and ten families or five hundred and fifty persons, out of their liberality, value their minister at SIX POUNDS TEN.'

Let our readers reflect on this, and they will have a glorious illustration of the *Christian* influence of *regium donum* on the presbyterians of Ulster. Niggardly as they are in paying their stipends, they show themselves not less so as to missionary contributions; some congregations contributing only a few shillings, and others *nothing*, to their own missionary schemes, whether home or foreign!

We have now accomplished what we intended; and we trust that the exposure of the working of the royal bounty among the Ulster presbyterians will have the effect of opening the eyes of some of the blind; and of leading those who say, 'We see,' to take the step, and assume the position, to which they are called equally by the voice of equity, the claims of truth, and the interests of the kingdom of God. To continue the present system is to inflict terrible injury on the religion of Ireland. Protestantism may well wither under its operation, and those who are concerned for its healthy and vigorous growth, should address themselves, in good earnest, to the extinction of the evil. What we have noted, supplies practical evidence of the injurious influence of state grants for ecclesiastical purposes, and we trust that some of our senators will take an early opportunity of calling the attention of the legislature to the subject. A more certain mode of perpetuating popery cannot be devised than thus to extinguish the zeal and self-reliance of protestantism. The latter must be freed from its trammels, and be purified in its spirit, in order that it should successfully compete with the former.

Let then the voluntaries of Ulster agitate the whole question of state endowments. Let them examine it thoroughly, and fearlessly expose all the evils of *regium donum* influence. Let them *demand for truth* emancipation from state control. Let them be firm, steady, fearless, persevering, hopeful. And, if the General Assembly will not act aright, let all voluntaries within her pale come out from her and be separate, and thus secure for themselves a character for consistency and love of truth.

ART. II.—*Travels in Western Africa, in 1845 and 1846, comprising a Journey from Whydah, through the kingdom of Dahomey, to Adofoodia, in the Interior.* By John Duncan. In Two Volumes, small 8vo. pp. xxiii, 618. London: Bentley. 1847.

WE can well remember the anxious curiosity and melancholy forebodings, generally too well justified by the event, with which, in our younger days, every new attempt to explore the great African interior was watched and followed. Frequency and the gradual clearing away of doubts and difficulties may have abated somewhat of its intensity, but the feeling still exists, changed, however, from a restless desire for the solution of geographical problems, or an inordinate craving for the accumulation of scientific facts, to a deep and painful conviction that, both in conscience and policy, Africa has to claim from us the discharge of an enormous debt; and to a strong hope that the movements of the traveller, the merchant, and the missionary are forwarding, in different ways but with combined result, the political and moral elevation of the dark races.

Till within a comparatively recent period, our knowledge of Africa, beyond a few portions of coast and frontier, was altogether uncertain and obscure. We had, indeed, ceased to talk of the kingdom of Prester John; but the fountains of the Nile, the central sea, the mountains of the moon, the magnificent emporium of Timbuctoo, still remained as objects of intense interest, and concerning which our curiosity was most unlikely to be gratified. Brave and persevering men were, however, found from time to time, willing to encounter the certainty of suffering and the risk of life, that these and other far more important questions of discovery and philanthropy might be resolved. And their efforts have not been in vain; the mountain range has shrunk both in dimensions and in distance; the great lake has been in part coasted; recent explorations seem to have ascertained the origin and course of the 'River of Egypt;' and the once flourishing centre of commerce between the Negro and the Moor, has sunk to a mere entrepôt, crushed by the exactions of robber-hordes, and struggling well-nigh in vain to preserve a nominal independence and an unprofitable traffic. On the whole, it seems probable, that there are at present no very difficult questions to be solved respecting the interior of Africa. We may fairly infer the unknown from the known circumstances; and, however desirable it may be to become acquainted with the geography and ethnology of the

unexplored spaces, we may now, without any painful repression of curiosity, leave all farther illustration to the gradual but certain progression of discovery. It should seem, too, that in the other and higher view, the well-wisher to his fellow-men may not have been altogether without intimations of success. That local impressions, favourable to moral and religious improvement, have been made, we have reasonable evidence ; and there are, we think, fair indications that a better state of feeling is beginning to extend itself among both princes and people. Things are still, we admit, in a bad condition ; but, whoever may have compared the statements of the earlier travellers with those of our own time, will probably have come to the conclusion, that the purer influences of European civilization have not remained altogether unknown or unfelt. The details of Mr. Duncan's journey supply something beyond constructive evidence in this direction ; and, if the king of Dahomey may be taken as a fair example of the despots of Africa, it should seem that monarchs nearer home might take lessons in his school, with signal advantage both to themselves, their subjects, and their neighbours.

It is, however, time that, instead of touching on matters of speculation, we should set forth something of the special and tangible, as presented in the volumes before us. The first thing that strikes the reader is the rare singleness of purpose with which Mr. Duncan tells his story. He is simply and thoroughly a man of business ; he gives us little of artistic description, and nothing whatever of those ingenious digressions which the incidents of travelling are so apt to suggest, and of which the traveller is commonly so ready to avail himself. Yet is there no deficiency of interest in the narrative ; attention is arrested throughout ; and without the pretensions of a highly scientific production, the book is deserving of all commendation, as a valuable work, giving both extension and definition to our knowledge of negro-land. Two-thirds of the first volume are occupied by preliminary matter, details of preparation, and incidental notices of native character and customs. A more appalling view of human nature in its lowest stage of mental and moral depravation, has seldom been presented to our view ; along the whole line of coast traversed or visited by Mr. Duncan, every indication of moral principle seems to have been effaced by the slave-trade. To say nothing of the European residents, permanent or occasional, who are, with rare exceptions, engaged in the darkest atrocities of the traffic, the miserable natives, from the caboccer to the canoe-men, seem to have lost, from their immediate and incessant contact with civilized depravity, the power or the wish to discriminate between good

and evil. Lying, cheating, stealing, might stand as heads of sections in the Fautee code of morals. The virtues of private life are extinct; the ties of kindred can have no existence where the coarsest polygamy prevails. And for all this there is no remedy, while slavery exists; and exist it will and must, so long as there is but one government in the world that is sincerely desirous of expelling the accursed thing. The French are but half-hearted in the work; and, as for our transatlantic coadjutors, 'Whoever heard of an American man-of-war capturing a slaver?' For the implication we are not responsible; it is Mr. Duncan himself who asks the question.

Mr. Duncan's name indicates the land of his birth. His parents were of 'humble' station, and his early occupation was agriculture, the best preparative for a rough career. He was born in 1805, and, at the age of seventeen, enlisted in the First Regiment of Life Guards. 'Of robust health and an athletic frame,' his steady habits made him an excellent soldier; and his leisure hours were assiduously improved by useful study. Finding the performance of merely routine duty more exhausting than activity, he obtained his discharge, 'on the conditions of the late good conduct warrant, early in 1839,' and was appointed master-at-arms to the Niger expedition. Our readers must too well remember the fate of that disastrous enterprise. Of more than three hundred 'brave and talented' men, five only survived. It has, we believe, been usual to represent this as a result which might have been anticipated from the very nature of the expedition; the fact, however, ought not to be overlooked, that the natives invariably spoke of the season as peculiarly fatal, even to themselves. Mr. Duncan himself did not come off unscathed. In a skirmish with the natives of the Cape Verd islands, he had been wounded in the leg by a poisoned arrow; and during a subsequent severe attack of fever at Fernando Po, symptoms of gangrene showed themselves, necessitating the most powerful and painful applications. His constitutional vigor was ultimately restored, but 'the injured limb never quite recovered its original firmness and elasticity.' Yet neither danger nor suffering could quell the dauntless and enterprising spirit; he offered his services to the Geographical Society, proposing to explore the interior of Africa up to the Kong mountains, by a route hitherto unknown to Europeans. His plan was approved, but it does not appear that the patronage conceded to him was of a very costly kind. The Admiralty ordered him a free passage to the coast; and he obtained from the Colonial and Foreign departments official recommendations to the governors and commissariats of the different settlements. The Royal Geographical Society supplied the necessary apparatus

for geographical observation, with the addition of a 'small sum of money.' These were his resources, aided by a few contributions from private individuals; and, thus furnished, he set forth on his perilous adventure, relying on his own stout heart and strong hand; not, we would hope, unmindful of that guiding and protecting Power, without whose presence neither courage nor strength can avail.

It had been the original intention of Mr. Duncan to take the Ashantee road, and with that view he landed at Cape Coast. In answer, however, to his application, stating the object of his journey, and asking permission to pass through Coomassie on his way to the Kong mountains, he received only a qualified assent; the negro monarch offered a friendly reception at his capital, but refused any further concession. It may have been fortunate that the Ashantee line was thus closed, since even if faith were kept, which may be doubted, the hill country would, in all probability, have been the extreme limit of the journey. Disappointed in this direction, Mr. Duncan fixed on Whydah as the point from which to make his next movement; and the application forwarded from that place to the king of Dahomey was entirely successful. At this point of his adventure, he seems to have been led by circumstances, and the suggestions of the men who were, by local knowledge and experience, best qualified to advise, into a somewhat different course of action from that which was originally contemplated. Without assuming any thing of a positively official character, he appears to have availed himself dexterously and effectively of his military dress and accoutrements, in places and difficulties where the plain habit of a civilian might have failed to command deference or insure safety. He travelled, moreover, with an imposing escort of 'twenty people to carry baggage, provisions, and cowries; of the last article he complains as 'a very awkward money, requiring one man to carry two pounds' worth.' It is quite clear that the scanty means originally placed at his disposal, were not sufficient to furnish and maintain such an equipment as this, and we find him gratefully recording the generous aid of two or three among the more wealthy residents. Mr. Hutton, a merchant and factor, aided him most kindly and liberally; while Don Francisco de Suza, a regular and wholesale dealer in slaves, who had lost, at different times, twenty-two entire cargoes, through the vigilance of English cruisers, supplied him with goods to the amount of an hundred pounds, putting aside every offer of remuneration.

It was on the 6th of June, 1845, that Mr. Duncan set out for the capital. The commencement of his journey was not encouraging; a heavy rain was falling, and he reached his

evening quarters thoroughly drenched. This, in any country, would have been sufficiently annoying, but in Africa it was positively disheartening, and the temporary absence of his personal attendant aggravated the evil. Nor was this all; these were the mere accidents of journeying, and the traveller in Dahomey does not reckon on the snug housing of an English inn. Mr. Duncan might be content to dry his soaked drapery, to tend his wet and weary horse, and to cook his own supper, had these been the preliminaries to sound and secure repose. But there was treachery in his camp, and he knew it; he was surrounded by a 'set of villains ready to rob him when an opportunity should offer,' and quite as ready to make that opportunity by taking away life, but for their thorough cowardice. A few hours made, outwardly at least, some change for the better; 'I hired,' he says, 'some assistant carriers, and my people were in better marching order, and all seemed comfortable, and myself happy.' As he advanced on his route, he found fair accommodation and deferential treatment, due in part to the king's orders, but mainly, no doubt, to the expectation of reward. In this part of the world, as in all others, interest is the influential agent; and he was often indebted to a liberal distribution of cowries, needles, or thimbles, for a much more cordial reception than the royal mandate might otherwise have ensured. The road itself seems to have been good, and the scenery pleasant; with some of the accompaniments, the case was different:—

'At this place we passed through a swarm of locusts. No one who has not witnessed such a scene can form an idea of the immense numbers crowded together. Well might the Egyptians dread such visitors! Upon our approach to the spot where the swarm commenced, the noise was similar to that of a heavy blast of wind passing through a forest of trees, or like the noise of a heavy shower of hail. This was caused by their passing to get out of our way. My horse at first felt alarmed; but, after being urged by the whip and spur, he went amongst them, killing many hundreds as he passed, although they are so very nimble; but their excessive number prevented them from getting out of the way. They were about the size of a grasshopper, or a little stouter, of the colour of a bee. Their wings were not full grown, which may account for their not being able to get out of the way; I was told afterwards that they were not half grown.'—Vol. i. p. 213.

Mr. Duncan reached the capital, Abomey, on the 10th, and was immediately conducted to a commodious dwelling, where a cordial greeting awaited him from Mayho, the 'king's prime minister,' who is described as a warm-hearted and disinterested

person, a character somewhat rare, we believe, at an African court, however common it may be among ourselves. Arrangements were now made for a public presentation on the following morning, an honourable distinction, in which curiosity had probably no small share, since it is part of the state ceremonial to delay the public reception for a considerable, but indefinite number of days. At the appointed hour, Mr. Duncan, in the showy uniform of the life-guards, his little charger dressed out in martial array, with full armament of holster and carbine, was on his way to the palace. More senses than one were annoyed by the exposure of mutilated carcases, in strange attitudes, and various stages of decomposition, none of which, however, seem to have been the victims of caprice or savage custom; they had been thus punished for actual crime, and after regular trial. The walls of the royal residence were ornamented by a range of human skulls, the trophies of war, at intervals of thirty feet. The interview was managed after the most approved forms of African and European ceremonial. The natives grovelled on the earth, and threw dust upon their heads before their monarch, while Mr. Duncan saluted, by special request, in the military fashion of England. His arms and soldierly garniture were closely inspected, and honoured with royal approbation. 'White men,' said the king, 'know everything.' The Dahomans have no cavalry, and when one of their great men mounts a horse, he is invariably held on by an attendant on either side. When, therefore, the English lifeguardsman prepared, at the king's desire, to go through the horse exercise, two attendants were ordered to take the usual station :—

'This I did not properly understand at first, not knowing their language, but after retiring a sufficient distance from his majesty, clear of the soldiery, I formed a circle to the right. My two soldiers signified that I must not form a circle to the right, the king alone possessing that privilege; whereupon I countermarched, and began a sharp trot, urging my two soldiers to keep out of the way, but all was of no avail. I then halted, and desired my interpreter to tell the king that Englishmen never required holding on their horse; upon which he seemed surprised, and told me to do as I thought proper, but begged me rather not to ride for his gratification than to run any risk; I again assured him that there was no danger, and put my horse in motion, just at a trot, and then a gallop. The king then stood up, clapping his hands in approbation. Upon which the whole assembled multitude followed the example, which much terrified my horse.'—*Ib.* p. 222.

But the most interesting part of the grand exhibition, which had evidently been prepared for the occasion, and to which the caracoling and sword-play of the British dragoon were but the

introduction, was reserved for another day. The king, who is described as a 'tall athletic man, about forty-three years of age, with pleasing expression and good features,' seems to have been anxious to compare as closely as possible the military habits of his subjects with those of Europeans, and had made arrangements for reviewing a large division of his warriors in the presence of the white soldier. His army, though irregular, is not without discipline. Although the column and the echelon are unknown in Dahoman tactics, the troops are duly regimented under distinct commanders; their fire is heavy, their movements are combined, and their rush to the charge or the storm, rapid and direct. To some of our readers it may be a novelty to learn that no small portion of this black militia consists of women, and, if appearances may be trusted, the ladies are the fiercest and most effective in the field. The king's wives form a distinct regiment, six hundred strong. The dress is light and convenient; the arms are 'a long Danish musket and short sword each, as well as a sort of club.' Much barbarous music accompanied the evolutions, and the intervals were filled up by singing, kneeling, dust throwing, and clamorous professions of loyalty. The very interesting display to which all this was introductory, must be told in extract: -

'After this procession, which consisted altogether of about eight thousand women, well armed and clothed, the king asked me to go and see what his women-soldiers were about to perform. I was accordingly conducted to a large space of broken ground, where fourteen days had been occupied in erecting three immense prickly piles of green bush. These three clumps or piles, of a sort of strong briar or thorn, armed with the most dangerous prickles, were placed in line, occupying about four hundred yards, leaving only a narrow passage between them, sufficient merely to distinguish each clump appointed to each regiment. These piles were about seventy feet wide, and eight feet high. Upon examining them I could not persuade myself that any human being, without boots or shoes, would, under any circumstances, attempt to pass over so dangerous a collection of the most efficiently armed plants I had ever seen. Behind these piles already mentioned, were yards, or large pens, at the distance of three hundred yards, fenced with piles seven feet high, thickly matted together with strong reeds. Enclosed therein were several hundred slaves belonging to the king. It may be well to state that this affair was entirely got up to illustrate an attack upon a town, and the capture of prisoners, who are of course made slaves. After waiting a short time, the Apadomey soldiers made their appearance at about two hundred yards from, or in front of, the first pile, where they halted with shouldered arms. In a few seconds the word for attack was given, and a rush was made towards the pile with a speed beyond conception, and in less than one minute the whole

body had passed over this immense pile, and had taken the supposed town. Each of the other piles was passed with equal rapidity, at intervals of twenty minutes ; after which we again returned to our former station in the market place. Here we found his majesty waiting for us. He anxiously inquired how I was pleased with the performance of his female soldiers, and asked if I thought the same number of Englishwomen would perform the same. I, of course, answered, *no* : we had no female soldiers in England, but we had females who had individually and voluntarily equally distinguished themselves.'—Ib. p. 231.

The regiments, on their return, passed in single file, each individual leading a supposed captive, and displaying a scalp, the trophy of more dangerous fights. The king introduced some of his heroines to Mr. Duncan, and obtained for one of them, Adadimo, the envied honour of having her name inscribed in the white man's book. This was followed by a royal speech, expressing regret that so few Englishmen visited him, and claiming for himself the same pre-eminence among the princes of Africa, as that which distinguished England among the kingdoms of Europe. Mr. Duncan closes his description of this singular military spectacle with an emphatic compliment to the black Amazons. 'If undertaking a campaign,' he says, 'I should prefer the females to the male soldiers of this country. From all I have seen of Africa, I believe the king of Dahomey possesses an army superior to any sovereign west of the Great Desert.'

The festival, which had been 'got up at an enormous expense,' solely in honour of the visitor, now became more varied, but less animated in its character, exhibiting the features partly of a masquerade, partly of a splendid display of personal ornament and official costume. After the previous demonstration of military power, the monarch seems to have intended a similar parade of the magnificence of his court. His officers and ministers danced after the fashion of Dahomey, royalty itself deigned to execute certain bodily undulations, which are there called dancing, and there was much buffoonery, and great clamour. Mr. Duncan, to the great discrediting of his taste, thought it dull, and got sleepy, whereupon the king sent him a 'fine silver snuff-box,' with a message by the prime minister, requesting that he would remain no longer than he found it pleasant or convenient. George the Fourth could not have been more gracefully condescending. An execution was part of the show, and, as a sign of special favour, our countryman was requested to officiate, that his majesty might see the 'capability' of the dragoon sword, 'which he admired much.' The business was left in official hands, but the details of the horrible scene might as well

have been spared. Nothing could exceed the courtesy of the king's deportment throughout this great Dahoman holiday. His remarks were shrewd, and his sense of right and wrong, on the whole, very creditable to his feelings as an absolute monarch. His notions as a military moralist, are, we imagine, not greatly more rigorous than those of civilised conquerors. *Væ victis* is the rule with all, whether in Algiers or Dahomey. One of his female regiments gives no quarter, but the rest are more merciful, and only make slaves.

Mr. Duncan now became anxious about the prosecution of his journey, but delays of various kinds were interposed, and he was annoyed by a whimsical and ill-timed proposal that he should previously return to England, for the purpose of procuring from Queen Victoria sundry articles of English manufacture in silk and velvet. All these difficulties, however, were at last disposed of, and, on the 9th of July, he went forward, drums, horns, musketry, and 'heavy ordnance,' announcing that the honoured guest had begun his march. One hundred picked men formed his guard, and the liberality of the king extended itself to every part of his equipment, cowries and rum not forgotten. A few days' travelling brought him to the avowed object of his quest; but the description of the mountains which had so long loomed lofty and formidable in the distance, does not, we confess, exactly answer our expectations. It was, no doubt, impossible under the circumstances to make accurate observations, but we suspect that an ulterior object, which seems to have settled itself very firmly in Mr. Duncan's mind, had some share in diverting his attention. We extract his brief mineralogical notice.

'The general composition of the Kong Mountains, occupied by the Mahees, is granite, limestone, marble, and ironstone. On the plains or valleys I found, protruding above the surface, large masses of fused iron mixed with round pebbles. Several fragments I broke off, which were nearly as heavy as the pure ore. The outside of these masses had a glazed appearance. From the north to the south side this chain of mountains does not exceed forty-five or fifty miles.'—Vol. ii. p. 310.

This cursory and indistinct survey is the more to be regretted, since these mountain ranges, with their offsets and outliers, seem to be occupied by a very interesting tenantry. They separate, moreover, powerful nations from each other: the Felatahs of the interior touch them; and in other directions they form a barrier between tribes that would otherwise be in continual strife. They are, in part, possessed by the Mahees, between whom and the Dahomans there has been recent and destructive warfare. The latter were the victors; but, although

the Mahee warriors had no missile weapon, except the arrow, they stood gallantly against the fire-arms of their enemies. The war seems to have been fatal to these brave men; many were slain, some made captives, and on one occasion Mr. Duncan had personal evidence of the noble tenacity with which they had clung to their independence. Standing on an elevated point, he looked down upon a glen where skulls and bones of men and cattle lay thickly strewn. His inquiries were answered by the information that these were the remains of a tribe of Mahees, who had preferred death to surrender. By wounds, by disease, or by famine, they perished: but it was among their native rocks, and with their weapons in their grasp.

While Mr. Duncan was resident at Abomey, he had frequent interviews with an old Mohammedan priest, who told him of the Dab-a-dab mountains, where dwelt Terrasso-weea, also a priest, but extensively engaged in trade. This man, he said, was living in Yaouri, when Mungo Park came down the river, and was present at the conflict in which that traveller fell. This was quite enough to kindle the imagination of his auditor, and from that moment Mr. Duncan seems to have determined on obtaining, by whatever means, a personal conference with the merchant. He had now reached the assigned termination of his journey, and from the high ground on which he stood, he could discern mountains yet more distant, and there, he felt assured, was to be found the only individual who could tell him the true story of Park's disastrous fate. His determination was soon taken; he induced, by promises and persuasion, his two private servants to follow him, and provided only with a few articles for presents and a 'head of cowries,' he set out on his romantic visit to Terrasso-weea. Happily for him, that name was a talisman, the implied friendship of that well-known and respected person served him as a passport, and procured him admission where else he would have been shut out, and his path closed. Sometimes he was shrewdly questioned, and in one instance the examination pressed him hard; the Felattah 'King' of Koma, Chosee, asking him pointedly how he 'happened to come to Abomey, and if he had ever seen that great warrior, the King of Dahomey.' This was parried by a partial admission that he had seen the mighty chief, and by a tempting proposal to import muskets and gunpowder by the great river. In this way he passed from one town to another, until he reached the great town of Adofoodia, in latitude thirteen degrees six minutes north, and one degree three minutes east longitude. Along the route he seems to have witnessed a fair semblance of regular labour and general prosperity; nor can there be any doubt, that the extinction of slavery would remove the main obstacle to the prosperity of Africa. Adofoodia seems to be a sort of central mart, populous

and busy. Here he found Terrasso-weea, and the kind old man gave him a cordial reception. Singularly enough, Mr. Duncan met in this place, with a former acquaintance, a Tripolese merchant, who recognised him as one of the adventurers in the disastrous expedition to the Niger. Here, too, he was greeted 'with a low bow,' by a 'tall fine-looking man,' who addressed him in Spanish first and then in English. This person proved to be a liberated slave from Bahia, where he had been for ten years 'head-cook to the firm of Boothby and Johnston, of Liverpool.' He looked back to that time with regret, and it is stated by Mr. Duncan, that his story has been confirmed by his old masters, who spoke of him with cordial regard.

The received tradition respecting the fate of Mungo Park and his companions, rests mainly on the authority of Amadi Fatouma, who accompanied him as guide, but had left his service just before the deadly collision with the natives. This man's narrative not only vindicated himself from all blame, but claimed for him merit as a sufferer on Park's account from the treachery of the subordinate authorities and the anger of the king. Terrasso-weea, on the contrary, unhesitatingly affirmed that Fatouma was the traitor; and expressed a strong suspicion that the chief was either instigator or accomplice. He was, at the time, residing with the King of Yaouri, as malaam, or priest, and he said that the entire transaction passed under his immediate observation. Excepting in a few circumstances, his statement runs nearly parallel with the current report. The demand for toll, or wages, on pretext of non-payment, the resistance by Park, the violent conduct of the authorities, with the consequent fight and massacre, are the main features of both histories; and where they differ, that now before us seems to be in all respects the most trustworthy. Terrasso-weea farther expressed an opinion that with a little more coolness and promptitude, the party might have escaped. The general feeling of the natives was with Park, and it was not until he wounded the king's messenger, that they became exasperated. If, abstaining from direct violence, he had put aside the officer, and cast off from the shore, it is probable that no very earnest opposition would have been made to his departure.

'I questioned him respecting the falls represented to have been the cause of his canoe upsetting, but he declared that there are no such falls as to impede in any way the navigation of a canoe of any size for more than two hundred miles higher up, but merely a rapid current passing between some large boulders of granite, between which he had himself passed nearly the number of days in two moons. He further stated in reply to questions from me, that Park was taken out of his canoe alive, but would not speak when taken before the

king. All the property in the canoe was claimed by the king, and some of it distributed in presents to his courtiers.'—*Ib.* p. 182.

Having thus effected his double purpose, Mr. Duncan prepared, very reluctantly we suspect, for his return journey, which he accomplished without material difficulty. The officers and men whom he had left on the frontier to await his coming, were relieved by his re-appearance from their apprehensions that, the defective vigilance which had permitted his evasion would be severely visited by their master.

'I had been cautioned by my Dahoman caboceer, early in the morning previous to our marching, not to touch either a flower or a shrub of any description, or even pick up a pebble, as I had been in the habit of doing when I observed any thing new on my journey. I took little heed of this wholesome injunction, supposing that his motives were merely to prevent any delay on the road, as the day was likely to be rainy. Upon observing a succession of this plant, as I rode along, I carelessly laid hold of, and broke off a portion of the stem of one which was extremely brittle. A yell was instantly raised amongst my soldiers, and in a moment it was snatched out of my hand, and thrown a considerable distance from the path, while another soldier seized my horse's head and pulled it on one side from the plant. Upon inquiring the cause of such an unceremonious proceeding, I was assured that I had run into extreme danger myself, as well as all those near my person, as this plant was the most deadly poison to be found in that country, and that even the vapour from a fracture or wound in the stem or any other part of it, from which a milky liquid almost in a stream exudes, which comes in contact with the eye, invariably causes total blindness, and death immediately if any particle of the juice comes in contact with the blood.'—*Ib.* p. 194.

Mr. Duncan states further, from his own observation, that in this immediate neighbourhood blindness is exceedingly prevalent, not only among the human habitants, but to a remarkable extent among domestic animals, and that his inquiries on the subject were invariably answered by reference to this active poison. The natives of the hill-country of Dassa are said to employ it in warfare with destructive effect; and the army of Dahomey was not long since compelled to desist from a menaced invasion by the simple but savage expedient of poisoning the wells. These mountaineers appear to possess the secret of extracting, without danger to themselves, the venomous juices, and this fact, if ascertained, would suggest the probability of exaggeration as to the extent and subtlety of their injurious operation. The description of the plant itself, as given by Mr. Duncan, shows clearly enough that it belongs to the Euphor-

biacæ, a tribe including a large proportion of the vegetable poisons.

The fierceness and jealousy with which these negro highlanders guard their territory showed themselves in a rather curious way, as the traveller and his escort passed along the mountain road. It has been stated, that Mr. Duncan was cautioned against 'picking up a pebble' while on this forbidden ground. He forgot or disregarded the admonition; an unusual specimen attracted his attention, and it had no sooner been placed in his hand, than, like the clansmen of Roderick Dhu, armed men started up on every side. The noise and the rush were tremendous. Mr. Duncan's guards made ready to repel aggression, but carefully abstained from any act or movement likely to provoke it. The gestures and clamour of these wild warriors became at length so savage and exciting, that Mr. Duncan proposed to try the effect of a volley, but was reminded by his Dahoman conductor, that, however irritating all this might be, it was not unprovoked. We should like to know more of these mountain races. It has been said that their language is identical through the entire range; this, however, is contradicted by Mr. Duncan, we doubt not on sufficient grounds.

The expedition reached the capital on the 24th of August, and the excellent King of Dahomey, who might have justly felt and expressed grave displeasure, contented himself with asking, what the Queen of England would have said, if her subject had been killed while under his protection?

It is, we think, abundantly clear from all this, that the roads to the interior are by no means blocked up, either by unreasonable suspicion, or by an inhospitable feeling towards strangers. During Mr. Duncan's progress, though he had to encounter some shrewd questioning, there seems to have been no indisposition anywhere to commercial or friendly intercourse. His word was taken; there was no espionage, no gendarmerie, no passport system; he went and came without challenge and without danger. The only flaw in all this was of European origin; when he talked of traffic, he was asked *if he would purchase slaves*.

Here, however, we must close; not that we have exhausted either the extractive or the suggestive matter of the book, but we are trespassing on our limits, and we must take leave of Mr. Duncan; not without recording our admiration of his energy and perseverance; expressing, moreover, a hope that after serving his country in so many ways, his talents may still be made available, in some safe and quiet department of official duty, rather than in the labours and hazards of a wandering life.

ART. III.—*An Examination of the Testimony of the Four Evangelists, by the Rules of Evidence Administered in Courts of Justice. With an Account of the Trial of Jesus.* By Simon Greenleaf, L.L.D., Dane Professor of Law in Harvard University. Second Edition. Revised and Corrected. 8vo. Pp. 568. London: Maxwell and Son.

THIS is, to say the least, a great rarity in the republic of letters. For a lawyer, of the very highest repute in his own profession, to undertake the defence of the Four Evangelists, and to apply his knowledge and skill in sifting evidence to the establishment of their credibility, is a novel and pleasing fact, of which the new world may justly boast over the old. A late learned French advocate, A. M. J. J. Dupin, undertook, and very ably executed a reply to Joseph Salvador's 'Trial and Condemnation of Jesus.' But it was a short tract, and consisted chiefly in a judicious display and orderly arrangement of the facts stated by the several evangelists. Other instances might be named of legal gentlemen engaging in the general defence of revelation. But in our own country it would be difficult to find an instance parallel to this of Professor Greenleaf. His work consists of an examination of the testimony given by the Four Evangelists, conducted according to the rules laid down by courts of law, for testing the evidence brought before them, followed by a complete harmony of the gospels, after Dr. Robinson, with notes explanatory of difficult passages, and apparent discrepancies.

Legal knowledge has, before now, been brought to bear upon particular critico-theological questions, and much has been written upon the nature of the evidence required to substantiate miracles and revelation generally. But we do not recollect any other instance of a learned and practised jurist, enjoying a European, as well as an American reputation, of a very high class, undertaking the whole question of the credibility of the gospels, in their simple, grammatical sense. Moreover, this able work by Professor Greenleaf contrasts very advantageously, at the present time, with the English edition of Dr. Strauss's 'Life of Jesus.' The *latter*, characterized by the most unnatural, unhistorical application of a purely imaginary theory of myths to the alleged facts of the gospels, by which they are sought to be placed on the same level with heathen mythology; and the *former* proving, by the application of the severest tests, that they possess all those marks of credibility and authenticity which are required by the highest legal authorities, in documents and witnesses brought before the tribunals. Dr. Greenleaf's work,

though not intended as an answer to Strauss, is a very sufficient one. It may not be uninteresting to our readers, if we place before them the striking contrast, in point of reasoning and practical good sense, presented by these two writers, upon the same important question—the credibility or incredibility of the Four Evangelists. We find, ready to our hand, in a recent work, the following brief and judicious analysis of that vaunted and elaborate theory which once made so much noise in Germany, and the publication of which in our own country has created no small stir, but which is, we trust, rapidly waning in all countries, to its final disappearance. We extract from ‘The People’s Dictionary of the Bible,’ under the word ‘*Gospel*,’ the following delineation of Dr. Strauss’s ‘Life of Jesus :—

‘The theory which Strauss has advanced, in order to account for the origin of the gospel and of Christianity, is as follows: there existed, in the time of the Emperor Tiberius, a Jew, by name Jesus, born at Nazareth, who having for some time lived in Galilee, became a scholar of John the Baptist. When, in the hazardous work of preaching repentance, John had been cast into prison, Jesus, on independent grounds, undertook a similar task, aiming to produce a moral reformation among the people, and being possessed with the superstitious notions of the day, in regard to miraculous aids, he expected a divine interposition by which Israel would be set at liberty, and David’s throne restored. This view, set forth by Jesus, found acceptance in the long cherished expectations entertained of the coming of the Messiah, so that at last the question arose among the people that Jesus might himself be the Messiah. To this notion Jesus was at first opposed, but, by degrees, he fell in with the popular opinion. Meanwhile, the authorities of the land regarded him with aversion, and sought to compass his death. Jesus knew their full designs, but found comfort and support in the sufferings of prophets, and, after their example, persevered in his teachings, till at last he was apprehended, and put to death. As soon, however, as his disciples had recovered from the dismay into which the fate of their master had cast them, they set about attempting to explain the contradiction which presented itself between their conception of Jesus, as the Messiah, and the termination of his career. In this state of mind they turned to their Scriptures, and found that the Messiah was to suffer and die, before he entered into his glory. Jesus had been slain, but then was not extinct. He had entered into his glory, and would appear again. With these ideas working in their minds, they believed that they actually saw him, the illusion being aided by the excitable imaginations of females, and the possible appearance in their circle of some unknown person.

Thus arose a conviction, that Jesus had risen from the dead, and *the foundations of the church were laid*. For, pursuing the same process of transferring to the person of Jesus facts and passages found in the Old Testament, and held to refer to the Messiah, the first believers unconsciously made out of the few facts which constituted his real history, a full, detailed, but incongruous, and, being fraught with miracle, incredible history, which, growing as it passed from mouth to mouth, was at length set down in writing, and, somewhere about the middle of the second century, took a permanent shape in one and other gospels. Christianity has thus a historical basis, and a mythical development. The gospel as now found in our evangelical narratives, was produced by the church out of a few ordinary facts—the Jewish scriptures, and the false notions of the day, by the action of the minds of disciples of Christ, familiar with those scriptures, and actuated by those notions. Whatever, according to the books of the Old Testament, they conceived the Messiah was to be and do, that the disciples ascribed to Jesus; and this they did in good faith, and even unconsciously.’

The most extraordinary thing in this piece of imagination is the last sentence. To allow trustworthiness and good faith, and unconsciousness of falsehood, to men who are alleged to have made so much out of so little, and so many wonders out of no wonder at all, may pass with the thoughtless for a piece of very good-natured candor; but the veil is too thin to conceal the real intention of the writer, as well as too inconsistent with the previous charge of fable and fabrication, to hold the theory in keeping. It was an impossibility to have played the part of the evangelists or of the apostles, under the supposed circumstances, without the perfect consciousness of an enormous mass of fabrications. It had been far better and more consistent in the sceptic, at once to have alleged imposture, and then to have attempted, at least, to account for it, by exposing the motives that might have prompted it. But it seems never to have occurred to this infidel speculator, that it was not the disciples of Jesus alone who bruited such new and strange things of him. The populace, who were not his disciples, witnessed them and wondered; and the chief priests and pharisees, who were his bitterest enemies, said, ‘What do we? For this man doeth many miracles. If we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him. And the Romans shall come and take away both our place and nation,’ John xi. 47, 48. This led to his apprehension. What historic ground, then, had Dr. Strauss for the whole theory—that the facts were all natural, till they were afterwards distorted into miracles by the prolific—wonderfully prolific, indeed,—imagination of his disciples, who im-

parted to it all this air of miracle in *good faith*, and *unconsciously*. There is the double absurdity of making the catastrophe, which was brought on by the selfish and political fears of the rulers, arise out of nothing extraordinary in the life of Jesus ; and then of attributing good faith to the disciples, who, after his death, threw this aspect of miracle and divinity over that whole life and character, which had really exhibited nothing whatever to excite wonder, alarm, or faith. The conclusion of common sense, in both cases, must be—first, if the life of Jesus was throughout so ordinary, then why all the stir, the alarm, the conspiracy, the rulers' fears of being supplanted by him in public esteem, and their final determination, at all hazards, to effect his destruction ? and secondly, if the disciples had witnessed no miracles before his death, and none in his resurrection, then the fabrication of so many afterwards, and the open assertion of them in the presence of the people and the rulers, was a piece of impudent imposture, so *immediately* supervening upon the simple facts, as not to admit of mythical solution ; and so gross as not to be, in any sense or in any degree, reconcilable with the *good faith* which Dr. Strauss is anxious to have us believe he attributes to the disciples. But it cannot pass. The reason is too obvious why he wished to ascribe to them good faith and sincerity,—because he was well aware that the opposite charge of fabrication and imposture could not be substantiated by even the shadow of evidence ; but that the contrary was the natural and necessary conclusion. And if they were sincere. and wrote in good faith, then no theory can explain the entire history of the Saviour's life, and especially the facts of his trial and execution, but that which admits miracle as the prelude to all that followed, and the only key that can introduce us to a clear and full explanation of either the public excitement, or the conduct of the rulers in the great catastrophe which they hastened.

This ruinous admission of the infidel was speedily discovered by his followers, and attempts have since been made to repair it ; but if this is retracted and corrected, then follows the charge of imposture,—designed, deep-laid, crafty imposture,—against the apostles ; and we may then very quietly hand over the abettors of that charge to the cross-questioning of Professor Greenleaf, whose clear, calm, and judicial reasoning will soon convince them, or at least, it ought to do so, that no court in the civilized world could listen to such a charge for a moment. An acquittal, clear and unhesitating, must be pronounced. The excellent article to which we have referred, confirms these remarks, and is amply sufficient to set aside for ever the absurd theory of this learned infidel. His abettors and followers have

been trying to patch it up, and substitute better materials, but neither do they agree together. The open charge of imposture and fable has been often made, and as often shown to be baseless and untenable. The entire facts and circumstances of the case will bear the strictest scrutiny, and evince the honour, impartiality, and competency of the witnesses to the satisfaction of every candid inquirer. Upon no other ground than the entire trustworthiness of these evangelists and disciples of Jesus, can any basis be laid for the unquestionable fact of the origin of the Christian church at that time and in that place. The historical church did then commence. The infidel may attempt to explain it by the myth-theory, or the imposture theory, but it breaks down at every stage, and the theorist has to make his way amidst the opposing and reclaiming principles of human nature. A conviction of the truth of the gospel statements just as we possess them must have originated this church. Nothing else could have done it. And how to account for that conviction upon the theory of imposture, or of myths, is the *exuperabile saxum* which has always recoiled upon the infidel, and always will recoil till he abandons the attempt of raising it to a firm position.

The revival, by the infidel party in Germany, of the charge of fraud is most satisfactorily disposed of by Professor Greenleaf, from whose work we shall now take a few specimens. It will be understood that he disclaims all doctrinal or theological discussion, his simple object being to give the grounds of a judicial decision upon the first and main question—the trustworthiness of the evangelic testimony.

‘The genuineness of these writings really admits of as little doubt, and is susceptible of as ready proof, as that of any ancient writings whatever. The rule of municipal law on this subject is familiar, and applies with equal force to all ancient writings, whether documentary or otherwise; and as it comes first in order, in the prosecution of these inquiries, it may, for the sake of more convenience be designated our first rule.

‘*Every document apparently ancient, coming from the proper repository or custody, and bearing on its face no evident marks of forgery, the law presumes to be genuine, and devolves on the opposing party the burden of proving it to be otherwise.*

* * * *

‘Now this is precisely the case with the sacred writings. They have been used in the church from time immemorial, and thus are found in the place where alone they ought to be looked for. They come to us, and challenge our reception of them as genuine writings, precisely as ‘Domesday Book,’ the ‘Ancient Statutes of Wales,’ or any other of the ancient documents which have recently been pub-

lished under the British Record Commission, are received. They are found in familiar use in all the churches of Christendom, as the sacred books to which all denominations of Christians refer, as the standard of their faith. There is no pretence that they were engraved on plates of gold, and discovered in a cave, nor that they were brought from heaven by angels ; but they are received as the plain narratives and writings of the men whose names they respectively bear, made public at the time they were written ; and though there are some slight discrepancies among the copies subsequently made, there is no pretence that the originals were anywhere corrupted. If it be objected that the originals are lost, and that copies alone are now produced, the principles of the municipal law have also afforded a satisfactory answer. For the multiplication of copies was a public fact, in the faithfulness of which all the Christian community had an interest ; and it is a rule of law, that, *in matters of public and general interest, all persons must be presumed to be conversant, on the principle that individuals are presumed to be conversant with their own affairs.* Therefore it is that, in such matters, the prevailing current of assertion is resorted to as evidence, for it is to this that every member of the community is supposed to be privy. The persons, moreover, who multiplied these copies, may be regarded, in some manner, as the agents of the Christian public, for whose use and benefit the copies were made ; and on the ground of the credit due to such agents, and of the public nature of the facts themselves, the copies thus made are entitled to an extraordinary degree of confidence ; and, as in the case of official registers and other public books, it is not necessary that they should be confirmed and sanctioned by the ordinary tests of truth. If any ancient document concerning our public rights were lost, copies which had been as universally received and acted upon as the Four Gospels have been, would have been received in evidence in any of our courts of justice, without the slightest hesitation. The entire text of the *corpus juris civilis* is received in all the courts of continental Europe, upon much weaker evidence of its genuineness ; for the integrity of the sacred text has been preserved by the jealousy of opposing sects, beyond any moral possibility of corruption ; while that of the Roman civil law has been preserved only by tacit consent, without the interest of any opposing school, to watch over and preserve it from alteration.'—pp. 6—9.

The learned author then proceeds to a brief historical account of the Four Evangelists, particularly exhibiting the opportunities which each enjoyed of knowing or ascertaining the facts they severally record, as well as all that is discoverable of the objects they proposed to themselves in writing their separate accounts. This part of the examination is not so full, nor so complete as it might have been. It is, however, quite sufficient for the author's purpose, though it does not contain the whole that modern criticism has discovered concerning the character-

istics of each gospel, their agreements and differences, together with the best methods of explaining them.

After these biographical and historical notices we come to the *criteria* by which they are to be judged upon the question of their credibility.

‘Such are the brief histories of the men, whose narratives we are to examine and compare; conducting the examination and weighing the testimony by the same rules and principles which govern our tribunals of justice in similar cases. These tribunals are in such cases governed by the following fundamental rules:—

‘In trials of fact, by oral testimony, the proper inquiry is not whether it is possible that the testimony may be false, but whether there is sufficient probability that it is true.

‘It should be observed that the subject of inquiry is matter of fact, and not of abstract mathematical truth. The latter alone is susceptible of that high degree of proof, usually termed demonstration, which excludes the possibility of error, and which therefore may reasonably be required in support of every mathematical deduction. But the proof of matters of fact rests upon moral evidence alone; by which is meant not merely that species of evidence which is employed in cases respecting moral conduct, but all the evidence which we do not obtain either from our own senses, from intuition, or from demonstration. In the ordinary affairs of life we do not require nor expect demonstrative evidence, because it is inconsistent with the nature of matters of fact, and to insist on its production were unreasonable and absurd. And it makes no difference, whether the facts to be proved relate to this life, or to the next, the nature of the evidence required being in both cases the same. The error of the sceptic consists in pretending or supposing that there is a difference in the nature of the evidence, where there is no difference in the nature of the things to be proved; and in demanding demonstrative evidence concerning things which are not susceptible of any other than moral evidence alone, and of which the utmost that can be said is, that there is no reasonable doubt of their truth.

‘In proceeding to weigh the evidence of any proposition of fact, the previous question to be determined is, when may it be said to be proved? The answer to this question is furnished by another rule of municipal law, which may be thus stated:—

‘A proposition of fact is proved, when its truth is established by competent and satisfactory evidence.

* * * * *

‘Proceeding further to inquire whether the facts related by the Four Evangelists are proved by competent and satisfactory evidence, we are led, first, to consider on which side lies the burden of establishing the credibility of the witnesses. On this point the municipal law furnishes a rule which is of constant application in all trials by

jury, and is, indeed, the dictate of that charity which thinketh no evil.

' In the absence of circumstances which generate suspicion, every witness is to be presumed credible, until the contrary is shown ; the burden of impeaching his credibility lying on the objector.

' This rule serves to show the injustice with which the writers of the gospels have ever been treated by infidels ; an injustice acquiesced in even by Christians ; in requiring the Christian affirmatively, and by positive evidence, *aliunde*, to establish the credibility of his witnesses above all others, before the testimony is entitled to be considered, and in permitting the testimony of a single profane writer, alone and uncorroborated, to outweigh that of a single Christian. This is not the course in courts of chancery, where the testimony of a single witness is never permitted to outweigh the oath of the defendant himself, interested as he is in his own cause ; but, on the contrary, if the plaintiff, after having required the oath of his adversary, cannot overthrow it by something more than the oath of one witness, however credible, it must stand as evidence against him. But the Christian writer seems, by the usual course of the argument, to have been deprived of the common presumption of charity in his favour ; and reversing the ordinary rule of administering justice in human tribunals, his testimony is unjustly presumed to be false, until it is proved to be true. This treatment, moreover, has been applied to them all in a body ; and without due regard to the fact, that, being independent historians, writing at different periods, they are entitled to the support of each other : they have been treated, in the argument, almost as if the New Testament were the entire production, at once, of a body of men, conspiring by a joint fabrication, to impose a false religion upon the world. It is time that this injustice should cease ; that the testimony of the evangelist should be admitted to be true, until it can be disproved by those who would impugn it ; that the silence of one sacred writer upon any point, should no more detract from his own veracity or that of the other historians, than the like circumstance is permitted to do among profane writers ; and that the Four Evangelists should be admitted in corroboration of each other, as readily as Josephus and Tacitus, or Polybius and Livy.

' But if the burden of establishing the credibility of the evangelists were devolved on those who affirm the truth of these narratives, it is still capable of a ready moral demonstration, when we consider the nature and character of the testimony, and the essential marks of difference between true narratives of facts and the creations of falsehood. It is universally admitted, that the credit to be given to witnesses depends chiefly on their ability to discern and comprehend what was before them, their opportunities for observation, the degree of accuracy with which they are accustomed to mark passing events, and their integrity in relating them. The rule of municipal law on this subject embraces all these particulars, and is thus stated by a legal text-writer of the highest repute.

'The credit due to the testimony of witnesses depends upon, firstly, their honesty; secondly, their ability; thirdly, their number and the consistency of their testimony; fourthly, the conformity of their testimony with experience; and fifthly, the coincidence of their testimony with collateral circumstances.'—pp. 20—25.

Upon each of these particulars valuable remarks are added, illustrative of the rule. From the fourth criterion we feel disposed to make a citation, because that is the only one out of which any objection might arise to the evangelic narratives, but our limits preclude our doing so. Some of the things testified do not fall within the range of ordinary experience. According to Professor Greenleaf's plan, the examination of the credibility of miracles does not fall within the province he had assigned to himself. He has, however, supplied in notes an adequate clue to a full discussion of this subject.

Under the fifth article of the rule—*the coincidence of their testimony with collateral and contemporaneous facts and circumstances*—there is given a very admirable summary, pretty well exhausting this branch of the argument. The closing paragraph is the only one for which we can make room.

'Lastly, the great character they have portrayed is perfect. It is the character of a sinless Being; of one supremely wise and supremely good. It exhibits no error, no sinister intention, no imprudence, no ignorance, no evil passion, no impatience; in a word, no fault; but all is perfect uprightness, innocence, wisdom, goodness, and truth. The mind of man has never conceived the idea of such a character even for his god; nor has history nor poetry shadowed it forth. The doctrines and precepts of Jesus are in strict accordance with the attributes of God, agreeably to the most exalted ideas which we can form of them, either from reason or revelation. They are strikingly adapted to the capacity of mankind, and yet are delivered with a simplicity and majesty wholly Divine. He spake as never man spake. He spake with authority; yet addressed himself to the reason and understanding of men; and he spake with wisdom which men could neither gainsay nor resist. In his private life, he exhibits a character not merely of strict justice, but of overflowing benignity. He is temperate without austerity; his meekness and humility are signal; his patience is invincible; truth and sincerity illustrate his whole conduct; every one of his virtues is regulated by consummate prudence; and he both wins the love of his friends, and extorts the wonder and admiration of his enemies. He is represented in every variety of situation in life, from the height of worldly grandeur, amid the acclamations of an admiring multitude, to the deepest abyss of human degradation and woe, apparently deserted of God and man. Yet everywhere he is the same; displaying a character of unearthly perfection, symmetrical in all its proportions, and encircled with

splendour more than human. Either the men of Galilee were men of superlative wisdom, of extensive knowledge and experience, and of deeper skill in the art of deception, than any and all others, before or after them ; or they have truly stated the astonishing things which they saw and heard.

‘The narratives of the evangelists are now submitted to the reader’s perusal and examination, upon the principles and by the rules already stated. For this purpose, and for the sake of more ready and close comparison, they are arranged in juxta-position, after the general order of the latest and most approved harmonies. The question is not upon the strict propriety of the arrangement, but upon the veracity of the witnesses, and the credibility of their narratives. With the relative merits of modern harmonists, and with points of controversy among theologians, the writer has no concern. His business is that of a lawyer, examining the testimony of witnesses by the rules of his own profession, in order to ascertain whether, if they had thus testified on oath, in a court of justice, they would be entitled to credit ; and whether their narratives, as we now have them, would be received as ancient documents, coming from the proper custody. If so, then it is believed that every honest and impartial man will act consistently with that result, by receiving their testimony in all the extent of its import. To write out a full commentary or argument upon the text, would be a useless addition to the bulk of the volume ; but a few notes have been added for illustration of the narratives, and for the clearing up of apparent discrepancies, as being all that members of the legal profession would desire.’—pp. 47, 48.

Our readers will now be in a position to judge of the merits of the present volume. As an appeal to the legal profession, it can hardly fail to be useful, since its reasoning is so fully confirmed by all the technical principles founded on the extensive experience of that profession. The work may be commended to other students beside those of the law. If they thoroughly master the argument herein contained, they can be at no loss to meet the baseless and inconsistent theories of such speculators as Strauss, as well as the lower and more numerous class of objectors who impute to the evangelists open fabrication and designed imposture.

The Harmony appears upon the slight examination we have been able to give it, to be constructed after the best standards. By the arrangement of four parallel columns, the reader perceives at one view what each evangelist has recorded or omitted. We have no doubt the work will be extensively read in this country.

ART. IV.—1. *The Acquittal of the Seven Bishops in 1688. A Descriptive History.* By J. C. Hall, Esq., F. S. A.

2. *Lecture on the Acquittal of the Seven Bishops.* By Rev. Hugh Stowell, A. M.

3. *Lecture on the Acquittal of the Seven Bishops.* By Rev. Hugh McNeile, D. D.

4. *Lecture on the Acquittal of the Seven Bishops.* By Rev. H. W. McGrath, M. A.

Manchester : Agnew.

THERE is nothing in the intrinsic worth of these pamphlets to entitle them to special notice. They throw no new light on the history of the period of which they treat. They are destitute of any indication of extended research or philosophic conception. The style is without force, the thoughts without vigour, and the sentiments without liberality. Disgraced throughout by a narrow-minded bigotry, which recognizes no excellence beyond the pale of its own contracted circle, they may increase the reputation of the writers among their devoted admirers, but they will not serve to extend their fame among those who are superior to the vulgar prejudices of faction. They are to be regarded partly as commendatory notices of Mr. Herbert's Protestant Picture; partly as warnings against the fearful encroachments of popery, and pleadings for a return to that ancient system of persecution, which was the disgrace of our country; and partly as laudations of the church of England, for the zeal she has manifested and the good service she has done in the cause of civil and religious liberty.

In the praises of the painting we are inclined, for the most part, to agree, though, in our view, it contrasts rather unfavourably, both as to interest and execution, with Mr. Herbert's former work, and what is certainly, as yet, his *chef d'œuvre*, 'The Independents Asserting Liberty of Conscience.' His subject, indeed, is much less favourable in the present, than in the former instance. The aspect of the bishops (to whom, as the heroes of the occasion, the principal attention is directed), indicative, as it is, only of passive submission, however natural and appropriate, is less striking and impressive than the manly attitude and noble bearing of Philip Nye, as he gives utterance to his lofty and enlightened views of religious freedom in the Westminster Assembly. The subject has this further disadvantage, as contrasted with its predecessor, that here the whole interest centres in the event itself, none of the characters being so dis-

tinguished as to render them objects of special attention, whereas in the former case, the men whose forms fill the canvass are among the most illustrious England has ever seen, and thus the picture has a twofold attraction, the one in the individual parts, the other in the general grouping. Between the events themselves, the enunciation of the great principle of universal toleration by the despised puritan, and the struggle of the bishops for the maintenance of that exclusiveness which was the disgrace of their church (for while rejoicing in the ultimate benefit that accrued to the cause of constitutional liberty, from their sufferings, we cannot admit the idea of the lecturers that this was the object for which they combated), we will not insult our readers by instituting a comparison. As congregational dissenters, we have reason to be proud of our picture, and cannot wonder that the nobler subject has called forth from Mr. Herbert a higher display of his art.

Dr. McNeile thinks it necessary to defend the employment of the painting at all, and seems much distressed by the fear that any, confounding the distinction between historical recollection and religious devotion, should mistake him for a picture worshipper. The Doctor's attempt to show that his high admiration of a noble work of art is in perfect consistency with the most genuine and hearty protestant feeling, is perfectly successful, and his reasoning is a most satisfactory answer to the Goths (if any such there be), who deem these representations of the great events in our religious history at variance with the principles of protestantism. To ourselves, the protestant picture, or even the series of them, for which Mr. Stowell seems so earnestly and devoutly to long, appears to be a want of the age. In these days of ultra-protestantism, when nurses cannot be happy unless they be 'protestant babies' who are intrusted to their charge, and when the advertising columns of the 'Times' evidence how anxiously 'protestant' cooks, coachmen, housemaids, etc., are sought, as indispensable to family comfort, it is, surely, absolutely necessary that the walls of protestant parlours (as Mr. Stowell hath it) should be adorned with engravings of the good old protestant school. Were the painter confined to the records of church of England protestantism, however, a greater difficulty than Mr. Stowell anticipates might occur, in the selection of suitable subjects. 'The Execution of Sir Thomas More,' 'Cromwell's Visitation of the Monasteries,' 'Cranmer sanctioning the death of Anne Askew,' 'St. Bartholomew's Day, 1660,' 'Titus Oates, the Protestant Champion,' ought to find a place in such a collection; but whether the reminiscences they suggest would be the most favourable to the cause of Anglican protestantism, we leave

others to determine. A happy choice has, at all events, been made in the case before us, for the present is almost the only instance in the whole course of our history, in which the interests of the English protestant church and the English people have been identified; and an opportunity is thus afforded, by concealing the obnoxious features in the conduct of the bishops, to represent them as the disinterested advocates of British freedom.

The alleged popish principles of the artist will, we fear, tend greatly to depreciate the value of the work, and, despite the deprecatory remarks of Mr. Stowell, we can imagine some protestants so zealous that they will be unwilling to contaminate their walls with the production of a catholic artist, even though it delineate one of the greatest triumphs of their own church. How Mr. Herbert may like the style of the lecturer's observations on himself—the cool assumption, that because he is a Roman catholic, he must of necessity be a bigot—that, as a Roman catholic and a bigot, he would naturally be inclined to misrepresent the subject of his picture, but that—not his sense of justice, not his love of liberty, not his sympathy with the victims of oppression—but that 'the spirit of his art got the better of the spirit of his bigotry'—we will not venture to decide. Surely, those who presume so much on the influence of bigotry, must experience much of its power; and if it is to be regarded as an essential element of popery, the lectures before us sufficiently show that popery does not monopolize so amiable a sentiment. A more charitable supposition would have reflected greater honour on the clergyman, and would have been more just to the artist. Why not believe that even a Roman catholic, attached to his own church, might rejoice at the defeat of James's nefarious plans for the subversion of that English liberty which he hated as cordially as English protestantism? Why not think that an Englishman, Roman catholic though he be, might admire the firmness, manliness, and independence of a British jury, whom the power of the court could not intimidate, the dicta of a corrupt bench mislead, or the wily sophisms of a venal bar prevent from doing justice to the oppressed? But Mr. Stowell evidently thinks it impossible that a sentiment of justice, generosity, patriotism, or freedom can have its place in catholic bosoms, and therefore seeks in other causes a solution of the strange fact, that a catholic artist has represented a protestant subject with such beauty, vividness, and fidelity, as to extort his reluctant admiration.

Leaving the picture, we turn to its subject,—a subject, in the estimation of the lecturers, clerical and lay, of transcendent importance; and though we arrive at the conclusion by a very

different path, we are quite willing to admit its correctness. To them, the acquittal of the bishops is valuable, principally as an arrest to the perfidious designs of the papists,—to us still more as a barrier against the encroachments of despotic power. They admire the bishops as the defenders of the rights of the church,—we, (if we admire them at all,) as the unwonted and reluctant champions of English freedom. They deprecate the king's proclamation, which led to the contest between him and the bishops, as unsound in principle, and fatal in its consequences, an innovation on the protestant constitution, and an extension of liberty most unsafe and pernicious—we admire the sentiments and tenor of the edict, but condemn it because of the illegal manner in which it was promulgated, the ulterior measures to which it evidently pointed, and the unrighteous means that were employed to secure its enforcement. They regard the conduct of the bishops and the clergy in the transaction, as governed by the highest principles, and displaying the most unselfish zeal on behalf of the nation;—we, on the contrary, from a careful review of their whole procedure, of their former as well as their subsequent history, of their previous conduct in relation both to popish recusants and puritan schismatics, of the maxims of civil government, which they were accustomed to advocate, of their avowed support of the divine right of kings, and their zeal in favour of every arbitrary measure in which their individual interests were not involved, are compelled to regard their actions as the result of unmitigated selfishness, a determined struggle for the authority of their order and the security of their church. Our deliberate and not uncharitable conviction is, that nothing but a direct attack on their peculiar privileges and imaginary rights would have led them to place themselves in opposition to the king—that the authority of parliament might have been destroyed, the course of justice perverted, every barrier of the constitution swept away, and the popular liberty entirely overthrown, and they would have looked on with indifference, if not with approbation, had the interests of the church been preserved inviolate. They professed, indeed, not to oppose the enactment itself, but the unconstitutional way in which it was sought to establish it; but this came but ill from a clergy who had been the invariable supporters of tyranny, and had always been distinguished for their sycophancy and servility to the designs of the court; while declarations of attachment to the principles of religious toleration, sounded strangely in the mouth of a body who had persecuted with relentless severity all separatists from their communion. In the fate of James we have a lesson of the utmost practical importance. Deceived by their former subserviency and zeal,

on behalf of absolute power, and their ready obedience to his commands, he calculated on employing the clergy of the established church, as the most ready instruments for the accomplishment of his purposes. He saw them tame and compliant when royalty menaced popular rights, he anticipated the same implicit submission when the immunities of their own order were threatened ; he supposed that even the promptings of selfishness would yield to the dictates of loyalty, and was himself the victim of his miscalculating policy ; he learnt, (as we may learn) that abstract principles of political faith have but little weight where brought into competition with the claims of self-interest.

On every page in the career of James there is clearly written, '*Quem deus vult perdere prius dementat,*' for a strange infatuation appeared continually to hurry him on to his fate. Brought up in those ideas of royal prerogative so characteristic of his family, he neither sought to conciliate the affections of his subjects, nor to secure the triumph of a different policy by ordinary foresight and discretion. Of constitutional rule he had no right conception. With him monarchy was synonymous with autocracy ; his own will was in his view the only law, and the interference of parliament, or the restraints of law, he regarded with the utmost impatience and contempt. An absolutist in politics, he was a bigot in religion. Educated by the jesuits, he had all their zeal for the extension of the church, without any of that consummate craft by which that zeal is in general guided. It was impossible for him to conceal his sentiments, even when the announcement of them was altogether unnecessary, and when silence would better have served his cause ; and yet he was continually pursuing a course of dissimulation, whose design was too transparent to deceive any, and which served only to irritate those whom it could not mislead. Earnestly desirous to recover England to the papal sway, he sought to attain his end in a way which could bring nothing but defeat to his projects and ruin to himself. The lessons of the protracted and painful adversity through which he had passed had been utterly lost upon him. He had seen the issue of his father's attempt to grasp arbitrary power, in rousing a patient people to revolt, causing the overthrow of the monarchy, hurrying himself to the scaffold, and consigning his family to a lengthened and ignominious exile, and yet he followed in the same track, undeterred by so fearful an example. No obstacles were sufficient to prevent the prosecution of his plans ; his kingdom appeared as a patrimony over which he had to exercise absolute sway, and his subjects as the mere engines to be used at his sovereign pleasure. He was not without monitors who sympathised in his designs,

but dreading the result of his precipitancy, sought to moderate his ardour. Their sober and prudent counsels were treated, however, with contempt, and those only were heard who ministered to his foibles, flattered his vanity, encouraged his futile hopes, and sided with his self-destructive policy. The pope, himself, endeavoured to check the excessive eagerness of his too zealous son, and the legate, in vain, sought to arrest proceedings, the consequences of which it was not difficult to foresee. The slow, cautious, and undermining process, which alone could have availed against the weight of protestant feeling, and the strength of the English hierarchy, was rejected as unsuitable to the fierce temper of James. To him every year was mispent, during which the heretical church was the church of the nation, and every advice was repudiated that recommended anything like temporising or compromise. A more skilful policy might have conducted him to his desired goal—his own folly saved the nation and destroyed himself.

His ambition had two great objects to accomplish,—the overthrow of the barriers by which the English constitution has limited and defined the power of the crown, and, as already intimated, the subjugation of the English church to the popish yoke. That his religious and political projects had a mutual relation, and that the accomplishment of the one design would materially aid in the attainment of the other, is sufficiently evident. The establishment and recognition of the monarch's absolute power would have removed some of the most considerable difficulties attendant on the introduction of his religion ; or, on the other hand, the dissemination of popish ideas, and the influence of popish emissaries, agents of the king, and from their very position friendly to the maintenance of his despotic power, would have done much to aid him in his subversion of English liberty. The question was, which should be employed as the means, and which as the end,—a question on the right determination of which the whole success of the enterprise depended, and one which, to all not blinded by prejudice and bigotry, appeared in no wise perplexing in its solution. Revolutions of religious opinion are, under all circumstances, the most difficult of accomplishment. The prejudices engaged are among the strongest of the heart, intertwined as they are with the earliest reminiscences and tenderest associations of life. The interests assailed are among the most powerful in their general influence upon society, having media of operation and sources of strength which no other can possess. The annihilation of a nation's religion is, therefore, among the last achievements of an invader. The magnificence of her temples is but a symbol of her power ; these may be razed to the ground, or

desecrated by the presence of sacrilegious intruders ; a false fire may burn on her altars, and unholy rites defile her honoured fanes ; but the religion will live, and gathering her votaries in the deserted cavern or secluded dell, will defy all the efforts of her enemies to effect her extinction, organise continued conspiracies against the power that anathematises her, and safe in her own retreat, threaten the security of the throne and the institutions that refuse to tolerate her existence.

The policy of ancient Rome, which has been imitated with less consistency by modern conquerors, was based upon the acknowledgment of this principle. She overturned dynasties ; she changed national laws ; but to the national religion she always did homage, installing the deities of the conquered in her own pantheon, and thus enlisting the sympathy of their priests and devotees in her behalf. An illustration of our remark, even yet more pertinent and striking, has been afforded in our own days in the history of the Vendean War. The simple-hearted peasants of La Vendée rose against the revolutionary government of France, not so much because of its anti-monarchical as of its anti-religious, and especially its anti-popish character. Among many of the leaders there was doubtless a chivalrous attachment to the Bourbons, but the peasantry were influenced almost entirely by hatred to the murderers of their priests, the plunderers of their temples, the persecutors of their religion. And while the government maintained this policy, and treating the priests as public enemies, subjected them to indignity and wrong, every attempt to bring the people back to their allegiance was in vain. Victory followed victory in rapid succession, the republican armies over-ran the revolted provinces, laying them waste with fire and sword. Law after law was promulgated against the unhappy priests, and every cruelty practised upon them ; but in vain. The people seemed to find new energy in their defeats, and to cling more tenaciously to the ministers of their religion, because of the persecutions with which they were assailed. The enlarged mind of Hoche was the first to detect the cause of the republican failures, and while his military genius secured the most brilliant triumphs to the arms of the state, he served its cause still more effectually by the tact with which, conciliating the priesthood, he converted their hostility into friendship. The result of his judicious proceedings was the speedy settlement of the provinces ; the people saw their priests recalled and honoured, their churches repaired, their worship celebrated with all its former pomp, and having once tasted the blessings of peace, royalist agitators sought in vain to rekindle the same zeal on behalf of

the exiled princes, which they had before displayed for their banished clergy.

These are proofs sufficient to show, that any attempt to overthrow the religious system of a people, otherwise than by legitimate conviction, requires the most consummate skill and patient perseverance in order to success. Nor was there anything in the nature of the attachment cherished by the English people to protestantism, to constitute it an exception to this general principle ; on the contrary, there were certain elements entering into the composition of this feeling that gave it even more than ordinary strength. Though the reign of protestantism had been comparatively short, yet the period over which it extended was one of the most glorious epochs in the national history. It was as the head of the protestant interest, that England had first attained to consideration and rank among the European powers, and it was under the influence of the protestant spirit, that the genius of commercial enterprise had been developed and fostered, which already gave promise of the opulence and grandeur to which it was ultimately to conduct the people. The noble resistance successfully offered to the proud and self-styled Invincible Armada of Spain, with the subsequent attacks on the Spanish navy, issuing in its entire overthrow ; the aid lent to the Dutch in their struggle against Spanish despotism and inquisitorial tyranny, contributing so materially to the vindication and establishment of their independence, and the still more sincere, illustrious, and disinterested championship of the oppressed Piedmontese by Cromwell, were fresh in the recollection of the people. The glory of these achievements was made yet more conspicuous by contrast with the reign of the last popish monarch, a reign marked only by tyranny at home and disaster abroad, and more especially memorable for the loss of Calais, the last relic of Henry the Fifth's conquests in France, a loss peculiarly mortifying to English vanity. Protestantism and glory, popery and disgrace, had thus become kindred and associated ideas in the British mind ; and sentiments of national pride, as much, perhaps, as adherence to mere theological dogmas, rendered England an essentially protestant country.

Recollections of a different character made popery abhorrent to the people. At home, the fiery persecution of Mary, approved and even instigated by catholic prelates, and the wholesale destruction meditated by the Gunpowder conspiracy, and so narrowly escaped by the government ; and abroad, the horrors of the Bartholomew massacre, and the numerous atrocities perpetrated by the agents of the inquisition, in almost every part of the continent ; had filled the minds of men with

apprehensions, which, never entirely lost, had recently been revived by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and the subsequent cruelties that had been inflicted on the protestants of France. This hatred, or rather dread of popery, puritanism had sedulously encouraged, and it survived the other and more generous maxims which had been inculcated. Of the prevalence of this sentiment, the greediness with which the populace, and even the senate, received the absurd, and oftentimes contradictory revelations of such men as Oates, Bedloe, Dangerfield, and their coadjutors, and the insensate fury with which they followed catholics of the highest standing and most respectable character, were indisputable evidences. That it was not the mere passion of the mob, but the firm resolution of the legislature to maintain inviolate the protestant constitution, and to increase rather than to diminish its exclusiveness, to the injury alike of catholic and puritan nonconformists, had been sufficiently shown by the passing of the Test Act, despite the secret influence of the king, and the entreaties, even with tears, of James himself (then Duke of York), whose utmost efforts could only procure his personal exemption from its operation.

To the strength of this protestant feeling James was no stranger. Already had it been to him a prolific source of trial and sorrow, subjecting him to many indignities, compelling his prolonged absence from his brother's court, and preventing him from exercising a proper influence on the councils of the nation; and nearly causing him the loss of his crown, a sacrifice which he was spared only on the distinct pledge that his private religious convictions should never interfere with the discharge of his public duties towards the church, and that her interests should never suffer in his hands. It was this promise which had saved him from that exclusion from the succession with which he had been menaced by a large and powerful party, and its repetition, at his accession dissipated much of the jealousy and distrust his avowed religious and political principles had excited, and called forth addresses of congratulation, which, however, did not fail to remind him of the obligations he was under by his own deliberate, solemn, and reiterated declarations. He had been witness, also, to those excesses of the popular feeling which had converted villains into idols, and casting down every barrier, had demanded some of the most estimable men in the kingdom as its victims, had penetrated into the palace itself, and not content with minor offerings, had not feared to utter its insinuations against the queen herself, and to charge her as a conspirator for the destruction of the national religion. A man

even of ordinary intellect and judgment would not have experienced and seen all this without learning the madness of waging direct and open warfare against such prejudices, and if the mind of James had not been so absolutely besotted by bigotry as to render him incapable of instruction, he would not have failed to profit by the painful discipline through which he had passed. He would have felt that if such hatred to popery were to be converted into attachment equally strong, it must be by a process the most skilful, subtle, and gradual. Especially would he have felt that it was his first duty carefully to consolidate his own authority, whether by terror or by conciliation, before he attempted to exercise it in a way so repugnant to the general feelings of the nation.

Nor would an endeavour to establish absolute power have been attended with so many difficulties as might, at first sight, have been supposed. The reaction consequent upon the Revolution had not yet spent itself, nor had all the excesses of Charles II., his scandalous debauchery, his notorious ingratitude, and his shameless subserviency to the interests of France, been sufficient altogether to check that enthusiasm on behalf of the monarchy which had brought about the restoration of the Stuarts. The incessant turmoil and agitation which had so long pervaded the country, and which had been so detrimental to its real interests, had wearied the minds of men, and disposed them to quiet, even though quiet had to be purchased by the sacrifice of what they esteemed their inalienable rights. With all the vices that stained the character of Charles II., and all the faults of his policy, so fraught with disgrace and disaster to the country, he had qualities which made him, to a certain extent, a popular favourite. His very vices (excepting his venality, which at the time was not generally known) were such as a mob is only too ready to pardon, while his fine person, his easy temper, his lively wit, and his refined bearing, served often to disarm the resentment of those conscious of his demerits, and to leave him among the multitude an amount of approbation of which he was in every way undeserving. James, therefore, ascended the throne under circumstances too propitious for the establishment of absolute power, the *prestige* of his family not being yet lost, a large party in the state being inclined to the extension of the royal prerogative, and the majority of the people, exhausted by their recent efforts, being indisposed to active exertion, in opposition to such unconstitutional encroachments upon their rights. Towards himself individually, the very attempt to exclude him from the throne had created considerable sympathy; and while those more intimately acquainted with his character entertained their fears, the people were ready to accept his professions, and

give him credit for perfect sincerity in their enunciation. A strong proof of this was afforded shortly after his accession. One of the first acts of his administration was of the most arbitrary and illegal character, a manifest infraction of the authority of parliament, and an offence exactly similar to that which had cost his father his crown and his life. By the enactment of the legislature one-half of the excise and the whole of the customs terminated at the death of Charles ; and James having to choose between the curtailment of his revenue or the illegal extension of his power, resolved at once upon the latter course, and without waiting for the consent of the Commons, proceeded to levy the taxes, alleging the necessities of the state as a plea, in justification, and promising a speedy convocation of parliament, as a compensation for so unconstitutional an act. In the former generation, such a proceeding would infallibly have provoked an insurrection, and all the power of the state would have been required, in order to enforce its demands ; but now the people submitted in silent acquiescence. The lawyers addressed the king in complimentary language ; the great companies of merchants willingly promised payment ; and the complaints of the few were silenced amid the almost universal applause of the nation.

The general sentiments of the people, both towards the church and the monarchy, were thus sufficiently manifest. In an assault upon the former, it was evident, James would have but few allies, and would encounter powerful opposition ; in an attempt to aggrandize the latter, it is to be feared that he would have received an amount of support from those who recoiled from republican principles, that would ultimately have enabled him to bear down any feeble resistance that might have been offered. The church herself,—most dangerous as an enemy, most powerful as a friend,—might easily have been secured (if we are to judge from the former professions and actions of her leaders,) as an ally in rivetting the chains of despotism on the people ; in any attempt to re-establish popery, her own interests would cause her to be a most formidable opponent. Had James, then, made his first attack on the liberties of the people, and had this been done by artifice rather than direct attack,—had he been careful to strengthen that attachment which existed to himself, in spite of all his failings,—had he sought by a series of judicious measures to dissipate the suspicions still rife concerning him—and had his first invasions of parliamentary authority been for the accomplishment of objects whose general excellence might have led men to forget the way in which they were attained, it is to be feared that he might ultimately have acquired a despotic power that would have availed to effect his most cherished

design. But this James could not do. His temper was too arbitrary to brook contradiction—his zeal too infatuated to listen to reason—his bigotry too blind to see the results of his proceedings. A second course was still open to him. Resolved to attack the church of England, he might have done it by constitutional weapons; he might have sought the repeal of the obnoxious statutes by the legislature; he would thus, at least, have had a considerable body acting with him; he must have secured the support of the great mass of protestant dissenters, and would, at all events, have compelled his opponents to avow the true grounds of their hostility, and prevented the clergy from covering their own narrow-minded selfishness with the specious pretexts of liberty. Another course there was which conducted to certain ruin,—a simultaneous assault upon the constitution and the church, uniting, as it necessarily must, the Whigs as the friends of the former, and the high Tories as the steady adherents of the latter, in opposition to the king's projects. In either of the other paths there was a possibility of success; in this there was an absolute certainty of discomfiture; yet this was the one which the besotted monarch adopted, and it led him to his own overthrow.

It was not long before he excited anew the apprehensions which had begun to subside, and altogether destroyed the confidence that had been awakened by his coronation address. It was only the second Tuesday after his brother's death, that he provoked no little censure by ordering the folding doors of the queen's apartment to be thrown open, in order that all his attendants might see him present at mass. The exact design of this absurd display, it is difficult to conjecture. As a declaration of his attachment to the popish religion, it was altogether unnecessary; and as a wanton defiance of popular opinion, it was worse than useless,—strengthening jealousies where they ought to have been allayed, and provoking them where they had no existence. We can scarcely wonder that the bishops should see in it an indication of the king's intention, in violation even of his solemn promise, to trample under foot the protestant institutions of the country, and to re-establish popery in its ancient supremacy. While, therefore, there is much false argument, illiberal sentiment, and vehement invective in the harangues of the clergy of the day, which must be condemned, allowance should be made for men who saw themselves menaced with the loss of all their dignities and emoluments. Their transgression of the bounds of moderation, under such circumstances, can scarcely awaken surprise. This very violence, however, and the general approbation with which it was received, should have taught James the necessity of wariness in attacking

a body whose resources were so abundant, and whose determination to defend its own immunities was so apparent. But instead of taking warning by the lesson he had received, his next step was more decided and objectionable—equally fruitless as to any practical good, and even more contrary to the general sentiment of the community. This was the resolve, to proceed to the queen's chapel in all the wonted state of an English monarch, and still more, the attempt to compel the attendance of his ministers on the occasion. Some complied with his wishes, but the majority were firm in their refusal. The earl of Rochester was among the most determined; and it was not without considerable difficulty that a compromise was effected by his accepting permission to retire into the country. The duke of Somerset, whose duty as sword-bearer required him to precede the king into the chapel, absolutely refused to go beyond the door, and the king experienced thus early the strength of that opposition which was destined finally to deprive him of his throne. In whatever way these proceedings are viewed, they are equally to be condemned; consistency required no such parade of his religion; its interests were in no way promoted by it; his own foolish love of display was all that was gratified; and in order to effect this, the resentment of the clergy was provoked, many of his principal courtiers were aggrieved, and the trust of the people in their monarch was entirely shaken.

As yet, nothing had been done directly contrary to law. His next proceeding was more questionable in point of law, though one which, had it been dictated by proper feelings, would have been an error of the noblest kind, and one for which many apologies might have been pleaded. The statutes which had been passed during the reign of Charles II., for the suppression of popery and of protestant nonconformity, were of the most unjust and stringent character; and a persecution had been directed against their possessors which, if less open, was scarce less disgraceful and oppressive than that which had covered the memory of Mary Tudor with infamy. At the death of Charles, the prisons were crowded with persons whose only crime was a difference of opinion from the ruling sect, and many of whom were distinguished alike for their loyalty, integrity, usefulness, and piety. Even during the lifetime of the monarch, two attempts had been made to secure the deliverance of the victims from an oppression so contrary to the spirit and genius of protestantism. The proposal was first made at the council board, by Jeffreys himself, at the instance of the Duke of York, and was then defeated by the art of lord-keeper, North, but served to arouse the zeal of the bishops, who took occasion in their

subsequent charges to insist on the duty of rigorously enforcing the laws against schismatics. It was afterwards renewed, with better prospects of success, but postponed for a time for the purpose of taking legal advice on the subject. In this way it stood at the time of James's accession, and he, regardless of all legal objections, proceeded at once by proclamation to set at liberty all these unfortunate individuals, professing that his earnest desire was to ensure the enjoyment of perfect religious freedom to all his subjects.

It would have been more to the credit of the church 'of England and of her dignitaries, had they cordially united with the king in this laudable object, endeavouring to correct his excesses, to restrain all his attempts to obtain despotic power, and to expose the insidious designs concealed beneath his fair pretensions, but at the same time aiding heartily in the attainment of so important an end as that which he proposed. But the ideas of toleration were at that time exceedingly narrow and contracted. It was not seen that freedom of thought and action was the very foundation of protestantism, and the only element in which it could properly be sustained; every violence was deemed right against a religious adversary, and the power of the state was esteemed a perfectly legitimate instrument for the dissemination of religious opinion on these points. Episcopals and presbyterians, catholics and protestants, were one,—the independents, baptists, and quakers, alone dissented from the prevailing sentiment, and their views found but little sympathy in the people. That James was in advance of his age on this great question, and was really desirous to consolidate the religious liberties of his subjects, is a supposition so absurd and extravagant, that we have often wondered at the countenance it has received from some modern historians. Whatever his natural temperament might have been, (and it is manifest that it was haughty, imperious, dogmatical, and unbending,) it were impossible that one who had yielded himself up so entirely to the domination of the jesuits, could be imbued with the true spirit of tolerance. There was not a maxim taught in such a school that was not hostile to the principles of liberty. He might learn the duty of submitting to the force of circumstances, and simulating sentiments which he did not feel; but they must either be entirely unacquainted with the character of the jesuits, or must possess an extraordinary amount of credulity, who can believe that so zealous a disciple of such a sect could really have proper views of religious freedom. It answered his purpose to assume the mask of zeal for toleration, for he hoped thus to secure the support, not only of its real friends, but of all who, suffering from oppression, were ready

to clamour for that liberty for themselves, which many of them were, nevertheless, unwilling to concede to others: but any real attachment to the principles of universal toleration, we do not believe him to have had.

As one of a persecuted sect, it was natural enough that he should profess himself the advocate of a freedom by which his own party would be the principal gainers, and that in order to secure this advantage for himself and his friends, he was willing even to grant a similar indulgence to others whom he cordially hated, and whom, had his power been equal to his will, he would, doubtless, have subjected to inflictions even greater than those from which they were at present suffering. Fanaticism such as his would never have endured the existence of heretics, and we do not consider that we are judging uncharitably when we express our belief that his design from the first was, by avowing himself the friend of toleration, to employ all the oppressed as the stepping-stones by which the popish church should be raised to supremacy. This object once accomplished, protestant dissenters would soon have found that they had only made an exchange of oppressors, and that the last was worse than the first. His policy, however, required at present the show of liberality, and his measures, by whatever motives prompted, would have deserved universal approbation had they been effected in a legal manner. But the restraints of the constitution were disdained by him, and even while professedly redressing the wrongs of the oppressed, he in reality prepared the way for a more galling and tyrannical despotism.

The suppression of Monmouth's revolt, and the acquiescence with which the people had witnessed the frightful atrocities perpetrated by Jeffreys in the west, had confirmed the king still more in the opinions of his own power, and his resolutions to enforce it. He imagined that the arts which had been freely employed in the parliamentary elections, had secured him a majority so decisive, and withal so devoted to himself, that he might safely venture on any measure that accorded with his arbitrary inclinations. Two acts of the late reign were specially obnoxious to him, each standing as a barrier to one of his cherished schemes,—the Habeas Corpus Act, the palladium of English liberty; and the Test Act, the bulwark of the Established Church. What might have been the result of an attack upon the first of these, it is impossible to predict. The importance of the privilege was not yet properly appreciated by the nation, or even by the Liberal party, while the Tories, subservient to the court, and regarding the carrying of the measure as the triumph of their enemies, were willing to lend themselves to its overthrow. This impediment once removed, James would

have proceeded with much more certainty to the attainment of his other projects, and invested thus, with absolute control over the liberties of his subjects, would have used it in order to effect those religious changes so near his heart. But, instead of attacking the Habeas Corpus Act, James's first assaults were directed against the Test Act, the more hateful to him because it had been directed, not against his religion merely, but had been levelled at himself personally, and because it still deprived him of the services of many of those most attached to him, and most fitted, from their own religious convictions, to aid in the working out of his plans. Even here, too, he was not content to wait the regular order of constitutional procedure, and to obtain the repeal of the hostile law by parliamentary enactment, but met the legislature with the startling announcement, that of his own authority he had dispensed with the restrictions of the Act, and had admitted Roman catholics to many of those places (especially in the army) from which they had been excluded, and that, having received efficient service from them in the recent rebellion, he was unwilling now to dispense with them. Such a proceeding had the natural effect of uniting the friends of liberty, and of the church, in an unwonted and discordant, but most formidable opposition, against which it was impossible for James to contend. Though it was only by a majority of one, that the House of Commons resolved to postpone the question of supply to that of Tests, yet, afterwards, by a perfectly unanimous vote, they adopted an address clearly setting forth the illegality of the king's procedure, offering an indemnity to those, who, by accepting his indulgence, had subjected themselves to the penalties of the law, but praying the king, 'that he would give such directions therein, as that no apprehensions or jealousies might remain in the hearts of his subjects.' The House of Lords was even more decided, and, notwithstanding the threats and servilities of Jeffries, who then disgraced the woolsack, a motion of the Earl of Devonshire to consider the dangerous results of a standing army, was carried in an unusually full house, without a division.

The refractory parliament was dismissed after a turbulent session of eleven days, but the king, untaught by his failure among those so devoted to his will, proceeded now to seek in the courts of law that justification of his acts which might warrant further aggressions. The judges were sounded on the question; and those whose independence could not be shaken, and who preferred the approval of their conscience to the favour of the king, were summarily dismissed, to make way for others of more pliable materials. Among the dismissed were men of

undoubted attachment to the king, and some who had been content in his service even to bring on themselves the odium of the Western Assize, so aptly designated by James, himself, as 'Jeffries's campaign,' but who could not be brought to sacrifice all their honesty. The compliance of the bench having been thus assured, a fictitious information was suborned against one of the delinquents, his own servant being bribed to impeach him; and, after the mockery of a trial in which the decision of the judges was formed before the pleadings commenced, a judgment was given in acquittal of the accused, and in favour of the dispensing power. The absurdity of such an opinion is so manifest, that it is mournful to think any body of men should have been found to give it judicial sanction, and especially is it mournful to find among them an unworthy brother of that true champion of English liberty, John Milton. The result of such a judgment would infallibly have been to convert the monarchy into an autocracy as absolute as that of the Czar of Russia. The authority of parliament would have been set aside, and its destruction might at once have followed; for where was the utility of its assemblies and deliberations, if the monarch was at liberty to suspend, annul, or alter its decrees at pleasure? The special error of the decision in the present case is well put by Sir James Mackintosh:—'The application of these dangerous principles to the Test Act, was attended with the peculiar absurdity of attributing to the king a power to dispense with provisions of a law which had been framed for the avowed and sole purpose of limiting his authority. The law had not hitherto disabled a catholic from filling the throne. As soon, therefore, as the next person in succession to the crown was a catholic, it was deemed essential to the safety of the established religion to take away from the crown the means of being served by catholic ministers. The Test Act was passed to prevent a catholic successor from availing himself of the aid of a party whose outward badge was adherence to the Roman catholic religion, and who were seconded by powerful allies in other parts of Europe, in overthrowing the constitution, the protestant church, and, at last, even the liberty of protestants, to perform their worship and profess their faith. To ascribe to that very catholic successor the right of dispensing with all the securities provided against such dangers arising from himself, was to impute the most extravagant absurdity to the laws. It might be perfectly consistent with the principle of the Test Act, which was intended to provide against temporary dangers, to propose its repeal under a protestant prince; but it is altogether impossible that its framers could have considered a power of dispensing with its

conditions as vested in the catholic successor whom it was meant to bind.' *

To the objections that might be urged against the judgment, James was entirely indifferent. Satisfied with having obtained it, by means however unrighteous, he at once proceeded to act upon it. Roman catholics were introduced into the privy council, their numbers were increased in the army, and the nation saw with alarm the determination of the king in every possible way to augment their consideration and influence. The attempt to force an entrance for them into the universities was still more audacious, as tending directly to an open breach with the church. Into the particulars of these conflicts it is unnecessary to enter; we mention them only as links in that chain of events by which the affections of the leaders of the church were weaned from the king, and the way prepared for that decisive rupture which is more particularly under our notice. The prohibition laid upon the clergy to abstain from all controversial discourses, with the subsequent proceedings against Dr. Sharpe for disobedience of the order, and against Compton, Bishop of London, for refusing to suspend the offender, was another movement in the same direction. It required but the attack on the bishops to complete the separation, and to bring on that trial of strength which was to issue in the entire discomfiture of James.

His conduct in this case seems equally infatuated with that which has already come under review. The 'Declaration of Liberty of Conscience,' the cause of the dispute, had originally been issued in the spring of 1687, and strange to say, though it was couched in the most arbitrary terms, and was in direct defiance of a resolution of the House of Commons, condemning in the strongest language a similar proclamation issued by Charles II., yet it provoked but little open opposition. Secret discontent reigned in many hearts, but as yet it found no utterance. Dissenters, for the most part, accepted the indulgence, and some of the independents, baptists, and quakers, were induced to give their sanction to the king's proceedings, by addresses of thanks. With the presbyterians they found less favour. Not content with mere toleration, and, having always maintained a close connection with the church, they indulged hopes of such an extension of the terms of communion as would admit of their incorporation. Other bodies of dissenters, having no such views, were well satisfied with the liberty proposed, and although there were some who still doubted the king's intentions, they gratefully accepted the

• Works, ii. 69.

indulgence. It would, doubtless, have been wiser for them to have refrained from such expressions of approbation, and to have enjoyed their liberty in silence until parliamentary authority had ratified the royal edict; but, ere we form an unkindly judgment of their conduct, we must remember that the severity of the persecution to which they had been exposed, had inclined them to grasp at any measure of relief, without considering whether the bestowal met with the sanction of the law. Their error becomes the more excusable when we see that it was shared not only by many of the bishops and clergy, but also by those whose legal knowledge ought to have dictated a different line of conduct; and that it was retraced when the arbitrary measures used in regard to the bishops showed the king's insincerity in his liberal profession.

This absence of opposition might have satisfied the king, but it served rather to deceive him, to induce a vain confidence in his own power, and to lead him on to acts still more despotic. The last months of 1687, and the early ones of 1688, were passed in a quietude that gave no premonition of the coming storm; but beneath all this external tranquillity the tempest was brewing; and, while servile flatterers poured in their numerous addresses in commendation of the king, the hearts of men kindled with an indignation which it required only the falling of a spark to ignite. This was not long wanting. What was the motive of the king's conduct, whether a mere love of bravado, a desire to revenge the opposition already received from the church, to test the professions of obedience so freely given, or to make her own ministry the instruments of announcing the downfall of her exclusive privileges, cannot be determined. But, whatever the reason that influenced, or whoever the counsellor that advised it, the proclamation of the preceding year was repeated in the Gazette, in the spring of 1688, with the addition, that the bishops should require the clergy of their dioceses to publish it in their respective churches within sixteen days. So useless and wanton a provocation of the episcopal body appears, at first sight, as the act of a madman; but we must remember, that the bishops and clergy had, by their former professions and actions, given James a warrant to expect obedience even to so imperious a command. It was not only that loudly and frequently they had insisted on the duty of non-resistance, as may be easily seen by reference to the works of South, Tillotson, and the other divines of the day; but they had themselves afforded the precedent for this very requisition, by publishing from their pulpits the proclamations of Charles II., on the dissolution of his last two parliaments, containing his vehement denunciations of the House of Commons, and another

on the discovery of the Rye House Plot, of the most sanguinary tendency. The former breathed a spirit of intolerance and tyranny; the latter served to inflame the passions already too much excited, to influence unfairly the minds of men against those whose trial was then impending, and thus to encourage hatred and bloodshed. And yet these documents had been willingly read by the clergy, and Sancroft himself advised the king to issue the injunction. Was it unreasonable for James to think that, as they had proclaimed such declarations, they would also publish the tidings of peace? While his folly, therefore, finds here some excuse, the bishops are altogether deprived of the plea, that zeal for constitutional liberty, and not dislike of the matter of the proclamation, was the motive by which they were influenced. If so zealous for freedom, how was it that their indignation had not been aroused before, when Charles required them to become partners in his atrocious schemes for dispensing with parliaments altogether, and called on them to give their public condemnation of the resolutions of the legislature? Why did it not arise when they were made to throw their sanction over the deeds of cruelty and injustice that followed the discovery of the Rye House Plot? Why did they not then place themselves in the van of the army of freedom, and manfully defy the oppressor? If their protests had been recorded, then they would at least have had the merit of consistency and of sincerity in their professions, on the present occasion. Their participation in these former attacks on popular freedom, certainly countenances the suspicion that it was selfishness, and not patriotism, that was their governing motive in their present resistance.

We should be unjust, however, did we not commend the promptitude and energy which they displayed in the difficult emergency which had arisen. The time for deliberation was short, and in those days, when the facilities for communication were so few, a convocation of all the clergy, or even a conference with all the members of the episcopal bench, was manifestly impossible. The few who were in London (with Sancroft at their head) were obliged not only to break through all their old associations, and place themselves in hostility to the king, but to risk the displeasure of those of their own brethren whom they could not consult before the time of action, and some of whom, they were well aware, being friendly to the court, would be ready enough to utter complaints. Even this did not make them hesitate; and after such deliberation as the nature of the case admitted, they resolved to present a respectful petition to the king, objecting not to the design of the edict, but to its mode of promulgation. The details of their interview with the

monarch need not be repeated. In a fit of rage he aggravated his former error by ordering them to the Tower, thus holding them up to popular sympathy, as the victims of his despotic will. The enthusiasm that was at once awakened on their behalf, as exhibited in the crowds that attended them to prison, and the numbers of all classes (among others, of nonconformist ministers, who nobly forgot their own wrongs, in the hour of common danger), that thronged their dungeons with sympathetic addresses, forming a prisoner's levee, similar to one witnessed in our own day, might have shown James the greatness of the mistake he had committed; but, untaught, he rushed madly on. It was not without much difficulty that, after a week's confinement in the Tower, bail was accepted on their behalf; and though the birth of the Prince of Wales afforded a favourable opportunity for retreat, by the publication of a general amnesty, yet an evil genius seemed to reign in his councils, and he resolved on impeachment.

Of all the trials that have been held within Westminster, there never, perhaps, was one on whose issue depended such important interests, as on the arraignment of the bishops before the high court of English judicature. Individuals even more illustrious have been impeached there; the assemblage has at times been even more splendid and attractive; the pleadings have been more eloquent; but never has the result been more momentous. The question to be decided was not merely whether popery or protestantism should bear sway in the English national church, but whether we should be handed over to the tender mercies of inquisitorial rule, and to the darkness of mediæval superstition, or should continue to advance in that course of improvement on which we had entered, and from which we had been diverted by James and his brother; whether England should remain the home of liberty, the refuge of the oppressed, the abode of justice, or should in future be ground down by a tyranny as despotic as that of Turkey or Austria; whether she was to maintain and improve that position of noble independence she had assumed under Cromwell, or was henceforth to occupy a secondary position in European affairs, as a mere tool of French policy, and jesuitical intrigue. Seven innocent men were arraigned at the bar, whose only alleged offence was the exercise of that right of free petition which had been esteemed the inalienable privilege of every Briton, but to which, as members of his majesty's privy council, the bishops had special claim. It was not they alone, either individually or as representatives of the Anglican church merely, whose cause was there to be tried; but the nation at large, whose liberties had thus been infringed, also asked a verdict. A condemnation of the bishops

would not only have given the monarch absolute power, but would have attached criminality to remonstrance against any of his decrees. Yet everything seemed to promise such a result; the judges were supposed to be the creatures of the king, for they were the same that had already given their verdict in favour of the dispensing power; every care had been taken to conform the jury to the wishes of the king, and the issue of former trials might well induce the apprehension that the court would be omnipotent on the present occasion. The conduct of the court-lawyers was characterised throughout by marked unfairness—the witnesses in favour of the prisoners were brow-beaten and bullied without mercy; the most innocent proceedings were tortured into indications of their guilt; and all other evidence failing to connect them with the petition at all, their own admission, in confidence, to the king, was basely adduced to prove their signatures by Lord Sunderland, secretary-of-state; while of its publication (the most material part), no proof whatever could be brought. Of the judges, two sought to bias the minds of the jury to an unfair decision; and in the jury themselves, one of their number, the king's brewer, endeavoured hard to obtain a favourable verdict for his master. But all these combined arts could not prevent an English jury from giving a righteous decision. The cause of truth and freedom triumphed, and the mighty heart of England again beat freely, as the verdict of 'not guilty' told that the freedom of her sons was vindicated, and the designs of the tyrant baffled.

This was the first great check James received, and henceforth the decline of his power was rapid. Had he succeeded here, other barriers might have been interposed, but success would have given him the means for prosecuting his designs and achieving future triumphs. The minds of waverers would have been decided in his favour, and the revolution of 1688, if accomplished at all, would have been effected at a much greater cost of treasure and blood.

Were we inclined to follow the example of the reverend lecturers, and to close our narrative by a homily, our conclusions, we must confess, would be rather different from theirs. They argue, that, because under a mask of toleration James sought to secure supremacy for his church, toleration must be a very bad thing; and if they were to follow out their own principles, would at once proceed to exterminate all papists by fire and sword. In their apprehensions as to the growth of popery, or at least as to the spirit in which it is treated by a great number of our political men, of all shades of opinion, we have considerable sympathy; but while we seek a different explanation of the evil, we would also apply a very different remedy.

One great reason, as it appears to us, of the favour which popery has recently obtained, is to be found in the persecution and intolerance with which it has so long been treated; and it is this that has produced alliances so unnatural as those between catholics and liberal politicians, and especially between catholics and protestant dissenters. Men recoil from the violence of such champions of protestantism as Dr. McNeile and his associates; and it is not wonderful, that in some cases sympathy for the persecuted should engender an improper sympathy for their errors. Recent movements have tended in a great measure to dissolve the union between the Roman catholics and ourselves; our objects are no longer the same; they evidently seek endowment, if not supremacy for themselves; we desire only an equality for all. In the attainment of this will be found the only check to their encroachments. Endowments of religion must cease to exist altogether, or catholics must be permitted to share them. The maintenance of the present system for any lengthened period has become impossible; the spirit of the age is opposed to its exclusiveness, and the only question to be decided is, whether it shall be succeeded by that system of indiscriminate endowments which works so badly in France, or that voluntaryism that works so well in America. The evangelical clergy of the established church will have much to do in the settlement of this question. The suppression of popery by law (even were it desirable) is altogether impossible — nay, if religious endowments continue, it will be as difficult as it is unjust to exclude it from a participation in their benefits. The only remedy is the one indicated by Mr. Baptist Noel, and hinted at even by Mr. Stowell himself, for the clergy to throw off the trammels of the state, and to fight the battles of truth with the weapons of truth. The strength of popery for the last hundred and fifty years, has lain in the injustice with which it has been treated. Let it be met on equal terms; let every formal restriction upon it be removed; let every vestige of the ascendancy of any sect or party be obliterated; let a perfect religious equality prevail; and though the conflict may be arduous, we need not fear for the result. The triteness of the ancient proverb does not take away from its truthfulness, — ‘*Magna est veritas et prevalebit.*’

ART. V.—*History of Servia, and the Servian Revolution, from Original Manuscripts and Documents.* Translated from the German of Leopold Ranke. By Mrs. Alexander Kerr. 8vo. London: J. Murray.

THE reputation of Professor Ranke supersedes the necessity of a formal introduction of this volume. His Histories of the Popes, and of the Reformation, have familiarised the English public with his name, and secured for him the respect and confidence of all intelligent readers. His works are marked by the best qualities of the German mind, and are clearly destined to survive the ephemeral productions of the day. They combine the results of vast and patient research, and are characterized by powers of combination, and a largeness and breadth of view, which are rarely found amongst writers on ecclesiastical themes. We should not be disposed to accept Professor Ranke's 'History of the Reformation,' as a complete representative of that great event. Like the work of Mosheim, it is deficient in what may be termed the inner life of the Reformation: and some other and more distinctively religious narrative is therefore needed, in order that an adequate impression of the moral character and religious bearings of the protestant movement should be received. But in its own department it is unequalled, and, as a connecting link between the political and ecclesiastical history of the sixteenth century, it supplies a deficiency in our literature long and grievously felt.

The volume now before us introduces a new subject, and the manner in which it is treated, is precisely such as the author's previous works led us to anticipate. The theme is worthy of his selection, and the style in which it is exhibited adds fresh lustre to his historical fame.

As yet, our countrymen know little of Servia. Its remote situation, in a part of Europe which few Englishmen visit, has placed it beyond our cognizance, while the absence of commercial relations with its people, and its comparative political insignificance, have served to prevent any strong interest being awakened on its behalf. There are points, however, on which its history touches some of our deepest sympathies. It lies on the borders of European Christendom, has been the battle-ground on which the crescent and the cross have frequently struggled for victory, and has exhibited, in their darkest forms, the cruelties of the Ottoman, and the barbarous reprisals of the professors of a better faith. It has, moreover, been the scene of heroic

struggles against the oppressive despotism of the East. A European race, goaded to resistance by the intensity of their sufferings, has unfurled, again and again, the standard of national independence. Their patriotism has been fierce and sanguinary. The vices of political servitude have been rife amongst them. The glory of their achievements has been shaded by an imitation of the cruelties of their Turkish lords; and personal ambition, treachery, and base ingratitude have not been wanting in the history of their chiefs. But, notwithstanding all, the history of Serbia is deeply interesting. Amidst their mountains and strongholds, the people have struggled for an independence which they were not competent to estimate, and could only partially maintain. The goading oppressions of the Turk forced them to revolt, at the time when their political knowledge was too scanty, to qualify them to protect the freedom they achieved.

The present volume introduces to the English reader a topic which was previously unknown. It draws back a curtain behind which a scene of more than ordinary interest is visible. It peoples with veritable shapes *a terra incognita*, and thus extends the bounds of our knowledge, and renders our conceptions more definite and clear. We, therefore, welcome its appearance, and hasten to inform our readers of its contents and general character.

Servia lies between Turkey and Austria, having Hungary and Sclavonia on the north, Wallachia and Bulgaria on the east, Macedonia on the south, and Bosnia on the west. It is nominally included in the dominions of Turkey-in-Europe, but is now, in a great measure, independent of the Porte. Its greatest length is about one hundred and eighty miles, and its breadth varies from one hundred to one hundred and sixty miles. Its population may be roughly estimated at one million, who are mostly members of the Greek church. In the middle ages it constituted, for a brief period, an independent kingdom, but was conquered by the Turks in the middle of the fourteenth century. The general features of Turkish policy were conspicuous in the institutions established in Servia, the inhabitants of which, as in all other provinces of the Porte, were compelled to support a warrior-caste, by whom the dominion of the sultan was maintained. The Raja, as the *people* were termed, were required to till the land, and to pay taxes, and were deprived of all share in the administration of the country. 'Oppress them,' says the Koran, concerning infidels, 'until they pay poll tax, and are humbled;' and the rule was enforced to the letter, in the case of the Servians. The condition of the two classes is thus described by our author:—

'The Turks in the country—not only those of distinction, but others of lower rank who had gradually assembled around them—considered themselves the masters of the Raja. Not only did the Turks reserve for themselves the exercise of arms, but also the right of carrying on such trades as were in any way connected with war. Like our northern ancestors, or their own oriental forefathers, amongst whom the son of a smith once founded a dynasty, many a Turk has been seen to turn back his silken sleeve, and shoe a horse; still he regarded himself as a kind of gentleman. Other occupations the Mussulmans left with contempt to Christian mechanics: for instance, no Turk would have condescended to be a furrier. Every thing that they thought suitable and becoming—beautiful arms, rich dresses, magnificent houses—they claimed exclusively for themselves.

'But the personal treatment of Christians was most oppressive. No Servian dared to ride into a town on horseback: he was only allowed to appear on foot; and, to any Turk who might demand it, he was bound to render personal service. When meeting a Turk on the road, it was his duty to halt, and make way for him; and if he happened to carry small arms in defence against robbers, he was obliged to conceal them. To suffer injuries was his duty; to resent them was deemed a crime worthy of punishment.'—p. 52.

The rental of the land was enjoyed by the Spahis, a class of military warriors, in the service of the sultan, who were in many respects similar to the feudal knights of the middle ages. For such rental they were bound to yield military service to their master, and were separated from the people by residing in towns and fortresses, into which the Servians never entered, except on business. They were not properly a class of nobles, having no feudal jurisdiction over the peasantry, nor being empowered to eject them from their tenancy, or to prevent their removing from one place to another. In the course of time, their rights became hereditary, and assumed, in consequence, a more determinate form. The people frequently compounded with them, and paid an annual revenue in lieu of the taxes they were authorised to demand. 'The Raja, excluded from all share in the conduct of public affairs, appear only as persons to be ruled over; as the means wherewith to realise a revenue for the support of the state which had subjugated them, and of providing for its soldiery, its officers, and even for the court.' The social habits of the Servians are of the simplest and most primitive order, and betoken a state of civilization far behind what has been attained in the more advanced communities of Europe. They are thus described by Professor Ranke, and few English readers will envy the state of things depicted:—

'The villages of Servia stretch far up into the gorges of the mountains, into the valleys formed by the rivers and streams, or into the

depths of the forests. Sometimes, when consisting of forty or fifty houses, they spread over a space as extensive as that occupied by Vienna and its suburbs. The dwellings are isolated, at a distance one from another, and each contains within itself a separate community. The real house is a room enclosed by loam walls, and covered with the dry bark of the lime, having the hearth in the centre. Around this room chambers are constructed—*Clijet* or *Wajat*—often fitted up with polished boards, but without any fire-places. The house ostensibly belongs to the father and mother of the family, to whose use a separate sleeping-room is sometimes appropriated. The chambers are for the younger married people. All the members of the family constitute but one household; they work and eat together, and in the winter evenings assemble around the fire. Even when the father dies, his sons, appointing one of their brothers, the best qualified amongst them, as master of the house (*Stargeshina*), remain together until too great an increase of the family renders a separation desirable. It is not unusual for one house to form an entire street.

'The household requires but little assistance from strangers. The men raise their own buildings; construct, in their rude manner, their ploughs and waggons; prepare the yokes of their draught oxen; hoop their casks; and manufacture their shoes from rough leather. Their other clothing is prepared by the women; who spin wool and flax, weave linen and woollen cloth, and understand the art of dyeing with madder. Their land yields the food they require; so that salt is perhaps the only article they find it necessary to purchase. The mechanics most in request by the villages are smiths, to make their tools. A mill belongs to several houses conjointly, and each house has its day for using it.

'These family households, supplying all their own wants, and shut up each within itself—a state of things which was continued under the Turks, because the taxes were chiefly levied upon the households—formed the basis of Servian nationality. Individual interest was thus merged, as it were, in that of the family.'—pp. 54—56.

The rapid decline of the Turkish power naturally awakened the hopes of its Christian subjects; yet, without the aid of some of their neighbours, the subjugated Raja might well despair of any successful movement. The war of 1788 brightened their prospects. Austria took them under its protection, and united with Russia against their common foe. A volunteer corps of Servians was formed for the emperor Joseph, which rendered him good service at the siege of Belgrade, in 1789. Their hopes, however, were bitterly disappointed. They were sacrificed to the larger interests of the nations from which they expected succour. A European war now impended, and Austria, hastening to make peace with Turkey, restored to it the whole of Servia. The bitter consequences of this change were soon felt.

The Turks had been incensed by the revolt of their subjects, and were alarmed, on repossessing the country, at the military organization and temper of the people. They speedily disregarded the stipulations agreed to in their favor, enforced the surrender of their arms, and sought to break down their spirit by adding insult to oppression. For a time this policy succeeded, and a superficial observer, ignorant of the people, and uninformed of the course of other revolutions, might have concluded that Servia was amongst the most secure possessions of the Porte. But there was an under current. The people had breathed for a while. They had enjoyed a short respite under Austrian protection. The germ of nationality had been evolved, and they now regarded with an intensity of hatred previously unknown, the yoke they were compelled to bear. Numerous bands, termed Heyducs, wandered over the country, composed partly of robbers, and partly of those whom Turkish oppression had driven from regular life. Their occupation inured them to danger, and prepared them, in some measure, for the more orderly service of war. Chiefs were not long wanting, among whom George Petrowitsch, better known as Kara George, was the most distinguished:—

‘ He was in the act of collecting together his herd of swine, which he had bought for the purpose of selling in Austria—for that was his calling, one of the most profitable and respectable employments in the country—when he perceived the approach of the Turks who were seeking him. He left his swine to take their own way, and fled into the forests with the herdsmen whom he had hired for his business. He had served in the volunteer corps, had afterwards become Heyduc, and was considered one of the most enterprising men in the country; as he was also one of the richest.’—p. 124.

The insurrection spread rapidly, and Kara George was elected as commander. He was equal to the trust; but before we notice the varying fortunes of the struggle on which he entered, we must give our readers some account of his history and character. He was the man of his age and country. The influences of his day formed his character, and must be taken into account in our estimate. We must not judge him by an English standard, but must throw ourselves back into the then existing condition of Servia, if we would rightly appreciate his career. He belonged to a class of which few specimens are now left in Europe. His people were barbarous, and he himself was rude and unlettered. The fierce passions of a race, scarcely half civilised, were rampant in his breast, and imprinted their dark features on many of his deeds. Yet he was an extraordinary man, and might, under better influences, have been a

beneficent ruler, as well as a daring chief. He was born between 1760 and 1770, and was the son of a peasant :—

‘In the very first commotion of the country—which was in the year 1787, when an invasion by the Austrians was expected—he took a part that decided the character of his future life. He saw himself compelled to flee; and not wishing to leave his father behind, amongst the Turks, he took him also, with all his moveable property and cattle. Thus he proceeded towards the Save, but the nearer they approached that river, the more alarmed became his father, who, from the first, would have preferred surrendering, as many others had done, and often advised him to return. Once again, and in the most urgent manner, when they already beheld the Save before them, ‘Let us humble ourselves,’ the old man said. ‘and we shall obtain pardon. Do not go to Germany, my son: as surely as my bread may prosper thee, do not go.’ But George remained inexorable. His father was at last equally resolved: ‘Go, then, over alone:’ he said, ‘I remain in this country.’ ‘How!’ replied Kara George, ‘shall I live to see thee slowly tortured to death by the Turks? It is better that I should kill thee myself on the spot!’ Then seizing a pistol, he instantly shot his father, and ordered one of his companions to give the death-blow to the old man, who was writhing in agony. In the next village, Kara said to the people, ‘Get the old man who lies yonder buried for me, and drink also for his soul at a funeral feast.’ For that purpose he made them a present of the cattle which he had with him, and then crossed the Save.

‘This deed, which was the first indication of his character, threw him out of the common course. He returned to his own district, with the rank of serjeant, in the corps of volunteers; but, believing himself unjustly passed over at a distribution of medals, he retired into the mountains as a Heyduc. However, he became reconciled in this matter with his colonel, Mihaljewitsch; went with him after the peace to Austria; and was made ‘forest-keeper’ in the cloister of Kruschedol. But he did not rest satisfied in Austria; and as, under Hadschi Mustafa, he had nothing to fear in Serbia, he returned thither, and from that time followed his business—that of a dealer in swine. The outrages of the Dahis hurried him into the movements in which he was destined to perform so important a part.

‘Kara George was a very extraordinary man. He would sit for days together without uttering a word, biting his nails. At times, when addressed, he would turn his head aside and not answer. When he had taken wine, he became talkative; and if in a cheerful mood, he would perhaps lead off a Kolo-dance.

‘Splendour and magnificence he despised. In the days of his greatest success, he was always seen in his old blue trowsers, in his worn-out short pelt, and his well-known black cap. His daughter, even whilst her father was in the exercise of princely authority, was

seen to carry her water vessel, like other girls in the village. Yet, strange to say, he was not insensible to the charms of gold.

'In Topola, he might have been taken for a peasant. With his Momkes, he would clear a piece of forest land, or conduct water to a mill; and then they would fish together in the brook Jasenitza. He ploughed and tilled the ground; and spoiled the insignia of the Russian Order with which he had been decorated, whilst putting a hoop on a cask. It was in battle only that he appeared a warrior. When the Servians saw him approach surrounded by his Momkes, they took fresh courage. Of lofty stature, spare, and broad-shouldered, his face seamed by a large scar, and enlivened with sparkling, deep-set eyes, he could not fail to be instantly recognised. He would spring from his horse, for he preferred fighting on foot; and though his right hand had been disabled from a wound received when a Heyduc, he contrived to use his rifle most skilfully. Wherever he appeared, the Turks became panic-stricken; for victory was believed to be invariably his companion.

'In the affairs of peace, Kara George evinced, as has been shown, a decided inclination for a regular course of proceeding; and, although he could not himself write, he was fond of having business carried on in writing: he allowed matters to follow their own course for a long time together; but, if they were carried too far, his very justice was violent and terrible. His only brother, presuming on his name and relationship, took unwarrantable license; and for a long time, Kara George overlooked his misconduct: but at length he did violence to a young maiden, whose friends complained loudly; exclaiming, that it was for crimes of such a character that the nation had risen against the Turks. Kara George was so greatly enraged at this vile deed, that he ordered this only brother, whom he loved, to be hanged at the door of the house; and forbade his mother to mourn outwardly for the death of her son!

'Generally speaking, he was kindly disposed; yet he would readily accredit what was related to him in prejudice of another, although a short time before convinced of the contrary; and if once irritated and angry, he could not be restrained. He would not even pause to tell his Momkes to beat the offender to the ground, but he would himself slay his adversary: and he spared none. To the Knes Theodosi, he was indebted for his dignity: yet him he slew. When such an event had occurred, he would weep, and exclaim, 'May God punish him who gave cause for the quarrel!' Yet he was not vindictive: when he had once pardoned an offender, he never recurred again to the offence.'—pp. 202—206.

Such was the man to whom the Servians intrusted the conduct of their affairs. On the other hand, the sultan was not negligent of what the occasion required. A fierce struggle ensued, but the people were thoroughly in earnest, and they triumphed. Every house sent forth its volunteer, who neither asked nor received pay. The Spahis were discomfited on every

hand, and the Raja rapidly became a warlike people. At length, the Grand Signior commanded the Vizier of Bosnia, and the Pacha Ibrahim, of Scutari, at the head of the best troops of the empire, to reduce the province to obedience. For a time their course was victorious. The position of the Servians was in the last degree critical, and it appeared absolutely insane to many, to attempt open resistance. The spirit of Kara George, however, was unbroken. He determined to persevere, and by the rapidity of his movements and the boldness of his assaults, he weakened his enemies and strengthened the confidence of his own troops. The decisive struggle took place in August, 1806, and it more than vindicated the course of the Servian hero. The Turks were repulsed with great loss, and Belgrade and other important fortresses speedily fell into his hands. The cause of the victors was unhappily disgraced by a series of atrocities which rivalled those of the Turks. The old men shook their heads and said, 'they would have to atone for it,' but the younger ones exulted in the deed, and repeated it in other places. The formation of a Servian government followed, which developed some of the less favorable features of the character of Kara George. He was incapable of an enlightened estimate of liberty. Having suffered from the oppressive rule of the Turks, he had therefore fought against it; but his own administration became equally arbitrary, and the people consequently lost their interest in his cause. He was no longer the popular leader. There was no enthusiasm in the national mind, no patriotic passion pervading the mass of the people. They were disappointed, and became indifferent. They had experienced little more than a change of masters, and looked in vain for the relief and security which had been anticipated as the reward of their sufferings and bravery.

The natural consequence of this change was apparent, when the Turks, in 1813, resumed military operations against Servia. The people failed to respond to the appeals of Kara George, their chiefs were divided against each other, and the commander himself, as if paralyzed, did nothing worthy of his former reputation. His personal safety was insured by a retreat to the dominions of Austria, and Turkey was once more dominant throughout Servia. The country was abandoned to the merciless fury of its invaders, who inflicted a terrible retribution. 'Men were impaled, and children, in derision of the rite of baptism, were thrown into boiling water.' The Heyduc Weliko, one of the Servian chiefs, alone acted worthy of the occasion. He commanded the fortifications on the Danube; and had he been properly sustained, might have turned the fortune of the campaign. But the Servian chiefs were disunited, and preferred

the ruin of their country, to the success of a rival. The Turks directed their force against the position maintained by Weliko, who endeavored, with unequal powers, to arrest their progress. His fate was befitting his career, and calls to mind the indomitable resolution of an ancient hero. It is thus described by Professor Ranke :—

‘ When the Turks arrived, 18,000 strong, he was obliged to shut himself up in Negotin. It was then his delight to make sallies, day after day, and night after night; and thus to keep the besiegers constantly in a state of alarm. Compared with the losses which he caused them, his own were trivial: though he lost better soldiers, and each diminution of his numbers could not but be seriously felt. At last both parties were obliged to solicit aid—the Turks, from the Grand Vizier; and Weliko, from Kara George and the Senate.

‘ The Turks were not long unassisted. Retschep Aga, the Wallachian Prince Karadschia, and the grand Vizier himself led on a reinforcement. They made their way under cover of the night, and by mining, nearer and nearer to the fortifications. They battered down with their cannon one tower of Negotin after another; and lastly the highest, which was the residence of Weliko himself. Still he lost not his courage; but went down and lived in the vault. Every thing, of lead or tin, which could be found in the place, he melted into balls; not excepting even spoons and lamps; and one day, when all metal else was exhausted, he ordered his men to load their guns with pieces of money instead of bullets, and thus successfully kept off the enemy. If he could but have received assistance! On receiving Weliko's request for aid, Kara George, whose corps of reserve had never been brought into a state of efficiency, sent to Mladen. But Mladen's answer was:—‘ He may help himself! *His* praise is sung to him, at his table, by ten singers; *mine* is not: let him then keep his ground—the hero!’ The senate—to whom Weliko had written in the most severe terms, saying that, ‘ at Christmas he would inquire in what manner the country was governed!’—at length sent a vessel to him with ammunition; but it arrived too late.

‘ One morning as Weliko, according to custom, was going his rounds, and just when ordering the repair of a redoubt which had been damaged by the enemy, he was recognised—for the combatants were very near to each other—by a Turkish artilleryman, who aimed at him. The aim was true. Uttering the words, ‘ Stand firm!’ [*Drshite se!*] Weliko fell to the ground; his body lay torn asunder! His Momkes covered the corpse with hay, and in the evening buried it near the church. In vain they endeavoured to conceal the death of their leader; his absence was too grievously felt.’—pp. 281, 282.

Amidst the universal wreck one chief alone appears to have retained hope of his country. That chief was Milosch Obreno-

witsch. When entreated to seek his safety by flight, he replied, 'What will my life profit me in Austria, while, in the mean time, the enemy will sell into slavery my wife, and child, and aged mother? No! whatever be the fate of my fellow-countrymen shall be mine also.' For a time, however, he yielded to the storm, took office under the invaders, and endeavored to soften the rigors of Turkish rule. They were glad to avail themselves of his aid in re-settling the country, while he diligently watched the signs of the times and waited a seasonable opportunity. That hour was not long in coming, and the cruelties of the Turks accelerated its approach.

'In accordance with this cruel chastisement was the reckless tyranny by which the Turks thought to prevent further movements. Whilst again searching diligently for arms, for the insurrection had proved that there were still many weapons concealed, they perpetrated innumerable outrages. Mahometan gypsies would compel Servians whom they met to take off their good clothes, and receive their own ragged ones in exchange. Whatever might be found in the houses, in the way of clothing, the materials of which had not been made by the women, but purchased, was taken away. Frequently, whilst making this search, the Turks would fill bags, like those out of which horses eat, with ashes, tie them under the chins of the women, and, by beating upon them, cause the dust to ascend into their mouths and nostrils. Some were bound hand and foot, and thus suspended by the extremities; with heavy stones hung from the middle of their bodies. Some were flogged to death; others roasted alive on spits. Many other atrocities are known to have been perpetrated, which we must pass over in silence.'—p. 302,

On Palm Sunday, 1815, the standard of revolt was again formally raised, and Milosch proceeded with vigor and skill to direct its operations. The suddenness of the outbreak, and the rapidity with which it spread, insured its success. The Turks were everywhere defeated, and some of the strongest fortresses of the kingdom were wrested from them. They were taken by surprise, and the country was once more provisionally free. 'Milosch had conducted a campaign which would not lose by comparison with any that ever occurred in Servia. The promptitude with which he had appeared at Palisch—his well-arranged position when he opposed the Turks, far superior to him in force, at Ljubitsch—his persevering attack on the entrenchment of Poscharewaz—are worthy of all praise.' It was not, however, to be supposed, that the sultan would readily yield up his prey. On the contrary the most formidable preparations were made for re-establishing his authority. Two armies were assembled on the confines of Servia, when their

march was arrested by an apprehension of Russian interposition. Servian deputies appeared at the Congress of Vienna, and though the European powers generally looked on them with indifference, the ministers of Russia recalled to mind the peace of Bucharest, and interrogated the Porte respecting its infraction. The result was favorable to the Servians, and the authority of Milosch was gradually consolidated. One dark deed tarnished his fame. He informed the pacha, who still retained a limited jurisdiction, of the return of Kara George, and on being threatened with a renewal of hostilities, commanded Wuiza, with whom he was secreted, to send him his head. The command was obeyed, to the infinite disgrace of Milosch and his agents. Ambition probably instigated the deed, and the assassin hastened to reap its fruits. The revolt of Greece, by occupying the attention of the Porte, aided his policy, while the nominal supremacy ceded to it, soothed the pride of Turkey.

• Had the Grand Signior's hands been free, unquestionably he would not so quietly have allowed the Gospodar of Servia to unite the entire public authority in his own person. Under existing circumstances, however, he could not but be satisfied that a chief ruled in the country who kept the people under strict control, and prevented their participating in such schemes as tended towards the complete overthrow of the Turkish empire. In his entire deportment, Milosch always observed the external semblance of obedience: he made no claim to absolute independence; and the sultan had no reason to apprehend that he would take part in any demonstration excited by the Hetæria. Milosch observed amongst the adherents and friends of Ypsilanti, some members of the former Servian government whom he had excluded: the followers of the brothers Tscharapitsh, whom he had recently expelled, were equally hostile to his administration and to that of the Ottomans.'—p. 364.

We need not dwell on the revolutions which subsequently occurred. Milosch, like his predecessor, Kara George, was better qualified for the field of battle than the council-chamber. His notions of government had been formed under Turkish masters, and in the day of prosperity he consequently lost the goodwill which he had earned in the season of contest. He was compelled ultimately to resign, and his son, who succeeded him, did not long maintain his superiority. In June, 1843, Kara Georgewitsch, son of their most distinguished patriot, was chosen prince by the election of the nation, and continues at this time to rule over the people. He was born in 1806, and is represented as 'a young man of irreproachable

character, cheerful disposition, and agreeable manners.' The internal government of the country is entirely in the hands of the Servians, but the Turks still garrison Belgrade, which is the residence of a pacha, and a small annual tribute is paid to the Porte.

Much remains to be done before an enlightened observer can regard the condition of the people with complacency. Let us hope that their progress will be unchecked, and that the better knowledge of their condition, supplied to our countrymen by Mrs. Kerr's labours, will enable and dispose our rulers to exert their legitimate influence for their future welfare.

ART. VI.—*Sketches of the History of Christian Art.* By Lord Lindsay.
London : John Murray.

THE English historical school of painting has till lately been somewhat unfortunate in its followers, or *martyrs*, as they have preferred being styled. These have but too generally been deficient as artists; their degree of proficiency in practice, has been very small. Barry and Fuseli were equally wanting in most of the essentials requisite to a great painter. Neither made nature the subject of their imitation. They readily consented to employ their time in futile controversies, in inveighing against the taste of their age, or in endeavouring to maintain the immeasurable superiority of the historic to all other styles. But they were totally devoid of steadiness of purpose, or earnestness of working, sufficient to constrain them to that close study of, and reliance on nature, by which alone the painter can achieve anything genuine or lasting. Consequently, as efforts of men of undeniable genius, theirs are among the most unsatisfactory of any that can be instanced. The creations of the one are heavy, incorrect, and generally deficient in beauty. Those of the other can scarcely, at times, be recognised, as shadowing forth aught approaching the human. By natural organization, both were lamentably deficient in a faculty for colour. This is a want which, by careful study, can be in some degree rectified, and rendered less apparent; though the animating feeling which guides a born colourist, can never be supplied. Such study, however, was by them neglected. Fuseli, indeed, with his usual arrogance, pretended to look down on colour, as beneath the

attention of a professor of the 'grand style;' thus nursing his failing, and rendering nugatory whatever sense of his own shortcoming he might, at times, be visited with, instead of at once firmly and honestly applying a corrective. In *mind*, neither of these painters was deficient. They were possessed of just so much as to render their insufficiency, as *artists*, the more conspicuous.

With none of the constitutional faults, so obvious in the other two, can West be charged. Though by nature gifted with no great genius for colour, nor, indeed, for any of the higher artistic requisites, yet by diligent improvement of such faculties as were inherent in him, he attained to sufficient excellence to render most of his works satisfactory pieces of painter's craft, and, not unseldom, pleasing. But the *vital spirit* is wanting to them. Its presence is never acknowledged by the intellect, never recognised by the heart. Excepting one or two of his least ambitious performances, such as the 'Death of Wolfe,' and the 'Battle of La Hogue,' where genius really is manifested, and which serve to indicate in what vein he ought ever to have worked, he never *reaches* us. We in general look at his productions as at a superior species of paperhangings, as correctly filled pieces of canvass, and as nothing more.

Northcote stands in the same class, only much lower. If West were deficient in imagination, Northcote was destitute of even ordinary powers of *conception*. He was a *composer* of the lowest grade, groping his way through a picture, and scarce seeing an inch before him.

Neither Hilton nor Etty, nor any of later date than these, can be considered as belonging to the genuine list of that ambitious race—the English historical school, so full of soaring aspirations and proud pretensions, and, we must add, of very moderate performance. They have all sacrificed too much of the old assumed dignity of their predecessors, to be entitled in any sort to rank among them. We speak, of course, of men of real mark. Some few there are still, who follow in the steps of the bygone generation. Mr. Patten, for example, judging from the amount of canvass ordinarily occupied by him, and the air of pretension visible in his historical efforts (in his portraits he is a far truer artist), we should imagine to be one who, if classified at all, would fall under this head.

The last noteworthy, genuine representative of the old race, was Haydon. Infinitely superior in knowledge and power of design to Barry or Fuseli (as, indeed, to all his predecessors), he possessed a similar deficiency as to colour; this, indeed, from no lack of study or sound knowledge. His colouring, however, is in the last degree unsatisfactory. In all his pictures there exists

a total want of harmony in this respect. His figures are, for the most part, coloured after a most independent fashion, entirely irrespective of one another; something like the divisions of a geographic chart, or the sections of an anatomical plate: for distinction's sake. In his *lectures*, on the other hand, profound theoretical knowledge and appreciation of colour are displayed.

Throughout his *writings*, again, he manifests a most refined feeling for beauty. On his canvass, such is scarcely ever visible. So great was his abstract devotion to beauty, he even asserted that no picture can rightly demand or actually engage our entire sympathies, can be complete, which does not contain a beautiful woman; a sufficiently untenable proposition. It is one, moreover, were his own performances estimated by it, that would induce, we fear, the conclusion of there being but most limited room for sympathy in anything he ever did. We much doubt whether *two* really beautiful women could be collected from the whole range of his productions. His women are singularly free from this requisite. This absence of beauty is a characteristic not only of his women, but of his men. The same coarseness of feeling, or perhaps of *brush*, is shown throughout. His conceptions, on the other hand, are frequently fine; as, for instance, in the idea of the attitude and figure of Lazarus. His action, too, like West's, is appropriate; his stories plainly told; with much more of character than West ever realized. Often, however, from the desire of making his characters *forcible*, he allowed them to verge on caricature. Almost always rather the *characteristic* is given, than any profound character.

Like that other famed filler of large canvass, West, Haydon's self-esteem was immoderate. No subject was too high for him, and his treatment of it was always satisfactory—to himself at any rate. West's self-esteem, however, was more quiet in its manifestation, displaying itself more on his canvasses than in his speech. It *escaped* from him; he did not obtrude it. Haydon, on the contrary, was ever ready from his youth upwards, to disclose to the world his high opinion of his own merits. This led to much of the opposition and neglect he had to encounter. For nothing does the world find more intolerably and inexcusably offensive, or punish more severely, than a violent obtrusion of self-esteem. But it also served as an animating principle of his life. It sustained him long; enabling him to overcome many a stubborn obstacle in his path, many a hard reverse. The slackening of this self-confidence, induced by the neglect of the Commission and the obstinate indifference of the public, has been by some assigned, as mainly instrumental towards his end.

The conclusion we are compelled to arrive at after reviewing the whole of his efforts in painting, the only comprehensively

correct criticism to be offered, is, that nature never designed him for a great painter. He was a man of considerable general genius; but unfortunately, its particular direction in the field of art was not so decided. He was endued with a deep natural love and appreciation of art, together with somewhat of natural artistic capability. And it was his peculiar misfortune he possessed thus much, with an exclusive leaning towards the 'grand historic' style, and little more. In adopting the particular course he did, we conceive him to have been fundamentally mistaken. Like many others, he interpreted the influence effected on him by a particular kind of excellence in others, as the power of originating such himself. As if, as Goethe says, 'from the fragrance of the flower, we were to attempt to reproduce the flower itself.'

There were many of the elements of greatness in Haydon: much decision of character, indomitable resolution, and unfailing powers of endurance. Of late years, there have been few sadder or more startling occurrences than his tragic death, preceded and induced as it was by successive disappointments. The few extracts from his diary, published in the newspapers, revealed an entire mournful history of continuous earnest struggles, resolutely maintained in a path originally chosen from a firm, honest, though mistaken belief in its being a right one—of long sustained endurance of disappointment and defeat; till at length, his mind's fresh hopefulness grew weak and faint, and the life-long struggle abruptly closed.

The great defect with all who have hitherto essayed to establish an English school of historical painting has been, that they have failed to perceive what was wanted of them. They have fondly gazed on the excellence achieved by the old Italian masters; and the sole conclusion they have seemed capable of deducing has been, that by simply *imitating* their predecessors and by pursuing the identically same course of action, similar results would follow. In this their fundamental mistake has consisted. For, had they been gifted with all the artistic qualifications they so often lacked, if they had even been the equals of their great fore-runners, they still would have utterly failed. It is not by such means a school of high art is at any time to be founded.

In vain, as Allan Cunningham has expressed it, in vain was it for Reynolds to preach of the 'grand style,' for Barry to rave about the restoration of historical painting, or West, on academic rules to fill with lofty subjects proportionately lofty canvass, or Fuseli to seek wild vent for his pseudo-imaginative aspirations. Their deeds kept no pace with their professions. The faith was not in them. They worked not from feeling and

experience, not as exponents of their age and ministers to its necessities; but as the mere servile imitators of a bygone race of great men, alien to the country of their birth, and separated from their own time. They never remembered that the message they had to deliver, must necessarily differ somewhat from that required and given centuries before. All Reynolds's genius could not, when he attempted the 'historic,' raise him above the deadening influence of this want of a right governing principle of action; and as to the rest, their success was no greater. All possessed great artistic deficiencies; but their defects of execution would have proved far less conspicuous, had their appreciation of wherein their work really consisted been somewhat clearer.

To the credit of West, it is always honourably to be remembered of him, he was the first to introduce among us sane notions respecting the treatment of modern historical events. He was the earliest to discard a portion of the slavish subservience and pedantic falsity which so long had passed current. His 'Death of Wolfe' was the first work of excellence, in which the painter had dared to represent a modern historical fact in a manner somewhat similar to that in which it might possibly have occurred. Had it been less excellent, the influence of the work would not have proved of any importance. As it was, it founded a new era on this matter—that of common sense. This worst species of the mock-antique, no longer deadens and neutralizes the efforts of our painters. Seldom was this clear, resolute philosophy of common-sense more triumphant, or more beneficial. West proved eminently superior, in this respect, to his contemporaries; amongst these, Reynolds, who, on this, as on some other occasions, showed himself somewhat deficient in those higher mental qualities of courage and depth of insight, necessary to an originator, or even to an efficient reformer. He, with others, endeavoured to dissuade West from the attempt. The latter, however, quietly persevered; and, in the end, convinced his dissuaders of the truth of his principles.

To be influential and enduring, art must satisfy some want in the people to whom it is addressed; some sympathy in them, some spiritual yearning common to humanity,—in its specific form peculiar to one particular era or nation. How can this be effected by an empty repetition of effete forms of feeling, and by working out already exhausted fables and traditions—by forgetting, in fact, the living and breathing crowds around, and substituting, in their stead, empty visions of past excellence. The art of every country, in all its developments, in painting as in poetry, should be the expression of the national character, take its form from the soil whence it springs, should

reflect and develop the feelings of its own time, in order to lead and advance them. It must find its store in its own inheritance, taking for its purpose such matter as is capable of being used and sympathized with for its own sake. It must be essentially national, if it would be entirely human. The more this is its tendency, the more thoroughly national it is, the more it will in the end be universal; for, the more like a growth of nature. External nature, in order profitably to display her resources, produces a class of vegetation suitable and appropriate to our climate; and thus equal, though dissimilar, beauty is given, as is to be found amid the luxuriance of the tropics. But our historical painters, in order to approximate to the greatness of their predecessors of a different nation and by-gone age, have endeavoured to reach their end by labouring at works of precisely identical form and pretension, rather than by developing the resources at their own command, and so rivalling them on other ground.

It is true, many among the greatest Italian masters—those, at least, of latter date—often took subjects foreign to their belief, and estranged from their sympathies, embodied classic fables, and yet produced master-pieces, of their kind. But if we examine closely, we shall find that, in these cases, it is the *manner* of performance, almost exclusively, not (as it should be) subordinately, that excites our admiration. All is merged in the display of power; not the power exerted in the subject chosen.

It was not in this manner the Greeks themselves worked. *Their* art was always exclusively national. It was always their own religion and poetry Greek artists embodied, their own history and their own heroes they celebrated. It was feeling natural and appropriate to themselves, which prompted their working; the sympathies of their own people to which they appealed, and satisfied. And do their productions the *less* or the *more*, on this account, interest us? What was the consequence of the alien Greek influence upon Roman art, but degradation and inefficiency? The Greek system of working should be that of every nation. It has never been through the aid of others, greatness has been attained in any school. It must proceed from themselves, and from none besides.

It was thus, with the early Italians and Germans. It was thus, the excellence of all that has proved enduring of Flemish and Dutch art, was attained. Who now expends a thought on the hosts of imitators, lackeys to the Italians, with which Holland and the low countries were, at one time, filled? It was by cherishing and developing their own peculiar genius, by working out that amount of power actually accorded to them, they established a claim on our respect and admiration.

Thus, also, was it, early English art was formed, and sustained, until annihilated through the agency of religious changes. But it is by no means marvellous, that when revived a century since, its steps should at first have proved faltering and undecided. After so long a period of inanition, that its sight should have been somewhat confused, was only natural, and accordant with those conditions of development to which all art is subject. There is no greater disadvantage to a school, than its not having grown up with the youth of the nation, and gathered strength as the nation generally advanced in vigour. It is almost fatal to its right formation, its healthful, hopeful vitality. When art once again started into life among us, it was without a foundation—a blossom without a root. It had passed through no long struggling infancy. It had received no rough, self-acquired early education. It had not sought its way to the light, and found it, toilsomely and painfully, by degrees. It at once found itself invested with a certain amount of mechanical excellence, the product not of its own efforts, but of those of others. While striving to attain the greatness heretofore reached by other nations: unable to retrace its steps; thus working its way forwards by returning to the point whence such had started, and where itself had previously stopped short; it could not do other, in the commencement, than content itself with the mere reproduction of that artistic manifestation, previously relied on by those who in the race had so much exceeded it.

That which contributed to prevent so long the attainment of a fuller knowledge, and more healthful manner of working, consisted in the partial views entertained respecting the truly elevated in art. On this there constantly has been, and yet continues to prevail, much misconception and obliquity of vision. Barry and Fuseli deemed no work worthy of being ranked as of ‘high art,’ unless its subject were one prescriptively entitling it to such distinction, unless it were ‘historical.’ This system of judgment was carried by them and others to a most ludicrous extent. Fuseli could see nothing in Hogarth or Gainsborough—men whose works will be remembered and loved, when his own canvasses shall be forgotten, but occasion for slight and contempt. The meanest attempt in the ‘grand’ style, was in his eyes worthier of notice than the noblest genius otherwise employed. The domestic, with him, was *vulgar*; landscape, *topography*. According to such devotees of the historical, the finest, subtlest effort of thought and observation, in any other channel, must class below the most indifferent piece within that dignified circle. As if in poetry, all greatness were circumscribed to the epic; and the most tedious effusion in that sort were to take precedence of the exquisitest lyric, yet poured forth from deepest intensity of human emotion.

All set classifications must necessarily prove, and, in fact, always are, imperfect and unsatisfactory. Nothing can be conceived more impotent or absurd, than that system of classification customary among writers on painting. After assigning a particular designation to one description of subjects, styling such 'historical,' they confess inability to proceed further, by comprehensively and accurately applying the term 'genre,' or subject pieces, to all besides, with the exception of portrait and landscape. Even the definition 'historical' itself, is confined within very narrow, illogical limits. It is forgotten that the region of the historic is continually being extended as the world advances. According to the ordinary meaning, to be 'historical,' a subject must belong to a certain well known, worn-out range. If it do not, however historical it be, in fact, it is not admitted within the ranks. And of course, those works having only *social* reference to past times, essentially of all, the *most* historic, are entirely excluded. In a similar spirit, to many works the designation 'historical anecdotes,' is often given; merely because the subject is not identical with any of those previously chosen by the Italians; though, in reality, more purely historical than half the pictures that pass under that name. What were the subjects of a very large proportion of the religious and traditional pictures, now orthodoxly termed 'historical,' but ecclesiastical and historical fables, or at best, '*anecdotes*,' according to the sense in which the expression is employed by modern classifiers?

All these impotent distinctions (and we only notice them for the purpose of indicating thus much,) have their common origin in the slavish adherence to past forms of art-development—the lack of insight into the necessities of the present, the narrow-mindedness, in fact, characteristic of those who often sincerely love and appreciate ancient art, but are incapable of applying the lessons thence to be learned. Hence all the cant and flatulence on the subject. Hence all the big talk about the '*grand style*.' This, too, so frequently from men who neither understand nor appreciate it, but at second hand, from others, parrot-like; who in their hearts prefer any other style: as is saliently evidenced by the absurd discrepancy between the perpetual fervent *talk* among English connoisseurs, about the Italians, and their hearty *patronage* of the Dutch. Why are they not honest enough, and manly enough, at once boldly to avow their preference, and in so far as is possible, to justify it; at the least, *attempt* some justification?

We of the present day have undoubtedly advanced somewhat beyond the contracted vision of Barry and Fuseli. But there is still too much of the old feeling remaining. As to the choice of sub-

jects generally, Haydon for example, was one who saw by no means clearly. 'There was too much of the narrow, restricted meaning about his conception of 'high art.' He penetrated scarce deeper than his predecessors into the real extent of its field of working in this modern time. Though not so blind as Barry, who would devote himself to some stale, worn-out theme from pagan mythology, and then confidently look for the sympathy of all beholders; he yet did not arrive at any sure notions on this head. His idea seems to have been to take any subject from ancient or modern history indiscriminately, suitable for the illustration of some 'great principle;' as in his projected designs for the House of Lords. This on the face of it shows plausible enough. But we very much doubt whether art advances itself or the world much, by thus stepping forth as a professed *schoolmistress*. The little good she is by these means enabled to effect, can be much more forcibly and adequately accomplished, and with infinitely less trouble in other more legitimate channels. This mode of impressing tangible truths, through the agency of pictorial representation, is analogous to that once so fashionable, of conveying sound moral precepts through the instrumentality of lengthy poems: a very round-about way of compassing a simple object.

In all cases, the truth of a work of art is manifold, not finite. It lies at the heart, not on the surface. High efforts of painting or sculpture, like those of poetry, are full of purpose and significance to those whose perceptions are fine enough to detect such. But, those of the two former departments of universal art more especially; they are *suggestive*, not didactic, in their influence; their teaching rather to be *felt*, than *expressed*. It is by means of a powerful alchemy our moral and intellectual being is reached, and an inborn yearning within us satisfied. It is a subtile impulse that is exerted, not to be reproduced in other form. Whenever it can, at least, we may be sure very little has been done. For it is here, a fundamental principle, that the powers of one department of art have alone been rightly developed, when the peculiar language it speaks cannot be translated without severest loss.

Far preferable to Haydon's plan is that which has been adopted, of covering the walls of the new House of Lords with scenes from our national history. If this be done in the true spirit of the subjects chosen, and of art, 'principles' will be found deducible enough, as from the written history, by those who need them. Far more important truth also will be there. The real mission of art is not that of a moralist or of a metaphysician; but the interpretation of truth, more subtile, and less readily conveyable; the truth appreciable by *feeling*, not by simple

intellect. If the artist sedulously and accurately obey nature, and his own genuine impulses, much else too, besides what was in the first instance present to his own mind, will always follow, with others.

In regard to the absolutely true, genuine directions for the right exertion of a national English art, the utmost uncertainty still seems to prevail with many amongst us. We every year in our exhibitions see great talent manifested in the most heterogeneous modes: a scene from a modern novel, jostling an embodiment of a worn-out classic fable. In this latter, whatever extrinsic beauty and artistic excellence may be attained, the sympathy with the subject needful to the right healthful development of the artist's mind, and that requisite in the spectator being, of course, entirely wanting. Not very much longer, however, shall we continue to be led away by more high sounding words here, any more than elsewhere. Not very much longer will obedience be rendered by any, among the thoughtful, to connoisseur prejudices or conventional distinctions.

Let our artists, in the first instance, in whatever field they work, have *faith in nature*. It little matters what form art assume, if that be there. It teaches the artist all things. It is that which of itself suffices, which imparts genuineness and greatness to all it touches, and which, in fit hands, is sufficient foundation, however apparently mean and obscure the theme, for the noblest realizations. What, in poetry, is at the root of our preference of Shakspeare and the romantic drama, to the followers of the classic, but the superior truth of the principle on which the former worked? All the Elizabethan dramatists, and Shakspeare most, had undoubting faith in human nature. The followers of the classic drama never possessed this faith. They have always endeavoured by some factitious means to *improve* upon human nature, to make it show grand and magnificent, and raise it above itself. And, as a matter of course, in modern times at least, they have succeeded in totally nullifying and falsifying it. It is this faith we need in art, as to nature generally, whether human, or external and material.

In two directions, English art has already put forth developments, which, in more especial manner, call for note. Through the medium of *landscape* and the *domestic*, it has found an articulate utterance for itself, distinct and individual.

It is the latter to which we shall content ourselves with adverting further here. For this school, of the dramatically-domestic, has had its very origin with us.

Wilkie, at the commencement of the present century, here led the way for the present race of men. Hogarth, however, was its original founder, half a century before. He was at

once our first, and greatest, in this manner of working; the greatest *thinker* this, or indeed, any other department of English art has produced: into his works a larger amount of thought being infused, than into those of any other native artist. Though Hogarth's mind was so original that his productions stand entirely by themselves, apart from those of all others, yet the subject-matter of his works was always selected from domestic and ordinary, actual life. And, of course, he must be classed accordingly. If geniality be taken as an essential characteristic of this style, few could be classed as among its followers more correctly. Beneath all his stern satire, a genial, kindly, sympathetic spirit is at work ever. Because, however, his satire is on the surface most observable, it has generally been taken for granted, nothing could remain behind. That his tragic power was equal to that of his humour and wit, is now acknowledged. And, how any one can look at such pictures as the 'Distressed Poet' or the 'Enraged Musician,' and not recognize the kindly sympathizing feeling, latent throughout, as impressed tangibly on every incident, to us seems inconceivable. We mention these two, as examples of complete abandonment on his part to the feeling. Its influence is constantly to be met with, negligently thrown into others of his works of sterner character.

Wilkie revived the domestic school; as far as the present generation is concerned, he founded it. To these two, must the great credit be rendered when considering this school. Nothing more clearly testifies to its genuine English character, than that two different men at separate intervals, and under entirely opposite influences, from the unaided promptings of their own intellect and feeling, should thus have led the way, and have achieved the highest individual excellence. Here, in truth, there does exist the fullest scope for exertion; a noble field wherein to work. Whatever may be roundly asserted to the contrary, in high hands,—with such men as Hogarth, Wilkie, Leslie, Edwin Landseer, (when mingling human emotion with his favourite subjects for the exhibition of his rare power,) Mulready, and some among those younger men, who, in our own day, have risen up and compassed so much,—as Webster, Frith, and others, this is as fully a development of 'high art' as any. This really is a manifestation in one direction of our national spirit. It does in some measure address itself to our sympathies, and satisfy our intellectual wants. Ample room, too, may be here, and already has been found, for the infusion of ideal feeling, and the exertion of a poetic influence. The material for such is always at hand, near and around us, for him whose vision is sufficiently clear and healthful to recognise it.

It is not from scarcity of poetic food the world ever starves, but from lack of eyesight.

In this direction alone, the destiny of English art has already proved very high. By appealing to the characteristic domestic feelings and sympathies of the national heart, most noble functions have been, and yet remain to be performed. In poetry and in general literature, the most important results have been reached, by making a general appeal in this matter. And it has been practically, though not, perhaps, theoretically felt in painting, that results similar might be attained there.

Any other *actual* continuous development of a national art, besides these two of landscape and the domestic, we have not yet had. In portrait—that department of art wherein true greatness is rarest of achievement, the works of Reynolds stand alone, in their deep-reaching truth of characterization, and other lower artistic excellence; in spirit and in substance isolated from all that has succeeded; though occasional right-working—taken in a high exclusive sense, even here we have had, from the time of Reynolds's own contemporaries—Hogarth and Gainsborough, to our own.

In regard to the poetically directed efforts of men such as Hilton, Etty, and latterly Frost, in all which, with a fundamentally defective system of artistic working, so much of truth and beauty is combined; and those wholly original productions of such other fine and beautiful spirits as Stothard, Eastlake, and Leslie; these can scarce by themselves be considered, as amounting to more than the unordered *commencement*, of aught approaching a fresh original strain of artistic manifestation in this particular department.

To perform his work aright in this field, the painter must not content himself with mere *subservience* to the poet. He must not simply follow in the trail of the other's conception, but must work along with him. He must not be a mere *illustrator*, but an *originator*; in fact, substantially a poet himself, in some sort, a creator. He must naturalise the poet's thought in his own soil, incorporating with it his own ideas, and impressing on it the stamp of his own mind. It should be but the parent of a succession of others in his mind, and thus in the end, but the key-note to his fresh harmony.

The consequence of most having pursued an insuperably difficult, and were it attainable, incomplete mode—that of mere servile *translation*—has been, that little besides relative failure has followed the efforts to expound our national poetry. Our painters, with few exceptions of comparatively recent date, have not proved equal to the task. They have not transferred or manifested poetic thought on their canvass. The letter but not the spirit has been fulfilled. Though some have done fine things in their

way; none, perhaps, with the exception of Leslie, have stood forth as the fellow-workers of those whom they would illustrate. They have not shown themselves of the same mould with their poetic brethren, nor seated themselves beside them.

Modern poetry is somewhat restricted in its available range. That of the present century, as manifested by the highest poets of their respective generations, has been, and still remains, essentially contemplative in its imagination, often addressed directly to the mind and heart, without reference to material or available form. This we find in Wordsworth exclusively, in Coleridge and Shelley commonly; and in our own immediate day, in much of Tennyson, Hood, Browning, and others of our better poets; in all of whom the learning is for the most part spiritual. This offers ground for exultation, on the score of its proceeding from an extension of the field of poetry; new developments having thus arisen, and objects and events, previously never esteemed capable of such uses, being made subservient to the poet's purposes. But on the other hand, it affords occasion for regret, as separating the working range of the two arts, as tending to estrange the poet and the painter. The food on which the one can profitably subsist, is insufficient for the sustenance of the other. The subjects which oftentimes have received such a glory at the hands of the poet, and over which the brightest hues of heaven have by him been shed, are inadequate and useless to the painter.

Notwithstanding, however, the spiritual tendencies of modern poetry, on the one hand, and the melo-dramatic influences hanging by it on the other, there is here to be found fit food for the painter, if this latter will only *look* for it: with far-reaching, intelligent eye, seeking for material suitable to his purpose. Coleridge may be taken as an example. Such poems as 'Youth and Age,' and others of the same class, where to a subtle spirit of contemplative thought is united the deepest imaginative feeling, are only leading instances of the glory capable of being achieved by this art, on ground where the other can never enter. Nothing whatever, again, could be done towards idealising on canvas some others of his productions, in their own poetic individuality most exquisite, such, for instance, as 'Love;' no better realization of which should we ever get, than a common-place affair of a young man wooing a pretty girl; as was done to perfection a year or two since, by Cope. Much of his poetry, however, affords the fullest scope for the *master*. We must not confound the common-place, inevitable, from the character of the subject, with that flowing from the artist's own inefficiency. *Christabel* is throughout a continuous shifting picture. What opportunity there lies for deep, contrasted beauty, in the forest scene, where *Christabel* prays: from out of the midst of the wintry, desolate

landscape, that kneeling form, with the cold moonlight glancing down, arising in her spring freshness and delicacy, as the embodiment of chastened earthly purity. Again, what scope for elevated, subtile human expression, such as Leslie himself, or Eastlake (and, at the present day, these alone), might worthily render, in her heaven-raised countenance, when awakening from the trance. And so, in some other parts of the same poem.

In Shelley, a much wider field presents itself, than in Coleridge. Notwithstanding the prevalence of contemplative imagination and metaphysical speculation, many are the sensuous shapes of beauty, fit for art's purposes, called up by this poet: as in 'Cenci,' 'Prometheus Unbound,' and even in portions of the 'Revolt of Islam,' apart from its obscurities. In our own day, what fine opportunity exists for the elevated working of a fellow-artist, amid that world of tangible (apart from the purely spiritual) creations of beauty, we possess at the hands of Tennyson!

In *sculpture*, less than in any other department of our art, it has been done. The only directions in which it has ever been legitimately employed among us, consist of monumental and portrait sculpture. No other development do we possess. For it is impossible to give rank, as such, to the classic *copying*, and aimless, purposeless trifling, with which, when not otherwise engaged, our sculptors amuse themselves. Contrary to the course of art in Greece and Italy, where sculpture far preceded painting, in attaining excellence, *our* sculptors have lagged lamentably behind our painters. They seem only very occasionally to have harboured the slightest suspicion, that modern sculpture was born to any other function, after supplying us with monuments and portraits, but that of the eternal, sickening, verbatim reproduction of the old classic embodiments.

Nothing can be conceived more degrading to art in general, or more contrary to its first essential principles of being, than this mechanical manufacturing, this interminable *squeezing* of beauty out of a set, lifeless round of subjects: cupids with bows, cupids without, cupids in a platter; dancing nymphs, and reposing nymphs, and nymphs preparing to bathe; and so on. What is it all, but *playing at art*; bartering its power, and influence, and heart-homage, for toys, and nonentities, and lip applause? Surely in the range of our own poetry alone, there exists inexhaustible scope for noble exertion; more extended, even, than that it presents to painting. For that which under the hands of the painter is incapable of being other than common-place, often admits of entire idealization amid the severity and simplicity of sculpture.

None of those, however, who have cultivated the so-called

‘poetic sculpture,’ have perceived this. And the ground of the ill success of those, who, like Banks and others, have devoted themselves thereto, has lain entirely in themselves. They have never looked beyond their studio. All they have conceived to be *their* part, has been the continuance of the classic manufacture, with as much mechanical skill as may have been attainable; and the *patron’s*, without scruple, to expend his floating capital in such satisfactory investments. Our great sculptor, Flaxman, did in the sequel, see further than this. He was long the slave of the antique, but, in the end, he departed more and more from it in practice. In his religious monuments, he struck out an entirely new course, that of simple, scriptural composition. Into this he threw an appropriate severe, protestant character, free from the influence of the antique, on the one hand, as from that of Romanism, on the other. Otherwise, (in marble, that is, apart from his designs), he possessed either no desire or no opportunity of proceeding further than the rest.

Even where modern sculptors are compelled to take modern material for embodiment, as in public statues, they yet cling to antique costume. The false taste, for the most part abolished by West, in our historical painting, still prevails in our sculpture. As long as this continues, nothing great can here be looked for. None, however, have hitherto arisen, possessed of sufficient originality or courage, voluntarily to discard the worn-out, degrading prejudices that reign among artists and connoisseurs; and to follow the example already set in painting. Our senators still sit in all the borrowed dignity of the sculptured toga; our warriors and poets stand in loose, incomprehensible array,—by the imaginative, styled robes,—by the profane, dressing-gown. Stimulated by public common-sense, modifications have latterly sometimes been attempted: loose, indeterminate struggles to escape the fetters of an ignorant pedantry, generally resulting, however, in a mongrel compromise between the old and the new, even more unsatisfactory than a stricter adherence to the antique fashion.

Let us, instead of living for ever in the past—an artificial, unreal life—live a new, earnest one, in the present and the future. We are, perhaps, advancing towards a time when more imposing manifestations of art than any we have yet had, will be developed,—when, out of the confusion, in this respect, of the present, certainty and order will shape themselves. What may prove the course of development of such new forms, is not now with distinctness to be pronounced. No inconsiderable portion of their greatness will lie in the artist’s really seeing the right way, and following it. Of this we may rest assured, they will not, if genuine, consist of a vain reproduction. All history

tends to prove this. Whether we take Greeks or Italians, we shall find the same principle ever unconsciously, but surely acted on in the creation of enduring excellence: that of *self-reliance*, the result of a natural, inherent vitality, preventing their artists from long depending on any others than themselves. According as this intrinsic, eternal constituent of all genuine power was more or less present, was a larger or smaller amount of genuine success obtained. This is at the foundation of all greatness in art; in the highest as in the lowest degree. And the same noble results which have attended its presence in some developments of our art, would follow its adoption in the rest. Without it, we arrive at nothing but falsehood and perversion: spurious, unreal *mockeries* of excellence, reflexes of the past, shadows for substance.

ART. VII.—*Five Years in the East*. By R. N. Hutton. 2 vols., 12mo.
London: Longman and Co.

THESE are two volumes of light, pleasant reading, the object of which is to give 'a matter of fact account of places and people.' They consist of the observations made during different voyages, and embrace, therefore, a much larger number of places than would be visited in any one trip. Those readers who seek for eastern romance will be disappointed, but such as are content with simple information, conveyed in an unpretending style, and accompanied by remarks which, in general, are indicative of good sense and sound feeling, will be pleased with the insight afforded into the condition and habits of various people. The outward voyage, which is described at disproportioned length, occurred in the latter half of the year 1844, and was distinguished by no circumstance of extraordinary interest. Mr. Hutton possesses the happy faculty of making himself at home on both elements, and was consequently cheerful where many others would have been depressed or irritable. He is no believer in the monotony of a sea life, but found both amusement and information in the circumstances which daily occurred. We are sorry to note his remarks on the habits of religious people, in the account given of the mode in which Sunday is observed at sea. When he speaks of the 'would-be-good people on shore,' and represents their time as employed 'in interminable and worse than idle controversies, upon points which they do not understand, and whose only tendency is to foster the

principles of self-sufficiency and dissent,' he evidently goes beyond his record, and talks of matters on which he is uninformed. His language betokens the common prejudice of irreligious men, and serves rather to discredit his judgment, than to raise our estimate of the spiritual condition of British sailors. It may be quite true that religious people are faulty in many respects, and that, in well conducted ships, the forms of Christian worship are observed on a portion of the Sunday, but it still remains an indisputable fact, that irreligion and manifold vices are the general characteristics of our seamen. We have no pleasure in stating this fact. We should not even have alluded to it, but for the strong expressions of our author, whose zeal in this matter evidently exceeds his discretion, and prompts him to a hasty judgment on topics with which he is very partially acquainted. Happily, he does not again advert to the subject, and we pass on to the other and more interesting portions of his work. Near the Line they were becalmed for some days, and during the night the stars were observed down to the very horizon.

'A curious circumstance,' says Mr. Hutton, 'occurred a day or two afterwards, with reference to stars being visible so low in a calm. We were in company with five other ships, which were also waiting for the breeze; and in such situations vessels are often brought much closer together by little flaws of wind, without having apparently been moving. It was, therefore, necessary to keep a good look out during the night, that these other ships did not come too near. At about ten o'clock, the officer of the watch reported a light on the starboard bow, and the captain accordingly went on deck to look for the vessel. There was the light plainly visible, but, upon watching it for a short time, it turned out to be the planet Jupiter, which was just rising out of the water, but so large, and apparently so close, as fully to warrant the conclusion that it was a vessel's light, especially as one was known to be in that direction. But the most absurd part of the affair was, that, believing it to belong to one of the ships, the supposed signal was answered by a lantern being hoisted at our peak: this was for ever after a joke against the officer who answered Jupiter's signal.' —Vol i. p. 52, 53.

The 'Worcester,' in which our author sailed, called at Ascension, and the account given of the island is not likely to place it in the route of pleasure-tourists. It is a barren rock, entirely dependent for provisions on England, and is held by the Admiralty as a depot for stores for the African station. There is no spring on the island, and the inhabitants are entirely indebted to the dew for their supply of water. Rain does not fall for twelve months together, and numerous tanks and other recep-

tacles are therefore placed wherever any dripping of the dew is perceived ; and the water thus collected is conveyed, by means of pipes, to the town, where it is served out every morning, at the rate of a gallon per day for each person. The town consists of about a dozen houses, and the number of inhabitants is of course very small. Fishing excursions and a pic-nic party to the summit of the Green Mountain, diversified Mr. Hutton's sojourn at this uninviting port, so that the fortnight spent there 'was passed with less ennui than would be supposed to be inevitably felt in a place of so dreary a description.' From Ascension he proceeded to St. Helena, and thence to the Cape, whence they made sail for Calcutta, of which an extended and interesting account is given. Some of our readers will probably be surprised at the following :—

'To return to the fashionable part of Calcutta, which answers to the west end of London, although it is here the east end. Were a stranger suddenly dropped into one of the streets in this part, and all natives, buffalo carts, and such other occupants of an Indian thoroughfare removed, it would be hardly possible for him to tell that he was not in an European town. The shops display as numerous a collection of articles as those in England, and on either side of him he sees magnificent hotels, equal to any, and superior to the greater part, of those at home ; then there are the carriages of the ladies going shopping, or the gentlemen on their way to their offices, continually rolling past, and all the usual evidences of the luxuries attendant upon wealth, in the grandeur of the houses around him. All doubt as to the fact of this being India is, however, presently dispelled, by the yelling of fifty voices, who are incessantly shouting, 'Palkee.sahib,' 'Sahib palkee,' in hopes of getting a fare for their palanquins, which are really one of the greatest conveniences that were ever devised, and even superior to our omnibusses, for this reason, that they carry you where you like, set you down at any particular point, and there wait for two or three hours, or half a day, if you will, and all for the very moderate charge of about two shillings a day.'—Ib. pp. 164, 165.

There is too much truth, we fear, in the subjoined passage, though, for the honor of our fair country-women, we trust the picture is overcharged. We give it, however, as drawn by our author, and shall be glad to learn that an improved tone of morals is consigning the system to the category of things that *were*. Speaking of the race-course, Mr. Hutton says :—

'In addition to its being the favourite evening drive, the race-course is one of the principal auction marts for the sale of an article of which a large supply is imported annually from England ; we allude to young ladies, who are sent out here as a mere matter of speculation, and in the regular business like manner consigned to an agent, whose duty it is to dispose of them to the best advantage.

For this purpose, a carriage is kept, in which the poor girl is placed, after having been made to look as pretty as possible, and is driven about the race-course every evening, until she is seen, admired, and bought, by some rich old colonel, whose age would befit the character of grandfather better than a husband. Such preposterous alliances never turn out happily, as, indeed, how should they? What thoughts or wishes can a young girl of seventeen have in common with an old man of sixty? And such are Indian marriages. The girl is, perhaps, considered lucky in having caught a colonel; but can she look upon him in any other light than as a person kindly provided by nature to find her with means to indulge in extravagance and live in luxury, which she might otherwise have wished for in vain: but has it not been obtained at the price of happiness, and, what is still worse, does it not involve a temptation to crime, which is almost too strong for human frailty to withstand? So barefaced is the system pursued, that should the agent (for the girl herself is not at her own disposal) be on the point of concluding an agreement with some young man who has six or seven hundred rupees a month, and suddenly hear of an old man who has a thousand, and who wishes to become a purchaser, the first engagement is broken off, *sans ceremonie*, and the young lady's *affections*! transferred to the new *lover*! By these means, any girl that is not absolutely ugly can acquire a fortune, the only stock in trade that is required being a few dresses, and other vanities, and the only art being that of lolling gracefully in a carriage.'—Ib. pp. 161—163.

The streets of Calcutta are generally clean, and, in the European part of the town, broad and open. The adjutant acts the part of a scavenger, and entitles himself to public gratitude by immediately clearing away whatever would taint the air by becoming putrid. 'They present a very singular appearance, when collected together in large numbers on any particular building, for they dispose themselves at such regular distances, and sit for hours together so immovable, that they might readily be mistaken in the dusk of evening, for stone ornaments.'

At Java, which our author touched, on his voyage to China, he notes a curious fashion, that amusingly illustrates the caprices of taste. White teeth are with us universally coveted, but the Javanese are at considerable pains to dye their teeth black, 'which they consider a great ornament, and compare all who prefer the natural colour to monkeys or dogs.' It is difficult to account for their preference, but some of our own habits are equally absurd. Speaking of the productions of the island, Mr. Hutton says, referring to a period prior to the relaxation of our commercial code,—

'It is generally believed that anything which is produced by unnatural means, such as in a hot-house, etc., must be very far inferior

to the same fruit or vegetable when grown without the assistance of art, and that, therefore, a pine apple in India must be vastly superior to one grown with so much trouble and expense in England; this, however, is not so, for there is a great difference between them certainly, but the advantage is upon the side of the English one in point of flavour; and for this reason, that, although the real native may get on best during the day, when it has the advantage of a powerful sun, yet it receives a check at night from the heavy dews, which its artificial rival in the hot-house does not feel. It is, however, pleasant and novel to the stranger just fresh from England, where he has been accustomed to look upon a pine-apple as a treat for grand occasions, to be able to walk through fields, and pick one as he would a turnip, perhaps taking a single slice out of the very best part, and throwing away the rest of one which at home would be worth a pound or two. So little are they valued here, that they are used for cleaning any iron work which has become very much corroded with rust, as they contain a most powerful acid, which acts upon the steel in such a manner, that it is a common practice with the Malays to steep their creeses in the juice, which then becomes a most deadly poison, rendering death inevitably consequent upon a wound.'—*Ib.* pp. 213, 214.

The existence of the upas tree, of the destructive qualities of which such fabulous accounts are given, is denied; but a tree is said to exist, the poisonous quality of which is confined to its juice. There are few places on which the gifts of nature are so abundantly bestowed as Java, its whole extent presenting the appearance of a rich and beautiful garden.

At length they approached the Celestial Empire, and were apprized of its vicinity by the appearance of large numbers of fishing-boats, some of which were fallen in with more than a hundred miles from shore:—

'Upon a nearer approach,' says Mr. Hutton, 'we perceived a small boat evidently making for us, and, with the assistance of our glasses, we could see a man standing up in her, and waving a small red flag. Having placed his boat in such a position that we must pass very close to him, he very quietly lowered his sail, and waited for our approach. As we were now sailing at the rate of six knots an hour, he had not long to remain idle, for in the course of about twenty minutes we were within a hundred yards of him, and then, watching his opportunity, and calculating his distance to a nicety, his sail was again hoisted, and at the next minute the boat shot alongside, hooked on to the ship, and, in a very few seconds afterwards, its principal occupant, who was a pilot, was on board, without our having had the trouble of stopping, or even slackening the speed of the vessel, in order to pick him up. So admirably do these men manage their boats, that it very seldom indeed occurs that they miss a vessel, let her be going ever so fast. Their first care, upon coming on board, is to inquire, of the first person they see, what the captain's name is,

and what ship he commanded before ; which information having been obtained, they then go up to the captain, and, pretending to recollect a well-known face, address him with, ' Ah, Captain Smith, how you do ? I 'member you last voyage.' In order to test the accuracy of this assertion, the captain will probably reply. ' Do you ; what ship was I in ?' For this the Chinaman is prepared, and immediately answers correctly.'—Ib. pp. 249, 250.

The pilots are represented as exceedingly able men, very skilful in their profession, and distinguished in many cases by the ' pompous gravity ' of their country. Hong Kong, the port first made, affords safe anchorage to any number of vessels at all seasons of the year, and partakes much more of an English than of a Chinese appearance. ' It contains many very handsome and well-built houses, belonging to the European part of the population, whilst, at the same time, the shops of the natives are good, well filled, and numerous.' The stranger who expects to see much of Chinese habits, will be grievously disappointed ; for the dwellings and shops, the hotels, the loungers, and the groups of naval and military officers whom he sees, all bear the impress of Europe rather than of the region in which they are found. ' In fact,' says Mr. Hutton, ' Hong Kong is not China ; nothing about it is Chinese ; and a stranger visiting Hong Kong only, would have no more idea of the manners, customs, and appearance of the country, than if he had never stirred out of England. It is literally nothing more than an English depot, and may be looked upon as an English town, to which a great number of Chinese tradesmen have been attracted by the hopes of gain.' Respecting the salubrity of the place, our author takes the favorable side ; and it is impossible to deny that there is good sense in the following considerations, which he urges on behalf of his views :—

' As to its insalubrity, too many of our brave fellows have been carried off, to admit of the fact being disputed ; but there still remains this question to be answered, Would not any other part of a country, in which fever and ague are so prevalent, have been equally fatal to men who had lately arrived from so totally different a climate ? This chief cause of complaint is, however, now in a great measure, if not entirely, removed by the improvements which have been made within this last year or two, and as good health may now be enjoyed at Hong Kong, as in any other part of China. As a proof of the alteration which has taken place in its state since it has fallen into our possession, no stronger argument can be adduced, than that it is now the head quarters of our principal merchants, who have removed here *with their wives and families*, which we should hardly suppose they would do, if it still deserved the ominous name of the Valley of Death. The cause from which this originated has however now passed away, and the attention of the inhabi-

tants having been turned, in self defence, to devising the best means of rendering the town healthy, it is to be hoped that, at the end of the next ten years, the bills of mortality will be able to present a tolerably low average."—*Ib.* p. 257.

The merchant to whom their cargo was assigned being a resident at the Portugese settlement of Macao, they remained at Hong Kong only one day. The appearance of the former place betokens rapid decay, which is sufficiently accounted for by the new outlets to Chinese commerce, which have recently been opened. 'What was once a flourishing town, and the chief seat of European intercourse, has now sunk into a place of little importance.' From Macao they proceeded to Whampoa, where, for the first time, they felt themselves to be in the Celestial Empire.

'We were now,' says Mr. Hutton, 'fairly in China, and evidences of the country were visible on all sides, but still there were English ships and boats, and all the natives about us speaking English, with as much ease as if it had been their own language, which considerably spoilt the effect of the first arrival. Still, however, there was much to be seen and to be wondered at; there were the men with their long tails reaching down to the ground; the women with their frying-pan faces, and hair done up in the form of a tea-pot handle; and the little children with immense eyes, and a lump of wood tied to their backs, in order to prevent their being drowned, in case they should fall out of the boats in which they were born, and which will be their only home. These children, when very small, are carried by their mothers, on their backs; and it is no uncommon sight to see a woman either pulling or steering a boat, with her child fastened behind her by a piece of coarse cloth.'—*Ib.* p. 279.

Whampoa is but a village in the neighbourhood of Canton, and the latter place consequently attracts all visitors. The river leading to it is crowded with boats, in which a large population are born, live, and die. 'They form an entirely distinct portion of the community, having regulations and laws peculiar to themselves, and are not allowed to marry into the families of any but their own people.' The utmost order prevails amongst them, and they are 'clean, happy, and contented.' The Chinese are usually regarded as a faithless and perfidious people, but our author contends that this opinion is founded on insufficient data, and that in their dealings with each other they are strictly honest. 'With equal justice,' he says, 'might a foreigner ascribe the same faults to us, when his whole experience has been confined to the Ratcliff Highway, which is a much fairer sample of the tradesmen of England, than Canton is of those of China.' In exploring the town, they witnessed

an occurrence which thrilled them with horror, and which, at the time, was regarded as confirmatory of the worst accounts they had received of the moral state of the community. We give the narrative in Mr. Hutton's own words:—

‘At a corner of a street we perceived a man talking angrily to a little boy of about fourteen years of age, who appeared, by the rapidity of his utterance and various gestures, to be making some retort which increased the rage of the man, who, becoming red in the face, and exhibiting all the symptoms of excessive passion, finally struck the boy with such force as to knock him down; then kneeling upon his arms to prevent his moving, he produced a knife, and drew it swiftly across the boy's throat, notwithstanding the most violent struggles to prevent it: the blood now flowed plentifully over the poor child's neck, and with the most frightful expression of fiendish passion, the man walked off. Upon our expressing no small surprise that such a diabolical murder should be committed in a public street in broad daylight, and yet the murderer be allowed to go unpunished, our guide very coolly replied, that we should see what would happen presently. Our imagination, of course, pictured to itself a mandarin suddenly appearing, and ordering the murderer to be strangled, or some such summary proceeding; but what was our surprise when we beheld the very man who had committed the deed come quietly back, and, after lifting the boy's hand and letting it fall listlessly down again, as if with the intention of seeing if he really had killed him, at length take him by the arm and raise him up, when, to our great astonishment, the lad opened his eyes, and showed us that the whole affair had been nothing but a trick, for the successful performance of which he proceeded to collect the small coins which were being showered in from all sides.

‘After having been once seen, this trick has nothing so very wonderful about it, as the boy is of course a confederate, and the whole mystery of the throat cutting lies in the knife, which is so contrived that the handle contains a quantity of blood, which, by a very simple contrivance, is discharged on to the boy's neck at the same moment that the blade is drawn across it; but still the whole is a most admirable piece of acting, especially on the part of the boy when dying, and, in order to excite the public sympathy to the highest possible point, a lad is generally selected whose appearance is the most interesting, and most likely to create the strongest feeling of compassion.’—*Ib.* pp. 309—311.

From China our author proceeded to Ceylon, and thence to Bombay. The natives of the former are represented as ‘a very effeminate and indolent race;’ and the following custom which prevails amongst them is sufficiently remote from our own habits to deserve record. Whatever advantages may flow from it, must be far more than counterbalanced by the evils to which it gives rise:—

‘Love and courtship having gone on in the usual way for a sufficient length of time, until both parties have decided upon fixing their affections

upon the other, the indissoluble knot of hymen is not tied at once, for fear that they might have occasion to repent it when too late; but by mutual agreement they live together for three or four months, in order to be able to judge of each other's tempers, and if the result be satisfactory, the match is ratified, and the ceremony performed, but if not, it is broken off without the slightest hesitation. That this custom prevailed in England is no doubt wished by many, who, having been fascinated by a pretty face, have found to their cost that they have 'caught a Tartar.'—Vol. ii., p. 43.

Our traveller, like all other Englishmen, was, of course, desirous of witnessing the pearl-fishing of the neighbourhood. The best banks lay off the island of Manaar, about three or four days' cruise from Ceylon, and a party having been made up for the trip, he proceeded thither, and gives the following account of what he saw. His description is wanting in the more marvellous features of some other narratives; nor is our confidence in his veracity diminished thereby. He says:—

'The vast quantity of boats which are assembled in one place being merely so many repetitions of the same process, we will confine ourselves to one, in which there are eight, ten, or twelve divers, according to the size of the boat, or the wealth of the owner. These men are divided into two gangs, one half being in the boat, whilst the others are diving; when these come up, the others go down, and by this alternation the work never stops, whilst at the same time rest is given to each gang in turns. These men, however, have nothing to do with pulling the boat, for there is a distinct crew for that purpose, as also to unload the cargo when brought to the shore. The divers have been from their infancy accustomed to the water, and appear to be quite amphibious; but the strange accounts of the wonderful length of time which they remain under water, is a complete exaggeration. In no instance did we ever see one of them remain down longer than two minutes, which, however, is quite sufficient for them to be able to collect an enormous number of oysters, which they put into a net-work bag, which is slung round their necks for that purpose. Their chief source of fear is the ground-shark, which proves a formidable enemy, although the men are almost as much at home in the water as the fish himself; and many have been known to attack a shark, and actually kill him in his own element: to the generality of them, however, he is a source of great terror, and it is a common practice with all divers to go to a conjuror for a charm against sharks, without which they would not venture to go down. These conjurors, who, we need scarcely say, are gross impostors, make a frequent practice of going with one of the boats for greater security (as they say) to the men, who are only too delighted to have their company. Their real object, however, as may be readily conceived, is to steal one or two fine pearls, which amply repay them for their trouble. To this the owner, although seeing through the trick, dares not object, or pretend to doubt the power of these vagabonds, for the men would instantly leave him, and the consequence would be that he would be left without divers, and

lose the whole of his profitable trade. It is, therefore, found to be the best policy to wink at this system, and bear the pillage with as good grace as possible, or even conciliate the conjuror by an occasional present; it must, however, be excessively mortifying to the owner's feelings to find that the best pearl of the season has fallen into the hands of this fellow, whom he knows to be an arrant knave, and yet is obliged to admit his power, and, moreover, cannot by any means get rid of him.'—*Ib.*, pp. 45—47.

Passing over Bombay, in which there was little to describe, we accompany Mr. Hutton in his homeward voyage by Suez, and thence across the desert to Cairo. The arrangements of the Oriental Steam Company for the security of passengers and their luggage, are spoken of very highly, and appear to deserve all the praise that is given. The desert was crossed in vans, containing six persons each, which were drawn by four light Arab horses; and though some inconveniences and minor accidents are, as a matter of course, encountered, serious casualties very seldom occur. On their approach to Cairo, Mr. Hutton tells us:—

'Our attention was first arrested by a number of small mud heaps, which were arranged along the outer side of the wall of the city, and more nearly resembled a collection of beaver huts than what they really were, namely, human habitations. How it is possible for any race of beings, having the nature and habits of man, to exist in such holes, must be a matter of surprise, not only to the stranger, but even to those who are accustomed to pass them every day. The very worst cabin in Ireland, which is indeed using a strong comparison, is actually comfortable, clean, and healthy, compared with the burrows (for we can hardly call them huts) of the wretched Caireens, which are nothing more than so many mud heaps, with a small aperture at the bottom through which the poor creatures must crawl into their dens.'—*Ib.* p. 200.

All of our readers have doubtless heard of the snake-charmers of Egypt. They are an ancient race, and their feats have been repeated with various exaggerations in all quarters of the globe. Our author witnessed one of their performances, and his account of what he saw will be read with interest. He says:—

'In the centre of the courtyard were two large snakes, which were performing a species of *dance*, as it would be called in the language of exhibitors, but consisted only of alternate rising and falling of the body. The charmer then took them up in his hands, and allowed them to twine themselves round his neck and arms, during the whole of which performances a boy kept up an incessant drumming upon a small *tum-tum* or Arab drum, the sweet sounds of which were supposed to have the effect of so fascinating the snakes, that they became quite tractable and harmless, although of a venomous description. This latter part of the

story we felt disposed to doubt, as we imagined that all the venom had been extracted ; but upon our intimating this to the man, he sent for a small bird, which was placed upon the ground with its legs tied, in order that it might not fly away, and the result was certainly surprising ; so long as the music continued, the bird remained unharmed, but the instant that it ceased, one of the snakes discovered its victim, and, darting upon it, gave us convincing proofs of its destructive powers. The fact is, that these men, from constant practice, become so well acquainted with the nature of the animals, that they can tell by their appearance how far they can proceed with impunity ; for the snake is far from a vicious animal, and although possessed of so great a power to be used on emergencies, it is not naturally disposed to make much use of it : even in an excited state, they are easily tranquillized by the sound of music, of which it is well known that they are passionately fond, and become so fascinated, that their anger is instantly dispelled ; and so long as the music continues, they remain perfectly tractable, appearing really to enjoy it, as is indicated by the waving of their heads, usually called dancing.'—Ib. pp. 227—229.

We are sorry to observe the tone in which Mr. Hutton refers to the slave-market of Alexandria, and to the system of which it forms part. 'This system,' he says, 'of human traffic appears most iniquitous to us, simply because we do not comprehend it.' And what is the defence attempted, but the clearest and fullest proof of our charge ? The victims of this atrocious system are born under it ; they are reduced to its level ; are divested of all social affections ; and so far brutalized as to look to the harem as a place of distinction, and to its capricious lord as a possible lover. Personal respect and moral principle are first extinguished, and the contentment then felt with their wretched lot is adduced as proof of our 'pseudo-philanthropy' in pitying their condition. Such sentiments are unworthy of an Englishman, and must have been penned, like those respecting the religion of sailors, in utter thoughtlessness and profound ignorance. We the more regret such views, as, apart from these topics, there is much in our author's volumes to amuse and inform an intelligent reader.

- ART. VIII.—1. *The Crisis of Popular Education*. By Professor Hoppus. 8vo. pp. 247. London: Snow. 1847.
2. *Education*. By Thomas Binney. 8vo. pp. 72. London: Jackson and Walford. 1847.
3. *Two Lectures on National Education*. By the Rev. R. S. Bayley, F.S.A. 4to. pp. 21. London: Groombridge and Son. 1847.
4. *The Edinburgh Review for October, 1847*. Art.—‘Prevention of Crime—Popular Education.’
5. *The British Quarterly Review for November, 1847*. Art.—‘The Education Controversy—What has it done?’

PROFESSOR HOPPUS has very happily selected the title of his book. The crisis of popular education is arrived; and no man has a fairer claim than Dr. Hoppus to the attention of his country, while discoursing on the matters it involves, and endeavouring to conduct it to specific issues. We have classed four other publications with his elaborate production; because, while differing from it in many respects, they each assert or presuppose the same great fundamental principles. Mr. Binney, indeed, asserts these principles in a very cautious and well-guarded manner; but that they impart a characteristic complexion to his letter to Mr. Kay Shuttleworth is too obvious to be denied. It is the appendix to his pamphlet, containing the letter we have mentioned and a few subjoined remarks, with which we are concerned in the present article. The pamphlet itself, consisting of ‘two addresses delivered at Mill Hill, the first on the public day in the year 1842, the second on April 15th, 1847, at the introduction to the chaplaincy of the school, of the Rev. Samuel S. England,’ contains a large amount of holy and most useful wisdom, and is eminently fitted to suggest both to parents, ministers, and teachers, on the one hand, and, on the other, to the youthful objects of their care, some of the most serviceable trains of thought which they can severally pursue. The third publication to which we refer is from the pen of Mr. Bayley of Sheffield, and is altogether devoted to the great question to which we have once more drawn our readers’ notice. We regret that the temper of this pamphlet is such as it is impossible to praise. We shall allude to a few of the writer’s argumentative statements; but shall carefully refrain from contact with those portions of his Lectures which appear to us pervaded with envenomed feeling towards his spiritual brethren. We especially regret, however, that the spirit of the

Article in the 'British Quarterly Review,' the fifth of the documents we have to notice, compels us to regard it with still less complacency and more sorrow. As the article is avowedly a personal defence of Dr. Vaughan, it may be looked at by itself rather than as part of the Review; otherwise we should not have felt free to criticise it. But we have neither intention nor desire to dwell so upon its temper as to expose ourselves to the infection. Justice, however, not to ourselves, for we are not attacked unless as part of the vast majority of the evangelical dissenters, but to our brethren who have brought upon themselves the ire of Dr. Vaughan, constrains us to entreat that gentleman to bear in mind the following facts. While publicly rebuking those from whom he differs, he has no rebuke whatever for the faults alleged and censured when committed by his friends and chosen colleagues, Messrs. Fletcher, Grave, and Hunter, not to say, also, by himself. He persists, too, in applying scornful and injurious language to his brethren; as when referring, in this very article, to the decision of the Congregational Union at York, a decision which, if not unanimous, was yet made with acclamation, *nemine contradicente*, the decision of more than three hundred ministers and delegates, he says,—'Those persons who at the recent meeting of the Congregational Union in York, voted,' etc.; terms which would be employed more fitly to denote a small and contemptible minority than a majority, or rather a united band, such as Dr. Vaughan well knew 'voted.' This, too, was no fault of the pen or of the printer, as a similar inaccuracy in his famous letter in the 'Morning Chronicle' was said to be. Like the language of the preamble to the more notorious 'Manchester Resolutions,' the phrase 'those persons' indicates, we think, to every man not influenced by arrogance and vanity, a very different state of things from the reality. No confirmation, either, of the statistics of his opponents, even though made by men like Dr. Hoppus on his own side; no such testimony, either, as this gentleman heartily contributes (p. 261.) to Mr. Baines's varied and unblemished excellences; nothing of this kind, or of any kind reflecting credit on opponents, or administering admonition to himself, has any influence on Dr. Vaughan. 'He has nothing,' he tells us, 'to retract, nothing for which to apologise.' He who acts thus, and we have given but a small fraction of the truth, ought to be the last man to complain of a rough epithet or two, or of personal insinuations; epithets, moreover, whose offensiveness had been expurgated, and insinuations qualified *usque ad nauseam* by deference and compliment. Few friends of truth endeavour to divert the public mind from the great argument before them to their own particular sufferings in relation to

it. There are cases where such conduct is equivalent to retreat so managed that the rising sense of the ridiculous prevents pursuit.

In honourable contrast with the spirit of this article, and with that of Mr. Bayley's Lectures, are the temper and the tone of the three remaining tracts before us, especially of the article in the 'Edinburgh Review.' This article has much delighted us. We regard it as the best thing written among those from whom we differ. We hope it will be read by every man whose sentiments are ours. Gladly would we quote large extracts from it; but as our allotted space for argument is too restricted, we must refrain from justifying this our most respectful testimony to its worth. Of Dr. Hoppus, also, it is pleasant to record that he has written so as to entitle him to an increase of his brethren's love. From him, indeed, we had reason to expect all justice, candour, and generous constructions; but surprise and gladness at discovering all this in the 'Edinburgh Review,' where we had looked for less, shall not repress our frank acknowledgment of satisfaction with a brother's treatment. We might, perhaps, if previously aware of the differences of opinion between Dr. Hoppus and Dr. Vaughan, have expected in a treatise from the former a somewhat distinct and significant intimation of such differences, rather than a seeming wish to avoid, if possible, all mention even of his ally's name. To us, however, and we think to all our readers, this almost unbroken silence indicates enough. If charity at times should mention faults, there are times at which it covers them.—But let us turn away to generalities. Educational statistics have been satisfactorily gained; the need of a more extensive and more enlightened popular education is universally acknowledged; all the parties obliged or competing to conduct it are before the country; their respective principles and plans of action have been advocated; experiments have been instituted; expectation is awake to look on wonders; 'the crisis' is now pending. We have helped to bring matters to their present state; we would help to guide them to an honourable close.

The extent to which the government of this country will carry out their educational proposals, will importantly depend on the extent of favour shown to these proposals by the non-conformists. For it is not likely that even the most conservative government would apply the resources of the state to the maintenance of educational institutions on a large scale, if these institutions should almost exclusively subserve the sectarian church of England. But of all bodies of nonconformists, the Congregational Union of England and Wales will be especially observed by both the government and the country at large.

For they have not only repudiated repeatedly and most distinctly all desire to accept the aid of government in furtherance of their educational plans, but they have obtained a large amount of money on the understood condition that such aid should not be taken. In a very able letter in 'The Leeds Mercury,' of December 11, 1847, perhaps the most able of all his letters, Mr. Edward Baines has drawn attention to the early date at which the Union took their present ground, to their plain declaration of this ground, to their frequent re-assertion of it, and to the steady consistency with which they have maintained it. We have not room for the documentary evidence that establishes all this, or even for those portions of it which this letter quotes; we can merely state the following facts. The Congregational Union having convened its members to confer with other congregationalists in reference to popular education, such conference was held in the Congregational Library on December 13, 1843. At this conference the Congregational Board of Education was constituted, a fund was raised for its distribution, either solely or conjointly with local committees, and while it was asserted 'that the education given by the congregational churches must be religious education,' the conference resolved 'unanimously, and before the recent government measure was thought of,' that 'funds . . . be granted only to schools sustained entirely by voluntary contributions,' and advised 'most earnestly that no government aid be received by congregational churches for schools established in their own connexion.' At a special meeting of the Union on February 25, 1847; at the annual meeting of the Union on May 15; at the autumnal meeting of the Union on Oct. 14; and at a meeting of the Educational Board, on July 6; resolutions in full accordance with those of December 13, 1843, were, though slightly opposed, yet passed *nem. con.* and, indeed, with general acclaim. We cannot doubt, then, that the special united meeting of the Union and the Board, holden at Derby on the very day on which we write, December 14, for the purpose of determining their future measures, will decide on such a course as, be its bearings what they may on other bodies, will thoroughly convince the government that the state-machinery for education will never be extensively manned by the congregationalists. We wonder not, indeed, at the desire shown by ministers to secure the patronage of a few distinguished independents. But the promotion of Mr. Kay Shuttleworth is not of such a nature as to dazzle men of thoughtful minds and healthful conscience. He is gone where the sympathy and the respect of the independents have not waited on him. Whatever he may call himself, and whatever those who follow him, whether

as inspectors or as recipients, may still profess to be, the Derby meeting, we have not a doubt, will render it for ever certain, that independency and the reception of state-aid for education were deemed absolutely incompatible by the parties most concerned in the middle of the nineteenth century.

It is impossible to ascertain, and it would be futile to conjecture, what course would have been finally adopted by the Congregational Board of Education, if the British and Foreign School Society had determined to reject all government offers of assistance. This society, however, thought proper to confirm its alliance with the state; for, when the committee could no longer refuse to take the opinion of their constituents on the subject, they convened a special general meeting in the early summer of the year 1847, and they managed matters, (we would speak more respectfully of them if we could,) so as to pass a resolution thus confirmatory. The Board was now, of course, necessitated to pursue an entirely independent track; and congregationalists compelled to leave the society by reason of its late decision found in the Board an organization where-with they could co-operate, whether or not they were members of the Union. But there were other nonconformist members of the society who, while equally disapproving its recent resolution, were not so easily provided with new spheres of action. We may especially particularize baptists and members of the Society of Friends; though there were representatives of other denominations too, and even no few independents, who, from one cause or another, were reluctant to identify themselves with the Educational Board. Members of these different classes deemed that one general society, formed somewhat after the model of the British and Foreign School Society but entirely dependent on voluntary contributions, would be preferable to several denominational establishments. Under the presidency, therefore, of Mr. G. W. Alexander, proposals were issued for the constitution of another general association. But as yet no determinate action has been commenced; for, not to speak of other causes of delay, it was obviously expedient to pause till the Congregational Board of Education, which had already possessed itself of funds, should finally decide on the mode of their appropriation. Meanwhile plans have been promulged, as in 'The Patriot,' by Mr. Reed of Norwich,* for the formation of a society which, while generally open, should secure to the board and to other denominations the usufruct of their respective

* We take no farther notice here of either 'the Manchester Resolutions' or the scheme for the education of the people of Lancashire, having said enough about them both in former numbers.

funds. While we write, the Board and their supporters are again in conference, preparatory to a prompt and an efficient course of action. To advise them, we are now too late; to criticise their anticipated measures would be premature.* But we cannot by a month's delay take part in risking certain interests, which, according to our latest and most authentic news, are likely to be soon endangered. Already have some few dissenters made application to the government for aid; and we hear that more are moving in the same direction. For these, then, we now write what, but for them we should for a short time, have kept back. It is true that they are chiefly of three classes; men possessed already of endowments on their chapels, which have kept them from a consciousness of their responsibilities; men who shrink from direct and active antagonism to the state-church system; or men who having, to their own content, effected a theoretic separation between secular education and religious, are so bent on embodying their theory as to be regardless of dissuasives and reckless of results. We can have but little hope, then, of benefiting men like these, though some even of each class are not, haply, lost beyond recall; especially as men whose spiritual brotherhood they claim are labouring hard to furnish them with all they could acquire from the state. To these, then, and to such as, unacquainted with their motives, might be influenced by their conduct, and to those philosophers as well, whose authority and writings, like the writings we are now reviewing, form the shelter under which these weaklings lie; to these three classes we especially appeal while, avoiding for the most part ground already occupied sufficiently in former numbers, we again urge at this crisis the duty and the wisdom of conducting popular education in perfect independence of the state. But before adverting to the general subject we must draw attention to a few statistical and other matters in 'The Crisis,' for the sake, we openly profess, of damaging, as authorities, not only Dr. Vaughan, but his much more accurate and cautious friend, Professor Hoppus.

Dr. Hoppus says, p. 270, 'Statistical elements, preliminaries, and appliances, and resulting clearness in detail, are certainly the *forte* of Mr. Baines; but not always that of his critics;' and he elsewhere gives similar and even stronger testimony. We find as little fault with Dr. Hoppus's calculations as he

* Since writing the above, we have heard, on good authority, that the gentlemen at Derby have unanimously passed two important resolutions; the one declaratory of adherence to the principles avowed already, and the other designed to popularize the constituency and the operations of the Educational Board.

finds with those of Mr. Baines. But when he says, on the same page, 'In his inferences we conceive that Mr. Baines is really vulnerable,' we refer to the Doctor's own chapter on statistics, pp. 102—175, for all the armour of defence that Mr. Baines requires. For the Doctor's scientific and elaborate researches issue thus; that in 1818 there were in England and Wales 674,883 day scholars, being one in seventeen of the population of that period; and that in 1846 there were 2,000,000 scholars, (Mr. Baines had estimated only 1,876,947,) being one in eight and a half of the much augmented population of that year, together with school accommodation for 300,000 more. Now one of the most important of the inferences Mr. Baines has drawn is to the following effect; that there are both ability and disposition in the people to supply the means of popular education without any interference from the government; and if Dr. Hoppus's own facts do not warrant such assertion, he must surely think no facts whatever could. The population had increased fifty *per cent.* in the twenty-eight-years, but the number of scholars had been tripled, and school-room had been furnished for 300,000 children more than could be brought to use it. We do not forget that the government had contributed a large portion of the funds thus spent, and that the stimulus of their proposals had excited to a great extent the public liberality; but if special pleas of this kind be advanced on one hand, all the obstructions and discouragements offered to voluntarism may be mentioned on the other. And the important fact, no special plea, must yet be added, that in addition to the 2,000,000 of day scholars in 1846, there were 1,290,000 Sunday scholars. Dr. Hoppus thinks this high number 'improbable;' but he makes no attempt to alter it; and in a note on p. 150, he quotes from the 'Companion to the Almanac' for 1847, that, including Sunday scholars, 'three millions and a half of children are under instruction in England and Wales.' Mr. Baines's number, therefore, stands; and the fact completes the panoply of his defence. All, then, that Dr. Hoppus does, is to strengthen Mr. Baines's armour, and to leave that gentleman's opponents without any.

Our readers will remember Dr. Vaughan's confident adoption of both the calculations and the assumptions of the Manchester Statistical Society. In vain Mr. Baines pointed out the errors; demonstrating that the young people from five to fifteen years of age were not, and could not be, one fourth part of the entire population, and that the assumption of ten years as the proper average term for popular education was altogether extravagant and baseless. Dr. Vaughan has 'nothing to retract;' but Dr. Hoppus in the chapter we have specified is careful to avoid a

bad example, and that he may have 'nothing to retract' pursues an unexceptionable course of reasoning; a course, we add, reflecting honour only on both the estimates and the conclusions formed by Mr. Baines.

It was singular enough that Dr. Vaughan, while contemptuously referring to Mr. Baines's merits as a statist, should first regard 'Lord Kerry's Returns' as *ignis fatuus*, and afterwards treat them as perfectly correct. Yet the Manchester Statistical Society, his own preferred authority, has proved that the number of scholars there reported is no wild exaggeration, but considerably below the truth: and we now learn from Dr. Hoppus, p. 133, that even in West Kent, not famed for its enlightenment, the Educational Association of that division has discovered no fewer than 41,247 young people, or one for every eight and three-quarters of the population, in daily attendance on schools of one kind or another. Remembering, now, that the Parliamentary Committee on Education in 1837 decided that a proportion of one scholar for every eight inhabitants would be satisfactory; that even in West Kent there was one for every eight and three-quarters in 1846; that in the same year there was one for every eight and a half throughout England and Wales; that the proportion in favour of the scholars was habitually increasing; that the accommodation exceeded the demand; and that the history of popular education from 1818 to 1846, is one continued panegyric of 'the voluntary principle:' remembering all this we say that Mr. Baines's inferences are as invulnerable as his figures; and that it seems to need but the same freedom from prepossession in reference to theories of government which Dr. Hoppus shows in reference to statistical inquiries, to hail the one with as much pleasure as the other. Dr. Hoppus complains of Mr. Baines's inferences; we complain as loudly of the Doctor's theories. Thus, when estimating existing deficiencies in the means of education, he proposes nine years as a fair average school-term for the children of the labouring classes. Four of these, he supposes, should be passed at the infant school, and the remaining five at the ordinary children's school; the entire term extending from three years of age to twelve, pp. 157, 158. But that no such machinery is needed as this theory implies, appears to us beyond dispute. Indeed we had supposed it a well settled matter. Dr. Hoppus surely can know very little about infants under five years of age, or about the local distribution of the working-classes. He seems surprised that both Mr. Baines and Dr. Vaughan have given so little prominence to infant-schools. Those gentlemen, we apprehend, know something more than Dr. Hoppus, both as to the actual condition of 'the land we live

in,' and as to the physical demands and capabilities of infants. In ultimately proposing that provision be made for children of *all classes* to spend, upon an average, five years at school, between the ages of five and of fifteen, they propose, we think, not all that could be wished, but all that general opinion will deem likely to be used, and all for which the country is at present to be summoned. Dr. Hoppus even seems at times to authorize this estimate, pp. 152—176; but on p. 153 he argues as if it were admitted that five years formed the proper average school-term for the children of the *working-classes*. This term, however, is much longer than is practicable, the various causes of necessary absence being borne in mind; and all computations of expense founded on such disputable data are, in consequence, of little worth. It is certainly a fair matter of opinion, whether three years, four, or five, be the average school-term for operatives' children for which we must provide: but when we find the longest term adopted with the view of establishing the necessity of government assistance; when, too, in the ardour of the pleading, what was granted for *all classes* is spoken of as granted for the *working-classes*; when, through this ardour, it is treated as the same whether the term be reckoned from five or from seven years of age; when, the latter being chosen, it is then assumed that children who spend five years afterwards at school might just as well spend four years first at infants' schools; when by this magic process it is proved, the existing slighted or superfluous accommodation for 300,000 children being overlooked, that there is a deficiency in school accommodation for 1,300,000 children; and when the voluntary principle is challenged to provide all this accommodation straightway, or to welcome the interference of the government;—we feel by this time warranted and forced to doubt the soundness of opinions thus associated, and we boldly call in question both the theories assumed and the conclusions and advices founded on them.

We are glad to find Dr. Hoppus, on p. 163, confirming Mr. Baines's estimate of the amount of school-accommodation annually required according to the increase of the population: but we should have thought still more highly of his candour, especially considering to what savage onslaught Mr. Baines has been exposed, had he noticed, as they merited, the dicta on this subject of the vicar of Leeds and the 'Westminster Review.' When speaking, too, of the present quality of popular education, he makes use enough of the unfavourable reports presented by the government inspectors; but he neither says all he might have said in qualification of the impression thus produced, nor refers to Mr. Baines's statements, in his letter to Lord Lansdowne, in respect to the recent growth of normal schools. Yet in evidence

of the improvement given at the present period to popular education it is stated in that letter, that within a few years as many as twenty-eight normal schools have been created, and that in them nearly one thousand students are receiving professional instruction. Besides, the Doctor allows nothing for the beneficial influence of competition and of social opinion on either the public or the private teacher. If such influence be unknown, however, it became him to account for the strange fact. We believe it will be found as strong in the educational as in any other employment; at least if the church of England corps of teachers be excepted. Such an anecdote as that in the second note on p. 172 ought alone to have occasioned the due treatment of this topic.

But this is not the only instance of this kind of omission. Our author says, correctly as we think, 'Justice will not be done to the mind and heart of a nation, till its educators hold a position in society approaching to that of a fourth learned profession, sustained by its own respectability, worth, and usefulness to the state.' (p. 179.) But when we find that the members of this fourth profession are to be sustained in part by premiums from the state, while the author, everybody knows, rejects all state assistance for the other three professions, and rejects it, too, from wise and zealous care for their 'respectability, worth, and usefulness to the state,' we have cause to complain of his omission of all reasons for evoking state support for the schoolmaster alone. We at present see no reason for supposing that what certainly destroys respectability and worth and usefulness in lawyers, surgeons, and the clergy, can have the precisely opposite effect when given to the teacher.

We have now to put our readers on their guard against Dr. Hoppus's financial estimates. For the school deficiency, as we have seen, is not what he assumes; nor is his plea for teachers' premiums sustained. But on this matter he commits another and a grievous error: for assuming that the children of the working-classes will in every case frequent the public schools, he computes the cost accordingly and deducts nothing whatsoever on account of private scholars. It can hardly be Dr. Hoppus's desire to extinguish private schools for operatives' children: we rejoice to feel assured that no power in the land can do it. These schools must always have advantages peculiar to themselves. Improvement in the public schools may lead to like improvement in the private, and it would; but it will never render them superfluous or undesirable. A deduction, therefore, and a large one, must be made from Dr. Hoppus's proposed expenditure on this account: and when made in addition

to what other we have pointed out as necessary, we think it likely that our author's estimate and Mr. Baines's of the cost of the needed educational supplies would vary not at all or little only, certainly so little as to warrant no anxiety about the power of the voluntary principle. And we must tell Professor Hoppus, that we hope to find no future taunts and jokes, like those in his second note of p. 233, against the voluntary principle, unless based on better data than those quoted in the text on the same page; data whose gross errors were, he knows, or ought to know, exposed by Mr. Baines before the Congregational Union in the spring of 1846; data virtually withdrawn by those who gave them; data borrowed from the papers of the very Manchester Statistical Society whose inaccuracies Dr. Hoppus has himself detected.

These champions, moreover, of the voluntary principle in relation to the greater sphere, Religion, who deny its equal applicability to the smaller, Education, have a most important preliminary question to determine with the government whose aid they seek. For while both they and the Whig ministers unite to urge us to dependence on the treasury, the two classes meet our arguments with mutually contradicting pleas. The ministers assure us that their scheme will add but little burden to the country, and make mention of a *maximum* but trivial indeed. Drs. Hoppus, Vaughan, and the like, beseech us to adopt the scheme, if modified according to their wishes, on the ground that no otherwise can the expense of popular education be provided. The ministers' estimate is to our brethren ludicrously low; to the ministers our brethren's is as ludicrously high. Lord John Russell counts one hundred thousand pounds and half another, thinking himself liberal; twice that amount is the *minimum* of Dr. Hoppus; a million and a half appears the smallest sum that would give their full effect to the plans of either Dr. Hook or Dr. Hoppus. Considering the question in the light of principle, the amount is a thing of no consequence at all; but viewing it in the light of political expediency, the amount becomes an item of the first importance, and ought to be definitively settled. The ulterior plans and hopes respecting popular education of any government that merits the respect and advocacy of our brethren, ought to be at once and unreservedly promulgated. That £150,000 is all that the Whig ministers desire to spend annually in this matter, is altogether incredible and universally discredited. We think, then, that it ill becomes a Christian patriot to exert his influence among his brethren in support of measures not yet fully known, and not necessarily precluded from becoming an oppressive burden and a spring of most extensive and cor-

rupting patronage. We think our brethren have no little to retract. But having no desire to say more than is absolutely necessary to deliver evangelical dissenters from the undue influence of names of some authority among us, we shall occupy what space remains with observations on the general question.

We have never thought the position of evangelical dissenters in relation to this question fairly estimated by the counsellors who prompt them to take state support. We have already seen that in 1843 the Congregational Union publicly agreed to sanction religious and voluntary education only; that is, such secular education as was conducted by spiritual men, was accompanied with direct instruction in evangelical truth, and was supported without government assistance. But before this time many evangelical dissenters of all denominations had at great expense established day-schools on the ground connected with their several chapels, and had thus virtually adopted the same purpose. All these parties, then, were pledged and earnestly devoted to a special work long before the government issued their proposals. We have no desire to see public bodies any more than private individuals adhere to a wrong course upon the plea that they are committed to it. The course before us may have been a wrong one; that is, not the wisest. Of this it is no concern of ours to speak at present, further than to say that to many of our brethren there was no choice offered. That course or none was the alternative. Yet we do not assume that if the government could give no aid to such dissenters, it was necessarily precluded from extending aid to other citizens, in their care for popular education. Assuredly, however, the conduct that we have described, approved, too, as it was, by the vast majority of orthodox dissenters, was cause enough for any government to ponder well its plans of action. For, when the most enlightened and most zealous friends of the great cause were in general determining their independent course, no government procedure could be wise but what well harmonized with such a course; every procedure must be foolish which impeded or reproached such agents. Nor do we believe that, coaxed and threatened as the Whig ministers indubitably were by the clergy and their lay supporters, they would have heeded in the least these mingled applications if they had not seen some symptoms of disunion among us. Knowing from experience our power, and supported by the sympathy of the preceding cabinet, they would have contrived to elude, or would have mustered courage to defy, their clamorous appellants. To Dr. Vaughan, as the Premier has more than once adroitly hinted, and as 'The Patriot' in a leading article of December 9, 1847,

has irrefragably proved, to Dr. Vaughan is the visible disunion of the orthodox dissenters chiefly due. The Doctor, in the article before us, pleads that the question of state aid for education should be treated as 'an open question—a question on the ground of which no man shall be suffered to cast reproach on another without rebuke; and in regard to which, so far as relates to the separate action of our churches and school committees, the minority shall be understood as willing to co-operate with the majority.' But Dr. Vaughan has not yet exemplified the principles he recommends. If he differed from the Union in relation to the striking resolution of December 13, 1843, he was in a very small minority; and the matter was not one on which his conscience bound him to practical isolation from his brethren. If he thought his brethren hasty, or infatuated, he had both a brother's right and a brother's opportunities to do his best for their correction. Whether, had he thus endeavoured, he would have succeeded to rescind, or to modify according to his wishes, the resolution of 1843, this, indeed, is doubtful; not because the Union was 'committed,' but because the Union is not likely to have passed that resolution prematurely. Here, then, if ever, was a case for a minority to co-operate with the majority; but Dr. Vaughan has appeared their resolute, their scornful, we are bound to add, their most unfair antagonist. He, indeed, puts language such as this into the mouths of the majority:—'As your principles in this relation are not ours, we call on you to forego your own judgment, however weighty you may deem it, in deference to ours.' But to play a game like this is very paltry, and is no less suicidal. Dr. Vaughan never has been treated thus. But possessed of his own channels of communication he has represented to the world and to the state, that those who differ from him are but few, divided, unenlightened, one-sided, and noisy; and in no better way than this has he co-operated with his brethren. And we think 'The Patriot' justified, and we give honour to it for its courage, in charging upon Dr. Vaughan all the discord, with the consequent weakness and reproach, experienced by the evangelical dissenters in this matter. But it is not for the sake of exposing Dr. Vaughan that we draw attention to the definite position already taken by our brethren when the government issued their famed Minutes. What we desire is to show that even had the brethren wished, they could not easily, and many of them could not possibly, have adopted Dr. Vaughan's plans. They had *acted*, uniting the secular and the religious, while their present censors were asleep or musing. And they had not acted blindly or without consideration. Nothing has been since advanced in favour of a purely secular instruction but what they had anticipated and deemed insufficient.

Besides, who is Dr. Vaughan, or what is the little knot of men associated now or formerly with University College, whether they be spiritual men or not, that their theory of a secular education is to be continually protruded as if never answered, never set aside? The whole country, with the exception of the Socialists, is against them, almost to a man. Had they persuaded the government to embrace their views, or had Dr. Vaughan brought the Union over, they would have had a decent pretext for their conduct. But to this day the government insist on the introduction of the religious element; and though Dr. Vaughan seems to think them not in earnest, it is his lot to stand pretty well alone in his opinion. He invokes the government to do what, if done, the dissenters are not ready to accept; he invokes the dissenters to accede to what the government have declared their resolution not to grant. If the government persist, he will call their conduct injurious and insulting; if the dissenters persist, he will call them priestly and obtuse. The government insist upon some pledge, such as the reading of the Bible in the schools, that the money they bestow will be spent by men whom they can trust; and they plead, and truly, that the general opinion of the nation is in favour of some mingling of religious instruction with the secular. The dissenters, too, see urgent causes to prevent their furthering the secular in formal and obligatory disconnexion with the religious. Dr. Vaughan blames them both, and, though confiding in the government, grows angry with his still outstanding brethren.

We have thus introduced before our readers one of the primary questions in all discussions relative to popular education; we mean, the separation of the religious instruction from the secular. All the writers before us except, perhaps, Mr. Bayley, agree substantially with the evangelical dissenters in general, that if the two cannot be formally and virtually separated, the government must resign all management of popular education. These writers all agree, however, that the separation is quite practicable. The Edinburgh reviewer says, 'Surely it would be more natural to say that it is impossible not to separate them. You surely do not mean that you are to theologize the alphabet.'—Professor Hoppus shall, in part, supply our answer. 'The most important object is to cultivate, before the first seven years of life are past, the moral, æsthetic, and religious elements of our nature; and this in accordance with Christianity. The religion of little children ought eminently to be an affection of the heart, grounded, indeed, upon scriptural truth, the elements of which are intelligible to a little child.'—pp. 77, 78. We quote, too, from the charge delivered on December 13th by Baron Alderson to the grand

jury at the Liverpool assizes. 'Undoubtedly education will do something, but education will not do much. The prevalent cause of crime is not the want of information, but want of good principles. No doubt, reading, writing, and arithmetic, are good assistance; but they are not the whole, nor a great part of the education of the people. The real education of the people consists in training them in the way they should go, in giving them principles of action which shall sustain them in temptation, and deliver them in time of trouble.*' Of course the writers before us all agree, to use the words of Dr. Vaughan, 'that the *best*, and, in fact, the only *complete* education would be that which bases moral lessons on Christian principles; but we are now speaking of the restriction in this respect which is possible, and which may become highly expedient for the sake of a comprehensive scheme and a general good.' But we cannot suppose that the good designed by any of these writers is inferior to that proposed by Baron Alderson and Dr. Hoppus. The Edinburgh reviewer distinctly proposes to teach 'what we do all think essential to every member of a social community.' But that all this can be accomplished in the day school apart from religious instruction and from that formative influence which an evangelical and a consistent teacher's visible character and manifested sympathies exert, we unhesitatingly deny. And if still pressed to administer the religious truth at set times only, so as to allow certain children, if required, to be absent, we not only object to this invidious classification of the scholars, but maintain that in this case the excepted are unlikely to be benefited by the formative influence we have described; and we complain that obstructions are put to that free and confidential communication between the teacher and the taught, and a veto is imposed on those words that might otherwise be seasonably spoken out of school-hours, without which we think the whole machinery of little worth. Nor do we see that teachers, such as we all wish the teachers of our schools to be, would come under the restriction. The teachers we desire are men of spiritual motives, men who but for hope of working spiritual good would have sought another occupation. It matters not what the majority of teachers are; our concern lies with teachers as they should be. None such, we believe, or only few, would bear the yoke proposed. It seems idle to remind us that the gentlemen we welcome to our houses to teach music, drawing, and the like, are not expected to employ religious influence. They are not; but neither are they expected to form the civic character, nor are they engaged because of their spirituality of aim. Fit teachers,

* 'The Liverpool Mercury,' of Dec. 14th.

we repeat it, will not serve in chains like those proposed, and the unfit none of us require.

Besides, we have not yet the due acuteness, or the something worse, to see that the separation which is talked of would exonerate us from the charge of receiving state assistance for religious education. So long as we by grants from government are put in circumstances to employ men who shall teach religion or, as part of their hired service, shall wield a distinctively and avowedly-religious influence, whereas but for the said grants we should teach neither the religious nor the secular, or both upon a smaller scale and with a diminution of efficiency; so long we expect and hope to feel ourselves the supporters of the state-church system. And if we draw these grants by virtue of one 'minute,' while by virtue of several other 'minutes' the catholics, the unitarians, 'the church,' and others, draw respectively what gives them opportunity they would otherwise not have of inculcating each one their own peculiar tenets, we trust that we shall feel as powerless to blame them on this matter, and as answerable for whatever mischief they may do, as if all the 'minutes' were embodied in one 'act of parliament,' and the several recipients joined hand to hand in procession to the treasury. Unless religious men do *bona fide* give up all design of doing anything in popular education but what irreligious teachers can accomplish while employing scripture merely as a literary compilation, they cannot, we maintain, accept assistance from the government without either sanctioning the state-church system or injuring the temper of their conscience. We read, indeed, in the 'British Quarterly,' as follows: 'This great disruption between ourselves and our common country, for it amounts to nothing else, has not come from our principles, but from our want of such understanding of our principles as might have placed us in full possession of our full Christian liberty. . . . We complain of our isolation and neglect, and we court the very grievances we deplore.' Taking no notice of the temper of this passage we merely add to what we have already written in anticipation, that the disruption is no greater than it ever was. Dr. Hoppus, equally with Dr. Vaughan, writes as if dissenters had refused to aid the government in the *general* secular education of the people. The government, we must repeat, have never asked us; and while a state-church stands they will never ask us. They have not asked dissenters even to take grants for secular education; and we know why they have not. But should they ask, and if dissenters should decline, no new 'disruption' would be made. Nor could any such event take place until the government proposed, and all the nation but ourselves accepted, such a

scheme of *general* secular education as, while not irreligious or ungodly, (to observe the distinction pleaded for, almost without occasion, by the Edinburgh reviewer,) should yet not be distinctively godly or religious. Meanwhile, as Mr. Baines has lately proved in his already-quoted letter to 'The Patriot,' that which we obey is 'no new commandment, but the old commandment which we had from the beginning.' We may still stand alone; we have often stood alone, and been neglected; but as Dr. Vaughan taught us at the conference in Crosby Hall, we will 'wrap our mantle round us,' and still stand. We then applauded him; we now condemn him. For he is doing all he can to expose us to the cavils and contempt of men who, as he well knows and oft acknowledges, cannot see the spirit and the bearing of our principles. He has said, indeed, that the dissenters do not understand their principles in relation to this matter. He may not understand his brethren's principles; they, perhaps, are as ignorant of his. They, however, would have been corrected as dogmatic and impertinent had they told him that he did not understand his own; and we dare to think that very few among them could have written of his party with an *animus* like that in the passage which here follows from the article before us in the 'British Quarterly.' 'How does it come to pass that these purely civil things, (reading, writing, and the rest,) should be adjudged as belonging to religious bodies, to churches, more than to the civil government? Is there not a great deal of the old priestism in all this? Truly we think so. . . . Who has commissioned our religious denominations to become the teachers of the young of this nation in respect to such secular matters?' And of his views in general the writer concludes: 'that views to this effect will be the ultimate views of congregationalists themselves; and that the steps recently taken in a contrary direction, are steps to be retraced.' To all this, now, we reply, first, that 1843—at the latest, not 1847—was the time, and the resort of the Congregational Union was the place, for a minority's declaration of such sentiments; the aim being to bring over the majority thereto. To the prophecy we return nothing but a smile. To the questions respecting our authority to teach we answer, that God gave it, all at least that we have ever claimed. If taunted, 'Is there not a great deal of the old priestism in all this,' we simply say, truly we think not. But if reminded that, divesting the passage of all that is characteristic of the writer, we find some argument remaining, such, too, as is often found in all the other tracts before us, we allow it, and we treat it thus. We have never pretended an exclusive commission to teach grammar and the like. Whether the civil government has any

is another question, and to it we will afterwards attend. Meanwhile our commission is to do what good we can; and in attending to it we shall help and cheer, as opportunity is given, all who seem to us to do the same. But we do not think it good to teach writing or arithmetic in such wise as shall extol the kingdoms of this world above the kingdom of the Son of God. We dare not do it, and we dare not sanction it in others; and if we find these others wish to rob us of our wealth, or in our poverty, that they may do it, and the state agree to make the robbery a legal act, we will fill the country with our outcries till the shame shall cease. Whether we will aid our neighbours to teach writing or scientific ethics on condition that religion be not taught in any form by medium of the same machinery, this is not the question. We may say, however, we have not been slow to aid mechanics' institutions on this same condition; trusting to other opportunities to impart religious influence and knowledge. But the question that concerns us now is altogether different, and is simply this; whether we deem the state church principle to be so bad that we must needs oppose all efforts to do good which call for either our explicit sanction of it or our practical support. And we answer before God, we do; and if we have not means to educate the nation, or do all the good we wish in other ways, we will do what good we can and wait the issue.

We now turn to the other fundamental inquiry in respect to popular education; that relating to the province of the state. We have little pleasure in adverting to our authors' treatment of this subject; for they one and all assume the chief matter to be proved, and often seem to view the holders of a different opinion as a class of men on whom reasoning would be lost. 'Will any one deny that the best government is that which is adapted to develop the greatest amount of social good? There are circumstances in which this good can only be promoted by state-education in the strict sense, by the government taking the education of the people into its own hands.'—Hoppus, p. 262. Mr. Binney, too, says, pp. 61, 62, 'As circumstances may be such as to make it the duty of government actually to feed some of the community, and to see to it that others be fed; so it may be its duty, from other circumstances, to educate some, and to secure and promote the education of all, or all of the poorer and humble classes.' Again, on p. 69, 'it seems difficult to deny that consistently carried out, the principles on which the 'Minutes of Council' were opposed, as that principle was stated and expounded by many advocates, would brand with error, assumption, and wrong, every thing that has ever been done by government for the advancement of science . . . the opening of

museums to the public the keeping up of gardens, parks, and palaces, to which the poor may repair for a holiday recreation; pensions to impoverished authorhood or neglected genius; salaries to professors and examiners, with the conveyance to them of legal authority to grant honours, and confer degrees.' Mr. Bayley says (p. 2), 'Is it the aim of laws to promote the virtue of the people, or merely to collect taxes, and prevent them from doing each other civil injury? The latter, certainly, but the former, also; or else government has a very low province indeed.' The Edinburgh reviewer says, 'The end of all political government is to secure, on the part of each citizen, such fulfilment of his social obligations towards his fellow-citizens, as is consistent with the maintenance of the social union. Now to bring up a family so as not to be a plague and nuisance to the rest of the community, is one, and assuredly one of the most important, of these obligations, and one of which the extensive neglect must lead to the dissolution of society. It must, then, surely be competent for the government, if these obligations, either from wilfulness are not, or from poverty cannot be, fulfilled by an extensive class of the people, to provide for their performance. This, we admit, involves the right, when necessary, to render education compulsory The denial of the right of government interference implies, that any man is entitled, if he pleases, to beget a family of half a score of children, and bring them up, not simply with an erroneous creed, but in the ignorance which must make them useless, and in the vice which must make them pernicious as citizens; imposing them as a burden and a plague on the rest of the community, to be supported as paupers, or to be imprisoned and punished as criminals. It implies that a duty which all must admit to be among their social obligations, and even among the most important of them, that of training the masses of the people in some capacity for the fulfilment of their common duties of citizenship, is to be entirely imposed on those who happen to be willing to undertake it. It implies that if there be any country, or any part of any country, in which, from the unequal distribution of wealth, the poor from their poverty, cannot, and the rich from their opulency will not, adequately provide for the training of the masses of the population, these last endure no wrong, and have no cause of complaint; their ignorance and their misery give them no claims upon society in virtue of their forming an integral part of it, for instruction in those very obligations which society, as such, expects every member of it to fulfil. It further follows from this denial, that government has the power to punish for crime, without being permitted to take the most obvious and

reasonable means to prevent it.' The British Quarterly reviewer also says, 'A government . . . proceeds on the assumption that the relations in which men stand to each other suppose a moral law, a moral law which it belongs to civil government to ascertain and apply; that this law further supposes a law-maker; and that this law-maker is the supreme moral governor. Thus far every civil government may be said to embody a confession of faith, of faith in a Divine existence, and in the reality and rectitude of a Divine government.' And he gives it as an axiom, 'that government may be a moral teacher to the extent in which it must be a moral administrator.' Dr. Hoppus also (p. 192) says, 'Governments are described as sent for the praise of them that do well. Is government a mere brute force? Is it to be restricted from promoting, in any way, the intelligence which is necessary to render men capable of being governed as other than brute beasts?' He adds in p. 200, 'We do not see how it is possible to deny that under certain circumstances, a state may be justified even in introducing, to a greater or less extent, the compulsory principle into elementary education.' And for his different sentiments, many are the learned authorities he cites.

We have quoted largely for the sake of fairness; but our reply must be disproportionately condensed. We think it enough to say in opposition to Dr. Hoppus's authorities, that if Greek philosophers pleaded for state-education, the practice of both Greece and Rome was against it; that Locke, as cited by him in p. 192, is implicitly against it much more evidently than in favour of it; and that Adam Smith, especially when exposing the liability of national educational institutions to abuse, is such a witness in their favour as it is particularly pleasant to subject to cross-examination. When, too, we are more than once reminded, both by the Doctor and the Edinburgh reviewer, of the novelty of that theory of government which they endeavour to explode, we are somewhat amused by the recollection that our censors are both Whigs, Reforming Whigs, and that one of them withal is a dissenter. The science of government is almost the very last that we expect to see established on a proper basis. We would turn again to Hutchinsonianism as soon as we would follow out the theories of either Aristotle or John Foster. We are charged, moreover, by one and another of these writers with inconsistency in opposing state-education in general, while tacitly allowing national museums, literary pensions, fees for examiners, and such like, or, still more singularly, compulsory education in factories, pauper and criminal education, and other special forms of the one offensive principle. To the insinuation, indeed, which Mr. Binney makes with less

than his ordinary justice, that some of these things were hailed by educated dissenters, who availed themselves of them for their children, while 'as soon as it is sought to attempt the elevation of the humbler classes by parliamentary encouragement to a higher intellectual and moral culture, a cry is raised, not against the errors and imperfections merely of the proposed plan, but against the principle of any one solitary thing whatsoever being done by any government in respect to the promotion of learning or goodness;' to the unjust insinuation in this language we say that we choose not to reply; to the argument intended we reply as follows. To some of the things produced against us we have always and steadily objected. Others of these things, as criminal and pauper education, involve so many matters alien to our present subject, such as the whole of our criminal and of our pauper code, as to deserve to be considered by themselves and without prejudice to the less complex theme. A third class of these fearful facts relate to sanitary and to other indisputably national concerns, having none but a reflected influence on education. Of the remnant we ingenuously confess that while alone they would never have alarmed us; though we think that if threatened with the use of them now made by Mr. Binney we should always have declined the treacherous favours. We would gladly see them all withdrawn, if their many-jointed tail could be removed as well. We should deprecate the employment of them in a single instance if we believed our foes to be as ungenerous in construction as are some among our friends. We finally refer to the history of every science as containing instances analogous, facts deemed satisfactory till other facts of later birth but kindred origin disclosed a characteristic hitherto concealed but common to them all. We have said already that the science of government is in a very crude condition.

But we find in the writings before us an often used but, as it seems to us, a very false analogy. For the right and the duty of a government to furnish food and work in times of famine are assumed as illustrating a like right, and the correspondent duty, of supplying education where it is not furnished. We allow some force to the analogy in respect to criminals and paupers; we deny it to have any in respect to the populace in general. The fallacy consists in generalising what is special. Be the preamble to the 'Minutes' or the 'Act' of such a kind as shall stigmatise the population as a criminal or a pauper population, and the defensive reference may be allowed; though, hitherto, so little real good has followed from our government's provision for the bodies of the poor as to warrant but small hope of valuable consequences from their

education of the minds. Paupers constitute a caste in England. Ireland, mendicant in 1846, (see Hoppus, p. 195.) is clamorous in 1847. Neither criminal nor pauper education has been famed as yet for its results. Educate the children of the independent freemen of our land as if criminals or paupers, and you make, instead of the moral but still hopeful desert that you now imagine, or see, a wild waste of irreparable ruins and of curses never to be taken off. Our friends were not felicitous, we think, in their allusion.

Nor is Dr. Hoppus to be much admired, unless for truthfulness and candour, when he justifies the interference of the State by referring to the modern instances of interference. We have said so much already on this subject in our former numbers that we care not to add but little. Suffice it that the Doctor's own account of the results of state education, whether in America or Europe, ought, we think, to force the staunchest pleader for the abstract right of governments to educate, to doubt his theory, and at present to refrain from endangering his country by assimilating its training institutions to the foreign models. The results abroad are, to use the mildest terms, far other than what our authors promise us at home. The fornication of Sweden, the tame heartlessness of Prussia, the passive servility of Bavaria, the lack of general moral principle in Austria, the manifest inefficiency of the French system, the conflicting testimonies from America,—all this, amply illustrated on pages 13—42 of 'The Crisis,' furnish to our minds as clear a demonstration as in the circumstances is practicable, of the utter vanity of conducting the education of the people by any except spiritual men, and apart from the exhibition of evangelical truth. The alleged morality of Holland, if as sound as Dr. Hoppus thinks it, is his only good example. We doubt if it be all the Doctor thinks; and other causes of its comparative superiority may be assigned in addition to the secular education of the people. The cases as a whole, then, are altogether useless for the purpose for which they are adduced; and to us it is a marvel that when a man like Dr. Hoppus grants, on page 42, that these cases are not very stimulative, he should overlook the numerous decidedly bad effects which must result, and the still more numerous which may, from state-education in our own land, and plead most earnestly for the institution of the vast and perilous experiment. Let him, however, and the other holders of his sentiments, conduct their pleading with 'the powers that be.' When these are won it will be time enough to turn to us. But these writers continually talk as if their plan were the only alternative to ours. Ours, they all agree, would be the best if practicable. See Hoppus, *e. g.* p. 213.

But then, instead of helping us with all their power to do the best, they one and all pour forth incessant sneers upon the voluntary principle, and devote their faculties to advocate, professedly, a system which no government that ever was or ever could be in this land would sanction, but really to support the actual government in operations which, when modified to suit these writers, will present the boldest contrast to the works they call for, and will, in the esteem of the vast majority of spiritual men, exhaust the energy, corrupt the honesty, and enslave the independence of the English character. These measures, if accomplished, must demolish many, must obstruct all, must prevent more, of the best efforts of the most enlightened and devoted friends of popular education. That is nothing. They must aggrandize the church of England influence to an indefinite extent. That is nothing, either. They must impoverish and emasculate the nation's character. And that is nothing. They must ruin souls and fight against Christ's kingdom. Even that is nothing. Smiles of mingled incredulity and supercilious pity play upon our censors' countenances while they coolly blame us for not joining them in attempts to modify the 'Minutes.' In vain we show that no modification of the 'Minutes' can fulfil either their desires or our own. For 'secular' education they would have an almost universally heretical or priestly, let the 'Minutes' be altered as they may. It goes against our consciences to join them, therefore, in an outcry which can have no other issue at the best. We, too, are the many, they the few; and instead of its violating their consciences to co-operate with us they all acknowledge that *both* the principles to which we, bound by conscience, cleave—the principle of voluntary and the principle of a religious education—are, in reality, the best. Yet instead of joining us they stand aloof—they are the fugelmen to jeer us—they misrepresent us—they applaud the foes who no more dare adopt their theory than ours—and they furnish these, the bitter enemies of our common faith concerning voluntary churches, with the most astoundingly detonating missiles they can use. We believe our friends are neither treacherous nor bribed; we believe it as we believe it of ourselves; but had they taken lucre to betray us they could not, we equally believe it, have aggrieved us worse. We are told, indeed, not to mind what enemies may say of our consistency should we take money on the altered Minutes; and we are admonished what they may say also should we not. But the cases differ greatly: for in the latter of them neither do our foes believe themselves, nor we believe them; while in the former both of us would feel the charge to be both just and awful. Our brethren, too, may attempt to justify their sarcasm; as when, to give the mildest

instance of it, the Edinburgh reviewer says, 'We are indebted for one of the most splendid of the voluntary efforts to the menace of government interference. One might be tempted to say, that should a government scheme be found impossible, the next best thing would be, the occasional threat of doing something. The effort referred to was a striking proof that voluntary and spontaneous are not always the same.' But surely common fairness would have used the taunt to slay the government pretensions, ere it, with the blindest aspect, strove to stab voluntaryism thus. For, if the *threat* of government procedures has excited voluntary principle to fresh action, the past *deeds* of voluntaryism have aroused 'the spiteful principle' in government and 'Church,' and their supporters, to almost all the seeming good they have attempted. Besides, to attribute voluntary action in such circumstances to the mere force of emulation, or of something worse, is unworthy of a philosopher, not to say an ally and a brother. For quoting the reviewer's striking though not unexceptionable language, 'That the nation should feel intensely solicitous on this subject, is, in our esteem, much more important than the question of the mode in which the task is to be performed;' we tell him that the government menaces referred to accomplished nothing more than this, the mere fixing of the mind upon the evil whose removal was desired. That fear or that rivalry was the characteristic of the movement that resulted, and this is the insinuation, is not true. The intense solicitude he speaks of was created; and a proof of both its genuineness and the wisdom of the measures it suggested is the liberality that it devised. Schemes are seldom very foolish, or very unspontaneous, whose contrivers calculate on no money but their own, and neither envy any man nor rob him.

It has occurred to us while closely studying the Tracts before us, that the writers, with the one exception of Mr. Bayley, feel the difficulties connected with state-aid to be much greater than they first esteemed them. When we find our other authors, after estimating the *maximum* of what can be accomplished with a full regard to due religious liberty, speak of it as the very *minimum* of what is needed, and yet as what is superlatively greater than can be expected, we are constrained to suspect a primary error at the very base of all their reasoning. Without dwelling on our Edinburgh friend's confounding *social* duties with the civic, the patriotic and the cosmopolitan, the Godward and the human, we feel warranted to institute an earlier inquiry, and to charge the whole hypothesis with fatal error. For these writers, all of them, are far too cultured not to see, and too candid, when they see, not to confess, such matters as the following:—that there now exists in diverse parts a surplusage of school

accommodation; that the quality of the instruction is fast rising, almost as fast, perhaps, if not altogether, as can be appreciated and is fit; that, according to the present course of things, the more destitute localities will be ultimately served; that there are causes which effectually prevent the full use of existing institutions; that no scheme as yet proposed by government affects these causes, or provides otherwise than very indirectly for the wants of the more destitute; that the probable working of the given scheme, and of any general scheme that may come forth, will give a large and most undesirable amount of power to 'the Church;' that its influence in damaging the nation's character may be, and if not sedulously watched, is almost sure to be, considerable; that such scheme is likely, whether necessarily or not, to repress the most important efforts made at present for the general object; that it is virtually punitive; that, regarded as a punitive infliction, it involves the worthy and the unworthy alike; that it tends to blind individuals to their duties, and thus, as Mr. Baines says nervously, 'to rob them of their virtues;' that the like experiment has never yet been satisfactorily tried; that if offered by the Tories, ought to have been it out; that it is not the best, notwithstanding, may be called to work bad, and partakes the elements of the very worst that can be; and yet that, after all it requires but a little alteration to become the best that circumstances suffer. We are most solicitous not to exaggerate the admissions of these writers; and we think it easy to substantiate the foregoing assertions by quotations from the Tracts before us. And, of course, we could as easily append hereto a number of conclusions we deem quite as just; as that ridicule of voluntarism in re education is much more appropriate in re religion; or that the theory of government which suffers state interference in the one, is equally constrained to suffer it in both; or that the proportion of nonconformist friends to nonconformist foes to government aid is as one to infinite. But fixing our attention on one extract only from the 'Edinburgh Review,' 'alas! if this be true, we have something more than school accommodation to provide; and that is the disposition, or the opportunity, or both, on the part of the people to learn;' thinking of this only, and its implications, we inquire what it is, then, which, while it is doubtful whether government assistance be required or not, prompts such writers to assume the false position which they hold, that advocates for some imaginary concrete; a portantly diverts them from antagonisms involving what they deem a which causes them to seem

hostile to them than to their spiritual brethren. And we find the cause to be the very matter they impute to us as folly, their devoted love of abstract principles. We glory in the charge; and should be happy if we thought ourselves to deserve it. Our conviction on the present matter is, however, that these gentlemen, and such, have anticipated our assertion of an abstract principle. Startled by some of our denials, and expecting to expose us to the charge of inconsistency, they have cried out, 'You might as well deny the right of government to educate the people;' assuming thus the right in question. And their maintenance of the assumption is apparent in the passages we cited when commencing this discussion; and throughout all their writings they exhibit the same spirit. They bewail as pitcously as we once heard Lord John Russell, the hard lot of governments that had no right to do any good but in the form of virtual punishments; or, as his lordship funnily said, 'to do anything but whip 'em, hang 'em, and transport 'em, without teaching 'em about a God and a Christ.' His conscience, he assured us, would not let him do it. We like not the degrading tone in which the duties of police and doomsmen are habitually described by this philosophic school; and as yet we see no reason to conclude that these are virtually less than 'the whole duty of a government.' Indeed we more than once detect Professor Hoppus on the verge of granting all we plead for on this matter; till reminded of his 'abstract principle,' and becoming fearful of dishonouring 'authorities,' he seems to rouse himself and to inquire if society can ever possibly be perfect unless government be the 'minister of God to us for good' by other means than by 'executing vengeance.' (This reference to the texts that the Doctor singularly strains we deem sufficient.) All his admissions—that the voluntary principle would do the work the best, if only it had power to do it at all—seem continually damped by the alarming thought, that government, by the way, would be then despoiled of half its functions. His description of the best government, on page 262, would just as well defend a state-church as a state-school. Dr. Vaughan, also, will not find it easy to restrict his government's confession of a faith to theism and ethica, if he once expect them to profess as much as this. Making the governor the interpreter and guardian of God's moral law, may as coolly proclaim him Pontifex Maximus at once. It is the honour that the Doctor puts upon him; we know that frequently a governor has known himself to be so. However, we know that it is a blessed thing for our government to have no such notion of its duty as to edge or force its way upon them.

that a government may be a moral teacher because it is already a moral administrator. And we know not how a government could be justified in doing less if, indeed, moral administration be its sphere. It amuses us to find our authors begging for permission for a government to do what a government is bound to do, if it be already what they say. On the assumption of the 'abstract right' of governments to educate the people, we could as easily put knotty cases that involve a score of principles quite foreign to the subject as does the Edinburgh reviewer on the assumption of the right's denial. He himself resolves the question into one of mere police. It ceases, then, to be the question for discussion. We speak of *popular* education; he virtually argues about *criminal*. He would prevent the rise of a bad citizen; we would be content with nothing less than the formation of a good one. 'But if we cannot do the whole,' he answers, 'let us do a part.' 'Join us,' we reply, 'in removing the other obstructions to a proper civic state, obstructions altogether different from ignorance, and equally deplored by you as by ourselves, and then with your good aid in application of the voluntary principle we will do the whole and nothing less. Retaining your low aim and glancing timidly at these obstructions, as at lions, you will only form a race of harmless serfs on earth, and will do nothing to fill heaven.'

This question of the 'abstract right' has been, we think, unnecessarily perplexed. If we think of government as emanating from the people, and to them responsible, they have a civic right to do that for which they are appointed, and, therefore, to educate the people if the people wish it. If we divest our idea of a government of all that is not absolutely essential, and of whatever was not clinging to it in the first formation of society, we shall form a very different estimation of its rights, meaning thereby its necessary powers, and suggesting its correspondent duties. Till recently the people of this land have wished the government to educate them; the government have, therefore, had a civic right to try. But the people are rapidly changing their opinion, and the government will act wisely, therefore, if they wait the issue. For meanwhile we find nothing in the pure and primary idea of government in the first natural formation of society that renders it the right and duty of a governor to educate the people. The right, when had, has been the growth of circumstances. Nor do we find the Bible give a right Divine to educate; but on the contrary we find an educational establishment there authorised, the domestic, which can only be dishonoured in proportion as the state concerns itself for *popular*, not criminal or pauper, education, and to restore which if now dishonoured to its just position, not

to throw it altogether into desuetude, ought to be among the chief objects of the Christian patriot. We think that on this matter we should not, after explanation, differ much from Dr. Hoppus; for when he says on p. 253, 'It is likely that the abstract principle may ultimately resolve itself into the effect of a conviction that, no unobjectionable scheme of education can be framed in this country on account of the influence of the church establishment,' we have nothing important to suggest but that after the word 'framed' we read, 'without exerting the influence of a church establishment.'

Brief Notices.

The Venerable Bede's Ecclesiastical History of England. Also, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. With Illustrative Notes, and a Map of Anglo-Saxon England, and a General Index. Edited by J. A. Giles, D.C.L.

Six Old English Chronicles, of which two are now first Translated from the Monkish Latin Originals. Edited, with Illustrative Notes, by J. A. Giles, D.C.L. London: Henry G. Bohn.

THESE two volumes belong to the *Antiquarian Library*, now in the course of publication by Mr. Bohn, and cannot fail to receive a hearty welcome from a large class of readers. The series to which they belong, is one of the best contributions to English historical literature which this age of enterprise and cheap publications has produced. The works to be included in it have hitherto been accessible to the learned and wealthy only. Their titles merely have been known to the great body of our countrymen, or if, in a few cases something of their contents has been learned, it has been through the medium of occasional references in the pages of our more popular historians. The earlier period of our annals is, in consequence, little more than a blank to the popular mind. We know less of Anglo-Saxon History than of the fortunes of Greece or Rome, and the effect is visible throughout the range of our political economy. The enterprise of Mr. Bohn has happily removed these obstacles, and we confess to a feeling of strong solicitude, that such a measure of public patronage should be extended to his undertaking, as will encourage him to persevere.

Of *Bede's Ecclesiastical History* it is needless to speak. It was first published on the continent, and the earliest edition in our own

country appeared in 1643—4. Since then it has been repeatedly printed, and three separate editions have been issued during the last seven years. It brings down the ecclesiastical affairs of the Anglo-Saxons to a comparatively modern date, and is, confessedly the most important record we possess of the period over which it extends.

The Saxon Chronicle, which Mr. Bohn has printed with it, is a continued narrative, written at different dates, and extends to the year 1154. Both works are indispensable to the historian, and full of sterling interest to the general reader.

The other volume consists of six old chronicles:—Ethelwerd's, Asser's Life of Alfred, Geoffrey of Monmouth's British History, Gildas, Nennius, and Richard of Cirencester. The historical value of these pieces varies considerably, and the genuineness of some of them is involved in doubt. All, however, are worthy of investigation, and their being now rendered accessible to the generality of readers, is matter of no trifling gratification. Dr. Giles has executed his part as editor in a manner entitled to praise. His *Introductions* contain a large mass of interesting information, bearing on the works in question, and will serve at once to excite and to guide enquiry.

We strongly recommend the series to all such of our readers as are concerned to inform themselves on the earlier and least known portions of our history.

Savindroog; or the Queen of the Jungle. By Captain Rafter. In three volumes. London: Longman and Co.

THE annals of India may be said to constitute one continued romance, and we have sometimes wondered that our writers of fiction have not availed themselves more largely of them. It is not, however, altogether difficult to account for the fact. Such of our countrymen as are residents in India, are either preoccupied in the pursuit of wealth, or are indisposed, through the enervating influence of the climate, to work up the materials around them. On the other hand, our literary men at home are conscious of a want of sympathy between themselves and the imagery, mythology, and habits of the East, which warns them of the immense difficulty they will have to encounter in inviting public attention to such themes. Captain Rafter is not insensible to these difficulties, yet he has addressed himself in a hopeful spirit to his work, and has in a great measure succeeded. 'In the hope,' he says, 'of filling a hiatus in literature,' he has ventured to make 'his appearance in the world of letters; and to offer to the public a romance in which, under the veil of fiction, his object has been to diffuse a more general and agreeable acquaintance with Indian history, than can be obtained even by a perusal of the voluminous works connected therewith; and to delineate what

he honestly believes, from much reading and long observation, to be a true and faithful picture of the manners of the east.'

Such is the object of the author, and his pages clearly show that he is not unequal to his task. The hero of the tale is Kempé Goud, a Jungle chief, of the Bheel tribe, whose fate is supposed to be linked with that of the beautiful daughter of the Rajah of Mysore. We shall not attempt to sketch the reckless perfidy and daring courage, with which he attempts to prevent the marriage of the Princess Lachema, with the brave and generous Kistna, as this would be forestalling the pleasure to be derived from the work itself. Suffice it to say, that the characters are drawn with considerable skill, and that much light is thrown on the customs, scenery, superstitions, and character of the East. The fearless and haughty bearing of the robber chief, the fidelity of his clansmen, and the predatory mode of their life, the ambition and faithlessness of the beautiful Cashmerian Lilla, the hopeless love and terrible revenge of Vega, the purity and truthfulness of the daughter of Mysore, the high-toned affection, heroic generosity and persevering search of Kistna, the absurd pomposity and ridiculous superstition of the Brahmin Oodiaver, and the garrulous conceit of Hafiz, are sketched with a masterly hand. Many of the scenes are deeply interesting, and even those parts which, relating to the mythology and superstitions of the East, are least attractive, minister largely to the information of the reader. The plot thickens as it advances, and the result realizes our hopes. Altogether we can cordially recommend the 'Queen of the Jungle,' to all the lovers of light literature, and shall be glad to find that the author is encouraged to prosecute his design of still further illustrating the habits and history of the East.

The Service of Song in the House of the Lord; an Oration and Argument. By Thomas Binney. 8vo. pp. 58. London: Jackson and Walford.

'My writing this book,' says Mr. Binney, 'has been very much of an accident. Wishing to encourage attendance on a proposed course of Lectures on Psalmody, by the Rev. J. J. Waite, I preached a short sermon on the subject to my congregation, with no other view but that of exciting so much interest as might induce that attendance. To my surprise, I found there was a very general and strong desire for the publication of the discourse. I consented to prepare a brief and rapid 'recollection,' in the form of a penny tract. Having begun, I became increasingly interested in the subject; and it struck me that by laying aside the form of a sermon, introducing topics and allusions which the sermon does not permit, by collecting Bible facts, and giving Bible authorities, I might greatly interest thoughtful and intelligent young persons in the Scriptures themselves, and help them to discover that the book, so often associated with

ideas of dulness and gloom, is not only the most important in itself, but one of the most interesting in the world.' Such is the history of this pamphlet, and we heartily rejoice that Mr. Binney was induced to follow the prompting of the occasion. Such a publication was needed, and the time of its appearance is most opportune. The author has happily succeeded in throwing light over a variety of subjects which are very indistinctly comprehended, and has brought out most felicitously the more attractive qualities with which such themes are invested. The younger members of our households, especially, will find much in his pamphlet to instruct and improve them, and we strongly recommend its early and attentive perusal.

The Modern Orator; being a Collection of Celebrated Speeches of the most Distinguished Orators of the United Kingdom. Charles James Fox. Part IX. London: Aylott and Jones.

WE are glad to report the steady progress of this work. It is one of the best productions of the press, and illustrates the vast advantages now enjoyed over those which were common in our youth. The speeches of our great parliamentary orators have, till recently, been a sealed book to the people. Their costliness placed them beyond the reach of most readers, and it is difficult to estimate the loss thus sustained by the public mind. This obstacle is now happily removed by the 'Modern Orator,' which brings within the reach of all, the best productions of our greatest men. We have already said what we think of the scope and merits of such a publication, and need, therefore, not repeat our emphatic commendation. The second Series, of which the ninth part is before us, consists of the speeches of Charles James Fox, whose profound and brilliant oratory upheld the cause of freedom during one of the darkest periods of our history. His speeches are admirably suited to the present times, and we are glad that the Editor has interwoven them with those of some of his most distinguished contemporaries. We say again, in right earnestness, let every young man who would possess an intelligent acquaintance with the history of his country, and the progress of political science, obtain and closely study a copy of this work.

Prevention better than Cure; or, the Moral Wants of the World we live in. By Mrs. Ellis, author of 'The Women of England,' &c. &c. Fisher, Son, and Co. 1847.

MRS. ELLIS needs no introduction to our readers, and no recommendation. If some of the subjects which she has taken in hand require for their full development a deeper philosophy than she has brought to their treatment, she seldom writes without contributing sound

sense in a graceful dress, to the illustration and application of important truths.

The topics discussed by Mrs. Ellis are:—‘General State of Society;’ ‘Standards of Moral Excellence;’ ‘Universal Activity;’ ‘Onward Movement;’ ‘Unproductive Effort;’ ‘Physical Hindrances;’ ‘Natural Tendencies;’ ‘Social Influences;’ ‘Claims of the Poor;’ ‘Education of Circumstances;’ ‘Education of Schools;’ ‘Slight Hints on Great Principles.’ These topics are treated with wisdom and fidelity. Sometimes, we hesitate to admit the fair author’s conclusions; but, generally, her views are such as must approve themselves to all thinking Christians. On the whole, the work is fully equal to its predecessors from the same pen; and we wish it a wide circulation among those who have influence in bringing the truths it teaches to bear on the welfare of our race and country.

Scenes from the Bible. By the Rev. J. A. Wylie, A.M., author of ‘The Modern Judea, Ammon, Moab, and Edom, compared with Ancient Prophecy,’ etc. William Collins.

THIS is one of Mr. Collins’s cheap series of popular works, nor is it one of the least valuable. More than thirty of the most interesting scenes presented in scripture are pictured with considerable graphic power, and, by the aid of sound and sensible observations, are made conducive to the highest good of the reader. We can safely commend the volume, especially to intelligent youth.

1. *Glimpses of the Old World; or, Excursions on the Continent, and in Great Britain.* By the late Rev. John A. Clark, D.D., Rector of St. Andrew’s Church, Philadelphia, United States. In two volumes. The Fourth Edition. With a *Memoir of His Life.* By the Rev. S. H. Tyng, D.D., New York.
2. *Recollections of England.* By the Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, D.D., Rector of St. George’s, New York. 1847. London: Samuel Bagster and Sons. 1847.

DR. CLARK was, and Dr. Tyng is, an excellent clergyman of the American Episcopal Church, decidedly and warmly evangelical, and earnestly devoted to the cause of God. There is much, therefore, in these volumes that cannot but commend itself to the pious of all denominations. At the same time, we cannot see the reason for which they appear in this country. Excepting the volume which records Dr. Clark’s travels on the Continent, they have little interest to an English reader beyond what may be felt in an intelligent foreigner’s views, hurriedly taken and given, of our characters and proceedings. Still, they may be useful by helping readers to find

fair estimate of the rapid sketches of the things and people of other lands, so popular among us.

The volumes are, to a great extent, occupied with accounts of meetings and sermons, descriptions of preachers and speakers, accompanied sometimes by long extracts, connected chiefly with the church of England, of whose prosperity glorious things are spoken; whose pulpit ministrations are pronounced inferior to those of its American sister; towards which the Wesleyans are said to be rapidly approximating; and compared with which the dissenters, properly so called, are described as being in a poor and miserable plight.

Both authors write with intelligence as well as piety, and we can easily suppose their letters have proved acceptable to American readers, but we repeat, that we do not see the necessity of their being added to the immense mass of issues from the English press of a like kind, which so frequently take the place of better and more useful literature.

Journal of a Few Months' Residence in Portugal, and Glimpses of the South of Spain. In Two Volumes. London: E. Moxon. 1847.

THE author is right in believing that 'no country in Europe is less thoroughly familiar to us, none indeed which has been more imperfectly explored by tourists,' than Portugal, and he has done something, in a light and lively way, to increase our acquaintance with that interesting land. At the same time, there is not a little in these volumes that might be advantageously omitted, and a good deal that might be advantageously condensed. This, however, is only saying what would equally apply to most publications of the kind.

Vital Christianity; Essays and Discourses on the Religions of Man, and the Religion of God. By Alexander Vinet, D.D., Professor of Theology in Lausanne. Translated, with an Introduction, by Robert Turnbull, Pastor of the Harvard Street Church, Boston pp. 316. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clarke. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. 1846.

PROFESSOR VINET, (whom Dr. Merle D'Aubigne, has described as the *Chalmers of Switzerland*) is very favourably known in this country through his admirable work on 'The Profession of Personal Conviction in connection with Church Establishments.' He has done good and great service in France and Switzerland, both as a defender of evangelical religion, and as an opponent of the union of church and state. The present work, as the translator observes, is addressed particularly to that large class of cultivated minds who to some prepossessions in favour of Christianity, but who, from influence of latent scepticism, do not yield their hearts to

he honestly believes, from much reading and long observation, to be a true and faithful picture of the manners of the east.'

Such is the object of the author, and his pages clearly show that he is not unequal to his task. The hero of the tale is Kempé Goud, a Jungle chief, of the Bheel tribe, whose fate is supposed to be linked with that of the beautiful daughter of the Rajah of Mysore. We shall not attempt to sketch the reckless perfidy and daring courage, with which he attempts to prevent the marriage of the Princess Lachema, with the brave and generous Kistna, as this would be forestalling the pleasure to be derived from the work itself. Suffice it to say, that the characters are drawn with considerable skill, and that much light is thrown on the customs, scenery, superstitions, and character of the East. The fearless and haughty bearing of the robber chief, the fidelity of his clansmen, and the predatory mode of their life, the ambition and faithlessness of the beautiful Cashmerian Lilla, the hopeless love and terrible revenge of Vega, the purity and truthfulness of the daughter of Mysore, the high-toned affection, heroic generosity and persevering search of Kistna, the absurd pomposity and ridiculous superstition of the Brahmin Oodiaver, and the garrulous conceit of Hafiz, are sketched with a masterly hand. Many of the scenes are deeply interesting, and even those parts which, relating to the mythology and superstitions of the East, are least attractive, minister largely to the information of the reader. The plot thickens as it advances, and the result realizes our hopes. Altogether we can cordially recommend the '*Queen of the Jungle*,' to all the lovers of light literature, and shall be glad to find that the author is encouraged to prosecute his design of still further illustrating the habits and history of the East.

The Service of Song in the House of the Lord; an Oration and Argument. By Thomas Binney. 8vo. pp. 58. London: Jackson and Walford.

'My writing this book,' says Mr. Binney, 'has been very much of an accident. Wishing to encourage attendance on a proposed course of Lectures on Psalmody, by the Rev. J. J. Waite, I preached a short sermon on the subject to my congregation, with no other view but that of exciting so much interest as might induce that attendance. To my surprise, I found there was a very general and strong desire for the publication of the discourse. I consented to prepare a brief and rapid 'recollection,' in the form of a penny tract. Having begun, I became increasingly interested in the subject; and it struck me that by laying aside the form of a sermon, introducing topics and allusions which the sermon does not permit, by collecting Bible facts, and giving Bible authorities, I might greatly interest thoughtful and intelligent young persons in the Scriptures themselves, and help them to discover that the book, so often associated with

accommodation ; that the quality of the instruction is fast rising, almost as fast, perhaps, if not altogether, as can be appreciated and is fit ; that, according to the present course of things, the more destitute localities will be ultimately served ; that there are causes which effectually prevent the full use of existing institutions ; that no scheme as yet proposed by government affects these causes, or provides otherwise than very indirectly for the wants of the more destitute ; that the probable working of the given scheme, and of any general scheme that may come forth, will give a large and most undesirable amount of power to 'the Church ;' that its influence in damaging the nation's character may be, and if not sedulously watched, is almost sure to be, considerable ; that such scheme is likely, whether necessarily or not, to repress the most important efforts made at present for the general object ; that it is virtually punitive ; that, regarded as a punitive infliction, it involves the worthy and the unworthy alike ; that it tends to blind individuals to their duties, and thus, as Mr. Baines says nervously, 'to rob them of their virtues ;' that the like experiment has never yet been satisfactorily tried ; that the scheme, if offered by the Tories, ought to have been scouted ; that Tories, notwithstanding, may be called to work it out ; that it is not the best scheme, but is, indeed, at present, bad, and partakes the elements of the very worst that can be ; and yet that, after all it requires but a little alteration to become the best that circumstances suffer. We are most solicitous not to exaggerate the admissions of these writers ; and we think it easy to substantiate the foregoing assertions by quotations from the Tracts before us. And, of course, we could as easily append hereto a number of conclusions we deem quite as just ; as that ridicule of voluntaryism *in re* education is much more appropriate *in re* religion ; or that the theory of government which suffers state interference in the one, is equally constrained to suffer it in both ; or that the proportion of nonconformist friends to nonconformist foes to government aid is as one to infinite. But fixing our attention on one extract only from the 'Edinburgh Review,' 'alas ! if this be true, we have something more than school accommodation to provide ; and that is the disposition, or the opportunity, or both, on the part of the people to learn ;' thinking of this only, and its implications, we inquire what it is, then, which, while it is doubtful whether government assistance be required or not, prompts such writers to assume the false position which they hold, that, we mean, of advocates for some imaginary concrete ; a position which importantly diverts them from antagonism to an actual scheme involving what they deem a principle intolerably bad, and which causes them to seem to the supporters of that scheme less

hostile to them than to their spiritual brethren. And we find the cause to be the very matter they impute to us as folly, their devoted love of abstract principles. We glory in the charge; and should be happy if we thought ourselves to deserve it. Our conviction on the present matter is, however, that these gentlemen, and such, have anticipated our assertion of an abstract principle. Startled by some of our denials, and expecting to expose us to the charge of inconsistency, they have cried out, 'You might as well deny the right of government to educate the people;' assuming thus the right in question. And their maintenance of the assumption is apparent in the passages we cited when commencing this discussion; and throughout all their writings they exhibit the same spirit. They bewail as piteously as we once heard Lord John Russell, the hard lot of governments that had no right to do any good but in the form of virtual punishments; or, as his lordship funnily said, 'to do anything but whip 'em, hang 'em, and transport 'em, without teaching 'em about a God and a Christ.' His conscience, he assured us, would not let him do it. We like not the degrading tone in which the duties of police and doomsmen are habitually described by this philosophic school; and as yet we see no reason to conclude that these are virtually less than 'the whole duty of a government.' Indeed we more than once detect Professor Hoppus on the verge of granting all we plead for on this matter; till reminded of his 'abstract principle,' and becoming fearful of dishonouring 'authorities,' he seems to rouse himself and to inquire if society can ever possibly be perfect unless government be the 'minister of God to us for good' by other means than by 'executing vengeance.' (This reference to the texts that the Doctor singularly strains we deem sufficient.) All his admissions—that the voluntary principle would do the work the best, if only it had power to do it at all—seem continually damped by the alarming thought, that government, by the way, would be then despoiled of half its functions. His description of the best government, on page 262, would just as well defend a state-church as a state-school. Dr. Vaughan, also, will not find it easy to restrict his government's confession of a faith to theism and ethics, if he once expect them to profess as much as this. Making the governor the interpreter and guardian of God's moral law, we may as coolly proclaim him Pontifex Maximus at once. Vast is the honour that the Doctor puts upon him; we wonder how frequently a governor has known himself to have it. Of this, however, we are sure, that it is a blessed thing for subjects when their governors have no such knowledge or belief. Let but governors get such a notion and they change the Doctor's MAY to MUST when he tells them

that a government may be a moral teacher because it is already a moral administrator. And we know not how a government could be justified in doing less if, indeed, moral administration be its sphere. It amuses us to find our authors begging for permission for a government to do what a government is bound to do, if it be already what they say. On the assumption of the 'abstract right' of governments to educate the people, we could as easily put knotty cases that involve a score of principles quite foreign to the subject as does the Edinburgh reviewer on the assumption of the right's denial. He himself resolves the question into one of mere police. It ceases, then, to be the question for discussion. We speak of *popular* education; he virtually argues about *criminal*. He would prevent the rise of a bad citizen; we would be content with nothing less than the formation of a good one. 'But if we cannot do the whole,' he answers, 'let us do a part.' 'Join us,' we reply, 'in removing the other obstructions to a proper civic state, obstructions altogether different from ignorance, and equally deplored by you as by ourselves, and then with your good aid in application of the voluntary principle we will do the whole and nothing less. Retaining your low aim and glancing timidly at these obstructions, as at lions, you will only form a race of harmless serfs on earth, and will do nothing to fill heaven.'

This question of the 'abstract right' has been, we think, unnecessarily perplexed. If we think of government as emanating from the people, and to them responsible, they have a civic right to do that for which they are appointed, and, therefore, to educate the people if the people wish it. If we divest our idea of a government of all that is not absolutely essential, and of whatever was not clinging to it in the first formation of society, we shall form a very different estimation of its rights, meaning thereby its necessary powers, and suggesting its correspondent duties. Till recently the people of this land have wished the government to educate them; the government have, therefore, had a civic right to try. But the people are rapidly changing their opinion, and the government will act wisely, therefore, if they wait the issue. For meanwhile we find nothing in the pure and primary idea of government in the first natural formation of society that renders it the right and duty of a governor to educate the people. The right, when had, has been the growth of circumstances. Nor do we find the Bible give a right Divine to educate; but on the contrary we find an educational establishment there authorised, the domestic, which can only be dishonoured in proportion as the state concerns itself for *popular*, not criminal or pauper, education, and to restore which if now dishonoured to its just position, not

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to throw it altogether into desuetude, ought to be among the chief objects of the Christian patriot. We think that on this matter we should not, after explanation, differ much from Dr. Hoppus; for when he says on p. 253, 'It is likely that the abstract principle may ultimately resolve itself into the effect of a conviction that, no unobjectionable scheme of education can be framed in this country on account of the influence of the church establishment,' we have nothing important to suggest but that after the word 'framed' we read, 'without exerting the influence of a church establishment.'

Brief Notices.

The Venerable Bede's Ecclesiastical History of England. Also, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. With Illustrative Notes, and a Map of Anglo-Saxon England, and a General Index. Edited by J. A. Giles, D.C.L.

Six Old English Chronicles, of which two are now first Translated from the Monkish Latin Originals. Edited, with Illustrative Notes, by J. A. Giles, D.C.L. London: Henry G. Bohn.

THESE two volumes belong to the *Antiquarian Library*, now in the course of publication by Mr. Bohn, and cannot fail to receive a hearty welcome from a large class of readers. The series to which they belong, is one of the best contributions to English historical literature which this age of enterprise and cheap publications has produced. The works to be included in it have hitherto been accessible to the learned and wealthy only. Their titles merely have been known to the great body of our countrymen, or if, in a few cases something of their contents has been learned, it has been through the medium of occasional references in the pages of our more popular historians. The earlier period of our annals is, in consequence, little more than a blank to the popular mind. We know less of Anglo-Saxon History than of the fortunes of Greece or Rome, and the effect is visible throughout the range of our political economy. The enterprise of Mr. Bohn has happily removed these obstacles, and we confess to a feeling of strong solicitude, that such a measure of public patronage should be extended to his undertaking, as will encourage him to persevere.

Of *Bede's Ecclesiastical History* it is needless to speak. It was first published on the continent, and the earliest edition in our own

country appeared in 1643—4. Since then it has been repeatedly printed, and three separate editions have been issued during the last seven years. It brings down the ecclesiastical affairs of the Anglo-Saxons to a comparatively modern date, and is confessedly the most important record we possess of the period over which it extends.

The Saxon Chronicle, which Mr. Bohn has printed with it, is a continued narrative, written at different dates, and extends to the year 1154. Both works are indispensable to the historian, and full of sterling interest to the general reader.

The other volume consists of six old chronicles:—Ethelwerd's, Asser's Life of Alfred, Geoffrey of Monmouth's British History, Gildas, Nennius, and Richard of Cirencester. The historical value of these pieces varies considerably, and the genuineness of some of them is involved in doubt. All, however, are worthy of investigation, and their being now rendered accessible to the generality of readers, is matter of no trifling gratification. Dr. Giles has executed his part as editor in a manner entitled to praise. His *Introductions* contain a large mass of interesting information, bearing on the works in question, and will serve at once to excite and to guide enquiry.

We strongly recommend the series to all such of our readers as are concerned to inform themselves on the earlier and least known portions of our history.

Savindroog ; or the Queen of the Jungle. By Captain Rafter. In three volumes. London : Longman and Co.

THE annals of India may be said to constitute one continued romance, and we have sometimes wondered that our writers of fiction have not availed themselves more largely of them. It is not, however, altogether difficult to account for the fact. Such of our countrymen as are residents in India, are either preoccupied in the pursuit of wealth, or are indisposed, through the enervating influence of the climate, to work up the materials around them. On the other hand, our literary men at home are conscious of a want of sympathy between themselves and the imagery, mythology, and habits of the East, which warns them of the immense difficulty they will have to encounter in inviting public attention to such themes. Captain Rafter is not insensible to these difficulties, yet he has addressed himself in a hopeful spirit to his work, and has in a great measure succeeded. 'In the hope,' he says, 'of filling a hiatus in literature,' he has ventured to make 'his appearance in the world of letters; and to offer to the public a romance in which, under the veil of fiction, his object has been to diffuse a more general and agreeable acquaintance with Indian history, than can be obtained even by a perusal of the voluminous works connected therewith; and to delineate what

he honestly believes, from much reading and long observation, to be a true and faithful picture of the manners of the east.'

Such is the object of the author, and his pages clearly show that he is not unequal to his task. The hero of the tale is Kempé Goud, a Jungle chief, of the Bheel tribe, whose fate is supposed to be linked with that of the beautiful daughter of the Rajah of Mysore. We shall not attempt to sketch the reckless perfidy and daring courage, with which he attempts to prevent the marriage of the Princess Lachema, with the brave and generous Kistna, as this would be forestalling the pleasure to be derived from the work itself. Suffice it to say, that the characters are drawn with considerable skill, and that much light is thrown on the customs, scenery, superstitions, and character of the East. The fearless and haughty bearing of the robber chief, the fidelity of his clansmen, and the predatory mode of their life, the ambition and faithlessness of the beautiful Cashmerian Lilla, the hopeless love and terrible revenge of Vega, the purity and truthfulness of the daughter of Mysore, the high-toned affection, heroic generosity and persevering search of Kistna, the absurd pomposity and ridiculous superstition of the Brahmin Oodiaver, and the garrulous conceit of Hafiz, are sketched with a masterly hand. Many of the scenes are deeply interesting, and even those parts which, relating to the mythology and superstitions of the East, are least attractive, minister largely to the information of the reader. The plot thickens as it advances, and the result realizes our hopes. Altogether we can cordially recommend the '*Queen of the Jungle*,' to all the lovers of light literature, and shall be glad to find that the author is encouraged to prosecute his design of still further illustrating the habits and history of the East.

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'My writing this book,' says Mr. Binney, 'has been very much of an accident. Wishing to encourage attendance on a proposed course of Lectures on Psalmody, by the Rev. J. J. Waite, I preached a short sermon on the subject to my congregation, with no other view but that of exciting so much interest as might induce that attendance. To my surprise, I found there was a very general and strong desire for the publication of the discourse. I consented to prepare a brief and rapid 'recollection,' in the form of a penny tract. Having begun, I became increasingly interested in the subject; and it struck me that by laying aside the form of a sermon, introducing topics and allusions which the sermon does not permit, by collecting Bible facts, and giving Bible authorities, I might greatly interest thoughtful and intelligent young persons in the Scriptures themselves, and help them to discover that the book, so often associated with

ideas of dulness and gloom, is not only the most important in itself, but one of the most interesting in the world.' Such is the history of this pamphlet, and we heartily rejoice that Mr. Binney was induced to follow the prompting of the occasion. Such a publication was needed, and the time of its appearance is most opportune. The author has happily succeeded in throwing light over a variety of subjects which are very indistinctly comprehended, and has brought out most felicitously the more attractive qualities with which such themes are invested. The younger members of our households, especially, will find much in his pamphlet to instruct and improve them, and we strongly recommend its early and attentive perusal.

The Modern Orator ; being a Collection of Celebrated Speeches of the most Distinguished Orators of the United Kingdom. Charles James Fox. Part IX. London: Aylott and Jones.

WE are glad to report the steady progress of this work. It is one of the best productions of the press, and illustrates the vast advantages now enjoyed over those which were common in our youth. The speeches of our great parliamentary orators have, till recently, been a sealed book to the people. Their costliness placed them beyond the reach of most readers, and it is difficult to estimate the loss thus sustained by the public mind. This obstacle is now happily removed by the 'Modern Orator,' which brings within the reach of all, the best productions of our greatest men. We have already said what we think of the scope and merits of such a publication, and need, therefore, not repeat our emphatic commendation. The second Series, of which the ninth part is before us, consists of the speeches of Charles James Fox, whose profound and brilliant oratory upheld the cause of freedom during one of the darkest periods of our history. His speeches are admirably suited to the present times, and we are glad that the Editor has interwoven them with those of some of his most distinguished contemporaries. We say again, in right earnestness, let every young man who would possess an intelligent acquaintance with the history of his country, and the progress of political science, obtain and closely study a copy of this work.

Prevention better than Cure ; or, the Moral Wants of the World we live in. By Mrs. Ellis, author of 'The Women of England,' &c. &c. Fisher, Son, and Co. 1847.

MRS. ELLIS needs no introduction to our readers, and no recommendation. If some of the subjects which she has taken in hand require for their full development a deeper philosophy than she has brought to their treatment, she seldom writes without contributing sound

sense in a graceful dress, to the illustration and application of important truths.

The topics discussed by Mrs. Ellis are:—‘General State of Society;’ ‘Standards of Moral Excellence;’ ‘Universal Activity;’ ‘Onward Movement;’ ‘Unproductive Effort;’ ‘Physical Hindrances;’ ‘Natural Tendencies;’ ‘Social Influences;’ ‘Claims of the Poor;’ ‘Education of Circumstances;’ ‘Education of Schools;’ ‘Slight Hints on Great Principles.’ These topics are treated with wisdom and fidelity. Sometimes, we hesitate to admit the fair author’s conclusions; but, generally, her views are such as must approve themselves to all thinking Christians. On the whole, the work is fully equal to its predecessors from the same pen; and we wish it a wide circulation among those who have influence in bringing the truths it teaches to bear on the welfare of our race and country.

Scenes from the Bible. By the Rev. J. A. Wylie, A.M., author of ‘The Modern Judea, Ammon, Moab, and Edom, compared with Ancient Prophecy,’ etc. William Collins.

THIS is one of Mr. Collins’s cheap series of popular works, nor is it one of the least valuable. More than thirty of the most interesting scenes presented in scripture are pictured with considerable graphic power, and, by the aid of sound and sensible observations, are made conducive to the highest good of the reader. We can safely commend the volume, especially to intelligent youth.

1. *Glimpses of the Old World; or, Excursions on the Continent, and in Great Britain.* By the late Rev. John A. Clark, D.D., Rector of St. Andrew’s Church, Philadelphia, United States. In two volumes. The Fourth Edition. With a *Memoir of His Life.* By the Rev. S. H. Tyng, D.D., New York.
2. *Recollections of England.* By the Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, D.D., Rector of St. George’s, New York. 1847. London: Samuel Bagster and Sons. 1847.

DR. CLARK was, and Dr. Tyng is, an excellent clergyman of the American Episcopal Church, decidedly and warmly evangelical, and earnestly devoted to the cause of God. There is much, therefore, in these volumes that cannot but commend itself to the pious of all denominations. At the same time, we cannot see the reason for which they appear in this country. Excepting the volume which records Dr. Clark’s travels on the Continent, they have little interest to an English reader beyond what may be felt in an intelligent foreigner’s views, hurriedly taken and given, of our characters and proceedings. Still, they may be useful by helping readers to form a

fair estimate of the rapid sketches of the things and people of other lands, so popular among us.

The volumes are, to a great extent, occupied with accounts of meetings and sermons, descriptions of preachers and speakers, accompanied sometimes by long extracts, connected chiefly with the church of England, of whose prosperity glorious things are spoken; whose pulpit ministrations are pronounced inferior to those of its American sister; towards which the Wesleyans are said to be rapidly approximating; and compared with which the dissenters, properly so called, are described as being in a poor and miserable plight.

Both authors write with intelligence as well as piety, and we can easily suppose their letters have proved acceptable to American readers, but we repeat, that we do not see the necessity of their being added to the immense mass of issues from the English press of a like kind, which so frequently take the place of better and more useful literature.

Journal of a Few Months' Residence in Portugal, and Glimpses of the South of Spain. In Two Volumes. London: E. Moxon. 1847.

THE author is right in believing that 'no country in Europe is less thoroughly familiar to us, none indeed which has been more imperfectly explored by tourists,' than Portugal, and he has done something, in a light and lively way, to increase our acquaintance with that interesting land. At the same time, there is not a little in these volumes that might be advantageously omitted, and a good deal that might be advantageously condensed. This, however, is only saying what would equally apply to most publications of the kind.

Vital Christianity; Essays and Discourses on the Religions of Man, and the Religion of God. By Alexander Vinet, D.D., Professor of Theology in Lausanne. Translated, with an Introduction, by Robert Turnbull, Pastor of the Harvard Street Church, Boston pp. 316. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clarke. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. 1846.

PROFESSOR VINET, (whom Dr. Merle D'Aubigne, has described as the *Chalmers of Switzerland*) is very favourably known in this country through his admirable work on 'The Profession of Personal Conviction in connection with Church Establishments.' He has done good and great service in France and Switzerland, both as a defender of evangelical religion, and as an opponent of the union of church and state. The present work, as the translator observes, is 'addressed particularly to that large class of cultivated minds who have some prepossessions in favour of Christianity, but who, from the influence of latent scepticism, do not yield their hearts to

its direct and all-controlling influence. This circumstance stamps upon it a peculiar character. It has rendered it at once profound and practical. The author discusses a great number of most important topics, with acuteness and power, and in a style of vivacious eloquence that interests and warms, while it instructs. We sincerely hope that this antidote to scepticism and formality, will find its way into the circles where they are exerting so powerfully their benumbing and enervating influence.

Letters in Vindication of Dissent, by Mr. Towgood, being replies to Three Letters and Two Defences of those Letters. By the Rev. Mr. White. pp. 180. Oldham: John Hurst.

'TOWGOOD'S LETTERS' are well known. They were very celebrated in his day, and have not, by any means, lost their worth. His objections to the established church chiefly respect it *as a church*—and although the question of establishment has, to a great extent, pushed them into the back ground, they are of a kind and a strength to demand attention. We should advise the extensive circulation of 'Towgood's Letters' along with publications dealing with the more general subject of the union of church and state.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

The Anatomy of the Navigation Laws. By John Lewis Ricardo, Esq., M.P.

Some Passages from Modern History. By the author of "Letters to my Unknown Friends."

A History of the Hebrew Monarchy, from the Administration of Samuel to the Babylonish Captivity.

The Reformation in Europe. By Cesare Cantu. Translated by Fortunato Prandi. Vol. I.

Review of a Work entitled "A Popular Life of George Fox;" reprinted, by permission, from the Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review.

A Book of Stories for Young People. By Mary Howitt, Mrs. S. C. Hall, Mrs. Cowden Clarke, &c.

Savindroog, or the Queen of the Jungle. By Capt. Rafter, late of the Ninety-fifth Regiment. 3 Vols.

Bohn's Standard Library—Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough, with his original Correspondence. Collected from the family records at Blenheim, and other authentic sources. By W. Coxe, M.A. and Archdeacon of

Wilts. A new edition, revised. By John Wade, author of "History Chronologically Arranged." Vol. I.

Six Old English Chronicles; of which two are now first translated from the Monkish Latin originals—Ethelwerd's Chronicle—Asser's Life of Alfred—Geoffrey of Monmouth's British History—Gildas—Nennius and Richard of Cirencester. Edited, with illustrative Notes, by J. A. Giles, D.C.L.

Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister not forbidden by the Law of Nature, not dissuaded by expediency, not prohibited by the Scriptures; including an examination of Professor Bush's Notes on Leviticus. By the Rev. J. F. Denham, M.A.

Memorials of Early Genius and Achievements in Pursuit of Knowledge.

New Testament. Nelson's large type. Comprehensive edition of Matthew Henry's Commentary (unabridged), with illustrative Engravings. Part II.

The People's Dictionary. Part XXVIII.

Caldwell's Musical Journal. Part VI.

National Cyclopædia of Useful Knowledge. Part XI.—Bokhara—Brabant.

Knight's Pictorial Bible. Part X.

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THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW
FOR FEBRUARY, 1848.

ART. I.—*The Constitution of the Church of the Future. A Practical Explanation of the Correspondence with the Right Honourable William Gladstone on the German Church, Episcopacy, and Jerusalem. With a Preface, Notes, and the Complete Correspondence.* By Christian Charles Josias Bunsen, D. Ph. D.C.L. Translated from the German, under the superintendence of, and with additions by, the Author. London : Longman and Co. 1847. pp. 321.

WE profess ourselves to belong to those who, weary with the contemplation of the venality, falsehood, and violence, which everywhere display themselves in the ecclesiastical history of the present and the past, often turn an anxious eye to futurity for relief. The sure word of prophecy reveals to us a time when he, 'who is Head over all things to the church,' shall take unto himself his great power and reign; and when his church, 'shaking herself from the dust, and putting on her beautiful garments, shall arise and shine, because her light is come, and the glory of God is arisen upon her.' Nor, to a devout mind, is there anything more delightful than to escape from the dark and dreary realities of the past, into those regions of future glory, which are thrown open to us in the Word of God. The mere announcement, therefore, of 'The Church of the Future,' caused, instantly, as by enchantment, many a bright vision to appear before us; so that, amongst the volumes on our table, the one to which our readers are now directed, was immediately seized

for perusal. But, alas! we soon discovered that a good title page, like the smiling face of a traitor, or the flowers that cover a bog, may serve only to mislead and deceive. A few pages were enough to convince us, that 'The Church of the Future' would be nothing more or less than antichrist under another form; or a kind of German amalgamation of all antichrists, present and past: a discovery which not only startled us from our visions but created an instinctive shudder and recoil.

The author assures us, at great length, that, of all persons, the ministers of religion are the worst qualified for either civil or ecclesiastical government; but, at the same time, affords them ample revenge, by showing, through the whole volume, that a minister of state may be the greatest of all bunglers in religion.

Happily, we live in a day in which the principles of religious freedom are beginning to be better understood and appreciated than in any preceding period of the world. But while the people are engaged in agitating the question, and in organizing their strength, to secure the long wished-for blessing, rulers and statesmen, it appears, are far more busily occupied, behind the scenes, in devising plans to counteract their movements. And as an exemplification of the danger to which our liberties are exposed from the intrigues of confederate politicians, the work before us is likely to be of great service, though in a manner very different from what the author designed. We shall endeavour therefore, to give our readers as clear an insight as our space will allow, into this singular production.

Its author, Chevalier Bunsen, has for some time held the important office of ambassador from the court of Prussia to this country, and is well known to the literary world as the intimate friend and historical successor of the illustrious Niebuhr. He is, therefore, a person whose learning and abilities, to say nothing of his rank and station in life, entitle him, in his proper sphere, to great deference and respect; and, notwithstanding the strange liberties which he takes with the sovereignty of the Son of God in the volume before us, we feel disposed to give him credit for as much earnestness and sincerity as statesmen generally have on religion.

Upon this momentous subject, it appears, that our author and the Right Honourable William E. Gladstone, who was then a member of Sir Robert Peel's administration, were drawn, by their common zeal, into close and confidential correspondence. In reviewing the state of Christendom, both these gentlemen seem to have arrived at the conclusion that, what with popery on the one hand, and independency (politely styled by Chevalier Bunsen, 'American Gospel,') on the other, the established protestantism of Europe occupies no very safe or enviable position.

and that something more, in the way of church-making, church-repairing, or church-alteration, should be attempted. On such a subject, ordinary men would naturally betake themselves to the Bible — the only religion, according to Chillingworth, of protestants. But into this vulgar error, of going to Christianity itself for the constitution of a Christian church, and of troubling themselves with studies by which divines, in general, render themselves unfit for even ecclesiastical government, such men as Bunsen and Gladstone were not likely to fall. Consequently their sole inquiry seems to have been whether, by a little diplomacy and mutual accommodation, a grand confederacy of protestant hierarchies, called churches, might not be formed.

The Jerusalem Bishopric for which our readers as loyal subjects have already been duly taxed, holds a prominent place in this correspondence, and appears to have been launched as a kind of pilot-balloon, to show how far the wind might prove favourable for a cooperative union of the German and Anglican churches upon a larger scale. Thus, while the friends of religious liberty in this country have been calling aloud for the removal of ecclesiastical burdens, our statesmen have not only been busily occupied in creating fresh bishoprics in England and her colonies, but carrying on a treaty with a foreign government to extend the nuisance, at the cost of this country, beyond the boundaries of the empire, and to form the protestant hierarchies of Europe into a confederate despotism against the liberties of mankind. Thus, through the impertinent meddling of a foreign ambassador with our internal affairs, fresh encroachments have been made, in the abused names of education and religion, on our dearest rights; and additional taxes, to a large amount and for the most obnoxious of all purposes, have been imposed, in accordance with the despotic views of the Prussian court.

But the legs of the lame are not equal. Church-makers, however rigid in the uniformity they would impose upon others, are not always perfectly agreed among themselves. It appears to have been conceded by the Prussian monarch, that the joint-stock affair at Jerusalem should be conducted upon the principles of diocesan episcopacy, and constitute a part of the Anglican church; Anglican ordination being deemed sufficient for Lutheran clergymen, while Lutheran ordination seems to have been regarded as by far too homely or destitute of apostolical validity to suit the lofty pretensions of the English prelates.

By this concession, however, he appears to have created great alarm and dissatisfaction in Germany; and accordingly to have commanded that a work by Abeken entitled '*Geschichtliche Darlegung mit Urkunden*,' should be published, as an authori-

tative exposition of the matter. But, if the Emperor Charles v. found it impossible, after numberless experiments, to make two watches keep exact time with each other, how could it be expected, that the rival pretensions of two haughty systems of priestcraft could immediately be adjusted by the Prussian monarch? The royal consolations administered in Germany, without silencing the murmurs of that country, appear only to have produced, in the sensitive breast of Mr. Gladstone, serious jealousy on behalf of the church of England; and that gentleman, in a letter to Chevalier Bunsen, expresses 'the strongest conviction' that 'the full ministerial communion,' which Abeken's book had promised to the Lutheran priesthood, was more than the British prelates had ever agreed to sanction. Upon this a short correspondence followed, the substance of which, being privately printed, was communicated by Bunsen to such persons as he thought proper in Germany.

But the information thus privately circulated by the ambassador soon found its way, in a garbled shape, into the public journals; and, as an antidote to the confusion and misrepresentation which it caused, he resolved, with the consent of Mr. Gladstone, to publish the correspondence entire; and, along with it, those reflections, on the constitution of the future church, which are embodied in the present treatise, after having occupied the mind of the author for 'the last five and twenty years.'

Had Chevalier Bunsen employed as many days or hours in a prayerful examination of the New Testament, he would have found that the constitution of the church of the future, as well as of the past, had been already fixed by Him who planned the universe and the constitution of the human mind; that within the boundaries of his kingdom monarchs and ambassadors stand upon a common level with the meanest subject; and that it is just as much their office to regulate the tides and tempests, or mend the solar system, as to legislate for the kingdom of heaven. But the thought of consulting the Head of the church, respecting the constitution of his kingdom, never seems to have entered our author's mind; and, equally unappalled by the magnitude of the undertaking and the acknowledged failures of all preceding statesmen, he enters as boldly and deliberately on the stupendous work of church-making for the future, as if the realms of conscience and the ages to come were as much at the disposal of the Prussian king, as the sandy regions of Berlin.

Determined therefore, *more Germanico*, to go far enough back for the origin of 'church-life,' he tells us in his first chapter, that both branches of it, that which relates to God and that

which relates to the world, have their root in the idea of the priesthood ; and that they can receive no purely Christian form, unless the doctrine of the universal priesthood of Christians is rightly understood and faithfully maintained. All religions, he reminds us, had their priests and sacrifices by priests which were sin offerings or thank-offerings ; declaring, in the one case, the worshipper's consciousness of separation from God and yet of dependence upon him ; and, in the other, his desire of reunion with God by the propitiation of his offended justice. Then, in language which we shall find it extremely difficult to reconcile with his subsequent conclusions, he proceeds as follows :—

‘The great atonement or sin-offering of mankind was consummated by Christ, by means of his personal sacrifice : the great thank-offering of mankind became possible by means of his spirit. . . . Thus, therefore, by means of that Divine act of love, manifested in the personal life and death of Christ, as the incarnate eternal Word, the former of those two typical observances, the sin-offering, was complete for all time and eternity. The other typical observance, on the other hand, had begun to be possible, yea, to be realised. The true thank-offering entered into the world, forming, so to speak, the pulse of the Divine life on earth, and destined according to Christ's promise, to endure unto the end of time, manifesting itself, both in direct acts of worship and in the whole of life, as the true immediate fellowship of man with God, as it were the permanent incorporation of the human with the Divine.’—p. 10.

After laying down these premises, in a course of reasoning, which, though rendered obscure and tedious by an affectation of profundity thoroughly German, contains a large amount of important truth, he proceeds to draw from them the following conclusions :—That priesthood and sacrifice, in the sense in which the Jews and the heathen held them, have altogether and for ever ceased to be true expressions of the religious feelings of mankind.—That henceforth there can be no more human and therefore typical mediators between God and man.—That the mediatorial act of the reconciled man consists simply in his free faith.—That man is invited to approach the Deity as man, to draw near to God immediately in Christ, and therefore with the dignity of a priest.—And that every individual man has thus far become a priest of the Most High because morally responsible to him alone. Having thus assumed, as the groundwork of his reasoning, that the only proper priesthood, now existing, is the entire body of believers ; and having, moreover, fortified himself in this position by appropriate passages from the Word of God, our author goes on to assure us, that ‘this

collective life of Christendom in God and in the world, this exercise of the universal priesthood of Christians, this earnest desire to promote God's moral government in the world, is the universal pure offering, the incense, which according to the words of the latest prophet of the old covenant (Mal. i. 13), 'shall hereafter be offered by all people, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same.'

All this, doubtless, is, as far as it goes, very evangelical and very true; but, to assert that the Christian church was instituted by God for no other end than that Christians, as a royal priesthood, might offer up to him their spiritual sacrifices, is to place the whole question upon a basis much narrower than that on which it stands in the Word of God. But, admitting, for the sake of argument, that the only end of 'church life' is what our author has stated—what is there, in his reasoning, to show that the constitution of the Christian church, which God himself has given, is inadequate for that purpose; or that, in the nineteenth century, Chevalier Bunsen and Mr. Gladstone have been entrusted with a wisdom unknown to Christ and his apostles? We should have supposed that the only way to secure the end of the church, in a universal priesthood offering up their spiritual sacrifices unto God, was to go into all the world, as the apostles did, preaching the gospel, and planting churches constituted according to the Word of God. But all this, it seems, is pure mistake; Chevalier Bunsen assures us, not from Scripture, but as a statesman and philosopher, that to secure a universal priesthood, there must be a national church with a national polity of the true Prussian stamp; that it is, *not by theology*, but 'polity,' national polity, a new improved Prussian polity, nothing more or less, that the work is to be accomplished; and that this great moral idea requires, for its full development, 'a Christian nation and a Christian state.'

Thus, if our readers can furnish the Prussian ambassador with a Christian nation and a Christian state, he is ready, it seems, by means of national polity, to furnish for all futurity a Christian church. We have been accustomed to think that it was the duty of the church to christianize the nations, and not of nations and states to christianize the church; and that a Christian nation, or, according to our author's own view of the case, a nation, composed wholly of believers or priests unto God, would stand in very little need of church-making for the future. The church or churches which have hitherto been so faithful, so scriptural, and so wonderfully blessed, as to present at last to the world the glorious spectacle of a nation and state truly Christian, had better, we should have supposed, 'let well enough alone,' instead of 'meddling with them that are given to change.'

But Chevalier Bunsen has 'wisdom to communicate, even to them that are perfect.' A firm believer in the progressiveness of the human race, he is determined to hurl both the church and the world onward together in a career of future improvement; merely demanding as a preliminary, a Christian nation with a Christian state. Δος μου στῶ—'Give me where to stand,' give me, as a fulcrum for my lever, a Christian nation with a Christian state, and the thing I have promised shall be instantly done.' But how, we would ask, is this moderate demand of our modern Archimedes to be met? There must be a Christian nation and a Christian state before we can hope for a Christian church; where, then, shall this grand postulate of our philosopher be found? Chevalier Bunsen himself allows that it is altogether vain, for such an object, to explore the annals of the past—that, from one unfortunate cause or another, such a nation was never known; so that every age in succession might have said with the poet—

'Man never is, but, always to be, blest.'

But our author, like Alexander, is rich in hope. The object on which his heart is set, 'though not yet realised,' has been rendered 'possible,' in consequence of the prevalence which the Reformation has given to the right of private judgment, and the doctrine of justification by faith; and the moral aspect of the world, especially in Germany, presents to the eye of our church-maker, nothing but a land of promise flowing with milk and honey.'

'Liberty of conscience has been won, and civil liberty secured. Freedom without religion will no longer satisfy the Romanic nations, nor religion without freedom the Germanic. Among the leading nations of Europe, science has been invested with its proper privileges, either by the free consent of the rulers and clergy, or as the necessary consequence of civil liberty. Freedom of conscience has come to be considered as implied in the very idea of liberty, even in countries where as yet but little sense of personal moral responsibility is awakened: private judgment in spiritual matters (that is the application to them of reason and conscience,) recognised on the one side as a right, and on the other declared to be a duty, is exercised by many, is demanded by all.

'The harmonious interchange of power between heaven and earth is restored; the chasm between the visible and invisible is spanned; the barrier between the secular and the spiritual is broken down. . . .

'Now or never is the time for governments and nations to come to a clear understanding with respect to Christianity, the im-

port of the church and her constitution. . . . Our explanation is addressed to the German people; our ground and foundation is the gospel. We take the gospel in the main according to its interpretation by the protestant and reformed churches, manifesting themselves as one in the community of public worship and prayer, that is, by the established evangelical church of Prussia. We maintain that for this church in particular a great historical epoch has arrived; an opportunity for effecting that which Christianity in general, and the Reformation in particular, has rendered possible,—for presenting to the world a free, national, thoroughly popular community, which shall recognise itself, and claim to be regarded by others, as a branch of the catholic church of Christ, and as such extend, maintain, and govern itself.’—pp. 27, 28.

The passage just quoted is not, we believe, the only instance in which rhapsody and moonshine have been brought together; but whose credulity can Chevalier Bunsen hope to impose upon, by statements so utterly devoid of the least colouring of truth? Is it the ambassador of Prussia—where no shop can be opened, without leave from the church; no chapel built, no newspaper read, no volume published, without permission from the king—who tells us, that ‘science is invested with its proper privileges,’ and that ‘liberty of conscience has been won?’ Is it in a country like England, with its tithes and church-rates, its bishops, proctors, and ecclesiastical catchpoles of every name, he hopes to find credit for the assertion that civil and religious freedom have been secured? Or is it wise, in the very language in which John Bedwell, fresh from the turnkey, is publishing his two-and-sixpenny wrongs; the language, too, in which his starving wife and children have told us how they cried for mercy in vain—to assure us that ‘the harmonious interchange of power between heaven and earth is restored?’ What the Germans may think of a Reformer, who proceeds to his work on assumptions so false and preposterous, we cannot tell; but, for our own parts, we never can believe that a person, so blind to the present state of the world, is the prophet to whom the visions of the future have been disclosed.

Hence, at the commencement of his second chapter, we are not at all surprised to find him, like a man in the dark, bewildered in a labyrinth of difficulties and contradictions. He is obliged to confess that his national church has to encounter ‘two antinomies’ or opposing laws; though, for our consolation, he assures us that ‘all complete knowledge,’ according to Kant, ‘depends on a full recognition of such antithetical propositions or antinomies, as founded upon the very nature of thought, and demanded by the laws which regulate the realization of ideas;’ and that ‘there is a second law, of no less im-

portance, established by the German philosophy, which teaches us that these antinomies spring from a single idea; and that this idea contains the superior unity of that truth which is presented by the antinomies in a divided form.'

Of these 'antinomies,' the first is that which subsists between the Divine right of the clergy and the universal priesthood of believers: and the superior unity in which these antithetical propositions meet, is 'the moral order of the universe, or to employ the theological term, the kingdom of God, the divinely ordained sphere and condition of man's moral and spiritual progress.' By those, who content themselves with a scriptural knowledge of the church and its ministers, we question whether this antinomy was ever met with. But Chevalier Bunsen, whose 'Church of the Future' is not to be a scriptural one, but a kind of new patchwork, formed from the rags of the old German establishments, where the pretensions of a clerical priesthood still run high, feels, at the outset, that he has to grapple with the difficulty of reconciling their claims with the universal priesthood of believers. In attempting to clear his way he, at one time, deals a heavy blow on the clergy, at another, on the people; mingling with much profound absurdity, much scriptural truth and common sense. But, in spite of Kant and his 'superior unities,' the 'realisation of ideas' sets his logic at defiance; and the 'first antinomy,' or contradiction, as we shall presume to call it, maintains its ground with an obstinacy which 'rebukes the madness of the prophet.'

The other 'antinomy' with which our author professes to grapple, is the independence of Christian nations, and the catholicity of the Christian church. Under the guidance of scripture, we have been in the habit of supposing, that nationality has nothing whatever to do with a Christian church; that 'in Christ Jesus there is neither Greek nor Jew, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free;' and that the proper way to secure the catholicity of the church, and yet leave the independence of nations untouched, is to 'render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's.' It will not surely be contended that the apostles were destitute of a catholic spirit, and yet, in the churches which they planted, no thought of nationality ever entered, excepting to be censured and condemned. Nationality, in their estimation, had nothing to do with a 'kingdom which is not of this world.' Let nations and churches, in imitation of the apostles, study to be quiet, minding, in their proper spheres, each its own business; and there will be henceforth no difficulty in reconciling the independence of the one with the catholicity of the other. But if, instead of this, they are determined to be for ever meddling with each

other, 'antinomies,' we fear, will never come to an end, till light and darkness blend together. Chevalier Bunsen, however, is evidently of opinion, though he does not expressly say so, that the apostles were wrong:—

'Nations,' says he, 'are the real units, so to speak, the highest personages in the history of the world. . . . States are the highest forms and institutions, in which, by Divine ordinance, the universal life of mankind and its conscience (that is its consciousness of truth) are to be independently realised. . . . According to an ecclesiastical body, which, instead of exalting nationality into its true position as a particular exhibition of the universal life of humanity, either depresses it like popery, or entirely overlooks it like independentism, cannot possibly be considered the perfect expression of the idea of the church. . . . Catholicity, therefore, must henceforth exist in harmony with nationality.'—p. 43.

Again :

'The state and the nation cannot be any longer deprived of their independence with regard to the principal object of their existence—the highest, the eternal interests of the human race. But under the supreme sway of the second leading principle of the Reformation—that of nationality, the principle of catholicity, will find its proper sphere of action, its normal life. . . . It will no longer combat nationality, but make it the powerful and divinely appointed means and organ of universality. . . . As the universal priesthood and the office of the ministry find that higher unity which comprehends and reconciles them in the idea of God's kingdom upon earth, nationality and catholicity are harmonised in the idea of the christian polity, as the divinely appointed means for the advance of that kingdom in which reign goodness and truth.'—pp. 45—47.

From these quotations it appears that a national church polity is 'the superior unity,' in which national independence and Christian catholicity are to be harmonized; and our readers, at this time, are doubtless beginning to suspect, that the union of church and state will be exemplified, in all its glory, in the church of the future. Our author, however, assures us, in language much stronger than the Anti-State-Church Society would use, that he 'in no wise aims at any thing so detestable as a state-church; that a state-church is the 'unfree inheritance of the last Roman empire and the middle ages;' that it is often impracticable, and when practicable, a legal 'fiction, partaking of the nature of falsehood;' nothing better, when weak, than 'a lifeless machine of the state, which is sure, in case of conflict with the state, to be crushed, and when powerful, 'a dangerous political institution,' that must, of necessity, persecute, and 'whose first steps may be traced in violence and blood.' Such, then, almost

verbatim, is the judgment, respecting state churches, which has issued from the despotic court of Prussia; and it is certainly most cheering to hear *such* a voice from such an oracle. But, if the church of the future is to be a national church, and yet not a state-church, our readers naturally ask, what kind of a church is it to be; and we must confess that we have ourselves been greatly puzzled with the question. Instead, therefore, of attempting to answer it, we shall refer to Chevalier Bunsen himself for a reply:—

‘ We do not require a state church. We would, on the contrary, aim at an evangelical national church, that is, a church which shall as perfectly and spontaneously represent the national life, in its relation to God, in the sphere of free moral life, as the state (in its ordinary limited sense) realises the same life, in its relation to the world in the sphere of law. The difference between these two, a state church and a national church, is very great. The state church is exclusive, and therefore persecuting and oppressive; the national church is in nowise so. One is the church of the clergy, the other a church of the people. The former is, in the present state of Europe, scarcely any where practicable; the other is so in all cases, where the great mass of the people is not split into so many sects, that no one religious community more than another can claim to be the expression of the national life. . . . In the state of old there could exist but one church, which was therefore the state church. In the state of modern times there may and will be at present, as a general rule, in the west at least two, in the east three national churches, as soon as liberty of conscience becomes a recognised principle of the constitution. . . .

‘ But the state is bound to take care, that the rights of each recognised national community be duly protected, and not only this, but to supply each of them with the means of maintaining the outward frame-work of their society, as well as of educating the people and clergy in a manner conformable alike to their wants and the institutions of their country. It has also to keep a vigilant watch, lest any one of the more extensive communities should exercise its internal discipline at the cost of individual civil liberty, or of the national right of toleration, even in the case of the most insignificant sects. There may doubtless arise, and there do actually exist instances in which a number of forms of church life stand side by side in a nation, none of which can call itself an expression of the national mind. This is the case in the United States of North America. In theory the union does not even profess to form a christian state. . . . Such an embryo state of church government may lead to what is called the voluntary system in countries, where a rude popular tyranny has possessed itself of the sanctuary, and presumes to decide, among other things, whether the church shall maintain its national profession of faith or not, as in the case of the Pays de Vaud. Such a condition explains efforts and justifies works such as those of the

genial and noble-minded Vinet, who recognises no distinction between a national church and a state church, and who sees no hope but in the separation of church and state. But if the church of his country had been a church organised as a whole instead of a mere clergy church, and governed by a mixed synod instead of the 'classes' of the clergy, she would have been able to resist, with very different result, the brutal force of godless radicalism. For us at all events, the effort to separate church and state would not only be a mark of despair and faithlessness, but also a retrograde step in a social and political point of view.'—pp. 51—54

Here, then, after struggling with one 'antinomy' after another Chevalier Bunsen gives, in his own words, the general idea of the church of the future—an idea which it has cost him twenty-five years' study to mature; but another such mass of contradiction, with all due deference to his rank and learning, we defer to the annals of literature to produce. He wishes to set up a church that shall as perfectly represent the national life in religion, as the national life is represented by the state in relation to the world, and in the sphere of law: yet what is this but to repeat the fatal experiment of the later Roman empire and the middle ages, which he everywhere condemns—the making, in fact, to use the words of scripture, 'an image to the beast?' His national church polity is prescribed as the *only* means of securing, along with the independence of nations, the catholicity of the Christian church: yet in America and Switzerland, to say nothing of popish countries or of England, the scheme, according to his own confession, is impracticable. He admits that, in the west it will be necessary to establish in the same nation no less than *two*, and in the east no less than *three* churches, which cannot symbolize with each other; and yet insists that the church of the future must represent the national life, and shall be nothing less than national. He declares a state-church, in which some of the members of the state may have no place, to be a 'fiction partaking of the nature of falsehood;' but there is no fiction, it seems, or falsehood whatever, in calling that a national church to which not one half or a third of the nation may belong. As for a royal priesthood, redeemed unto God by the blood of his Son for all mankind, he tells us, have a right to be perfectly free; and yet, under the church of the future, while two or three powerful sects bask in the full sunshine of state patronage, all other sects and those who belong to no sect at all, thankful for toleration are, like Gibeonites, to be made hewers of wood and drawers of water to the rest. As for a state-church—that unfree inheritance of Rome and the middle ages—it is a fiction, a falsehood, a state-machine, altogether lifeless, when weak, and, when powerful, a dangerous political institution, full of violence and

blood ; yet the church of the future is to be supported by the state, educated by the state, according to the institutions of the state, and to be under the absolute control of the state ; and 'to separate church and state would not only be a mark of despair and faithlessness, but a retrograde step in a social and political point of view.' Coleridge somewhere observes, that, before a man can understand anything, he must understand his own understanding ; but to judge from the writings of Southey and Gladstone, or from the work before us, we should suppose that church-making is a business in which the understanding may be altogether dispensed with. Our author, in settling one pair of 'antinomies,' has created at least a hundred ; and though, politically speaking, there may be 'a superior unity' found for them all in the despotism of the Prussian state, he may rest assured that a logical 'realization of his ideas' he will never find, though the ghost of Kant himself should rise to his help, until he discovers the philosopher's stone.

In the next chapter, the writer proceeds, from the general view of the subject just given, to inquire what there may be, in existing protestant churches, answerable to his great idea : but all of them, when weighed in the balances, are found wanting. In each, there is doubtless something good. But one is a clergy-church ; another, destitute of nationality ; and all of them are to be set aside, as merely negative in their character. Protestant episcopacy is the mere negative of popery on the one hand, and the universal priesthood of believers on the other. Presbyterianism is the negation of prelacy ; and independency, not only of episcopacy, but of presbyterianism, nationality, catholicity, and nobody knows what. And, since there is no rule in church-making it seems, as in English grammar, by which two or more negatives may be converted into a positive, it is to be hoped that Old Time will shoulder away, at his earliest convenience, all these antiquated systems of one-sided protestantism into some great lumber-room of the universe, in order that first Germany, and then the whole world, may be covered with a structure ;

' Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
Possit diruere, aut innumerabilis
Annorum series, et fuga temporum.'

That some of the old rookeries, called protestant churches, might be thus quietly disposed of, without much loss to the world, we are as little inclined as Chevalier Bunsen to deny. But that they should be condemned as mere cyphers, simply because there are errors or supposed errors against which they protest, or why the church of the future ought not, as a grand

negation of nearly everything present and past, to be rejected on the same principle, is much more than we can comprehend. But we have yet to notice the terrific machinery which, under the new system, is to be brought into play; and must, therefore, content ourselves, on this portion of the work, with merely laying our author's views of protestant independency before our readers:—

‘The other protest was that of the independents, who advanced the doctrine of the so-called separation of church and state, and founded the voluntary system. . . . The independents have the merit of having asserted and established the inalienable rights of the congregation, (that is, in the highest sense, of the Christian laity, which is necessarily composed of local congregations,) against state-churches as well as clergy-churches, against systems of police as well as systems of dogmatism. But, from leaving out of sight the other side of the idea of the church, it necessarily followed that independentism having started with asserting the rights of the fundamental unit of church-life, the local congregation, should continue to regard this as its highest manifestation, as the church herself, and should degrade the ecclesiastical liberty it achieved into a liberty exterior to the national life. By its first one-sided view (that is by leaving catholicity out of sight) it incapacitated itself from exhibiting to the world, at any rate in practice, a great church-communion. By the second (that is the neglect of nationality) it nearly relapsed into the errors of the middle ages, and even into papacy. The papacy, from its inherent enmity to nationality, disturbed as far as it could that Divine law, according to which Christianity is developed around the divinely appointed centres of independent nations and states. Independentism with its American gospel and canon-law, the doctrine of what is styled the separation of church and state, loses the idea of nationality as well as catholicity. While it protests against the state, the nation escapes from it. Its adherents desire freedom, and fall into a mischievous servitude; the clergy under the fanaticism of a local congregation or its majority, the congregation under the one-sided dogmatism of their preacher, tempered by no historical development. . . . Despairing of the renovation of the national churches, held in bondage by the state, or in the far worse slavery of worldliness, independentism forgets time and hour, and looks even upon the present, that hard-won inheritance of centuries, as having actually no real existence. In this despair, it is for beginning everything afresh, as if the past had yielded no experience and formed no institutions, as if no Christian state existed—led away in this by American orators, who like many others before them make a virtue of necessity. . . . We may deplore this onesidedness and delusion, and yet recognise the great worth of independentism, as presenting us with one of the necessary elements in the constitution of the church, and bestow our admiration on the Christian earnestness of its confessors and teachers. John Owen preached the

nization, and manage its catholicity, visible or invisible, as well as it can.

For such a church, he goes on to say, two kinds of ministry will be requisite, that of preachers and pastors immediately authorised by Christ; that of laymen, not indeed directly, but indirectly receiving authority from Christ to rule the church, with thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers allotted to them, as the circumstances of the church may require. With each of these ministries there must be associated a staff of assistants, as a kind of diaconate with diversified offices; so that the church of the future, though twofold in its ministry, must be supplied, after all, with three orders, neither more nor less, composed principally of laymen; for though clergymen may know how to preach, none but laymen are competent to govern, even in the church of Christ.

As to the difficulty of finding a nation of Christians to furnish the constituency and fill up the offices of a national church, that is, a church commensurate with the nation, Chevalier Bunsen assures us, that in Germany they have already 'been living for generations and centuries in a Christian atmosphere;' but that 'there are many who cannot see the forest for the very multitude of trees, nor the sun from the brightness of his radiance.' It would appear, therefore, that in Germany, and especially in Prussia, religion is the very atmosphere they breathe; that they have actually more Christianity than they know what to do with; and, in spiritual matters, that they live in a kind of tropical climate, which blinds with excess of sunshine, and smothers with the rankness of its vegetation. If, therefore, the wrongs of Poland, or the atheistical profligacy of Prussia, in the days of Frederick the Great and Voltaire, or the licensed prostitution of German capitals, or the neology of German universities and pulpits, or the persecution by imprisonment and fines of nonconformists, should ever have created a doubt respecting German Christianity, we hope our readers will attribute this error to the blindness, into which they have been dazzled by the more than earthly radiance which shines upon that country.

In the account which follows, of congregations, parishes, vestries, circles, synods and consistories; of pastors, elders, almoners, treasurers, schoolmasters, deans, bishops, proctors, and bishops' councillors, diocesan and metropolitan; of local, synodical, provincial, and national convocations; we certainly feel as though it were impossible to see the beauty of the forest, or rather jungle, from the multitude of the trees; thorns, briars, and brambles by no means excepted. We shall endeavour, however, to get through the wood, and by as short a cut as possible, in mercy to our readers.

but, to a plain English understanding, they have so much the appearance of contradictions that it is impossible to find them another name.

But the most startling portion of this singular performance,—that in which the ministry of the church of the future is set before us—yet remains to be considered; and to that, in a few closing paragraphs, we beg to direct our readers' attention. From the doom pronounced on existing churches in the preceding chapter, we certainly had formed the conclusion that all of them were to be equally rejected. It appears, however, from what follows, that amidst the general wreck, the United Evangelical Church of Germany is well worthy of being preserved; and, with a little repairing, may be safely launched as seaworthy for the voyage of the future. At all events here are the planks and timbers, scarcely touched with the dry-rot of other churches, for the re-construction of a vessel, which no storms shall shatter, no deluge sink—materials for an ark which, pitched within and without with state-policy, shall afford to every beast, and bird, and creeping thing, renouncing voluntarism, an appropriate cabin or nest.

'My desire,' says the writer, 'is that we should mould into a more perfect form what we already possess, in the United Evangelical Church of Germany; and this because I am convinced, that if we regard the matter in the true light, and call things by their proper names, we shall find that the very ruins and embryos of our ecclesiastical institutions, constitute a foundation and supply materials, for something far higher and more complete than any thing the above-mentioned churches have obtained or even sought for.'—p. 83.

The point being thus settled as to where the materials of the future church are to be found, the author proceeds, by way of farther preliminary, to assure us of what would have been equally beyond our discovery without his help; that 'the word of redeeming love has come to man, *primarily, through the conscience and reason*, more clearly by the law and the gospel'—consequently, that '*mankind have become a priestly community, are priests, that is, enjoy immediate intercourse with God*,'—that the human race, thus constituting a world of redeemed and sanctified priests, ought at once to be united in catholic Christian communion—and, since the idea of an invisible catholic church is a mere fiction, the church fellowship of all mankind should at once be not only catholic but visible. Inasmuch, however, as political government is as much a Divine institution as a Christian church, and national life the largest association into which men can enter, the church of the future must rest contented, after all, with a national instead of a catholic orga-

nization, and manage its catholicity, visible or invisible, as well as it can.

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In the first place there are in Prussia, in round numbers, about six thousand parishes; each with its clergyman and its vestry, or parish council, composed of two elders, a treasurer, and an almoner; and to this vestry, with the clergyman as its president, Chevalier Bunsen assigns the power of local taxation, of maintaining spiritual discipline among the people, and of conducting their ecclesiastical affairs. In the choice, however, of neither the clergyman nor vestry, is the voice of the people to be heard. It is true, the vestry, self-nominated, are to be elected to their office every four years by a majority of the persons who attend the church and partake of the sacraments; and the clergyman, nominated by a patron, may be rejected by two-thirds of the communicants, provided their objections are held valid in the superior provincial court. But while all the people are taxed, the right of voting is accorded only to communicants; and the clergyman, in whom alone the power of confirmation is vested, determines at all times who the communicants, and, consequently, who the voters shall be. Thus, out of the six thousand parishes of Prussia, there is not one but what is to be handed over to the tender mercies of five men, four of whom may be chosen by a half,—the other, by less than a half of the communicants, whose admission to the sacrament, and consequent right to vote, the parish priest may either grant or refuse at his pleasure.

To these offices, not only preaching deacons and pastoral deacons, but teaching deacons are to be added, to instruct the young, and discharge the duties of precentor, organist, and clerk in public worship; and Chevalier Bunsen glories in the thought, that in Prussia there are 17,000 state-schoolmasters, (who, in England, for want of better employment, might have degraded themselves into dissenting ministers,) ready drilled, and furnished by the state for this important service. But not contented with a threefold diaconate, our author contends that a fourth should be formed out of those persons, whether men or women, who are charitably disposed to visit the sick and poor. For though this service, by his own confession, has already been efficiently performed, through voluntary effort, he maintains that it never can be carried to perfection, but by persons in official connexion with the established church. Thus, reckoning the parishes of Prussia at six thousand, which, however, is under the real number, he would billet upon that enslaved people a huge standing army of nearly ninety thousand ecclesiastics, all of whom are to be the creatures either of the clergy or the state.

But this is only the beginning of sorrows, or, to use the words of our author, the church of the future in its lowest sphere.

The parishes, for their better government, are to be divided into sixty dioceses, each with a circle-synod of one bishop, nine deans, ninety parish clergymen, two bishops' councillors, one hundred delegates of presbyteries, ten schoolmasters, and ten other deacons—total, two hundred and twenty-two. These, again, are to be divided into six ecclesiastical provinces, each having a university and a metropolitan bishop at its head, together with a provincial synod of ten bishops, ten deans, two delegates from the theological faculty, ten clerical delegates from the circle-synods, two metropolitan-bishops' councillors, twenty bishops' councillors, two delegates from the gymnasial colleges, and twenty lay delegates from the circle-synods. Average total, seventy-six.

Such, then, in outline, is that glorious church of the future, which the king of Prussia would set up, and has commissioned his servant, Chevalier Bunsen, to extol. And, when we remember that, in the appointment of its 90,000 officials, the people are either to have no choice at all, or the mere shadow of a choice; that the whole of them are to be in the pay and training of the state; that the communicants, or voters, are to be dependent on the parish priest, the parish priest to be dependent for his ordination on the bishop, and the bishop for his appointment on the crown; when, moreover, we bear in mind that the inferior synods are to be controlled by the provincial; that these, in turn, are to have their resolutions set aside, whenever he thinks proper, by the king; and, finally, that the whole army of ninety thousand church officials, from the greatest to the least, are to be paid and drilled by the state,—we see, in the church of the future, as compact a piece of despotism as the cleverest monarch on earth could wish. But, however effective, as an agent of despotic power, to enslave mankind, the church of the future can never hope to be anything better than an abject slave herself; the halter around her neck is made of gold, but the end of it is in the hand of the king.

In one of his chapters, Chevalier Bunsen assures us, that our English travellers, in representing the national education of Prussia as dangerous to liberty, have been guilty of the grossest misrepresentations; charitably ascribing their blunders to their ignorance of the German laws, language, and institutions. But happily, the aim of the Prussian government, with its seventeen thousand drilled schoolmasters, who, to keep them from degrading themselves into dissenting ministers, are to be promoted into church-and-state deacons, is now made known to us in a language, which, it may be presumed, we do understand, and by a witness no less competent than the Prussian ambassador himself. Yet we hesitate not to say, that the spirit of the

system throughout is that of despotism ; despotism first, despotism last, despotism midst, and without end.

That it is the aim of the author, in the present work, knowingly and wilfully to subvert the Word of God, or the liberties of mankind, we neither assert nor believe. On the contrary, we avow, with pleasure, that he has given warm and eloquent utterance to some of the noblest sentiments in favour of freedom and evangelical religion, and to some of the strongest protests against clerical tyranny, that we have anywhere met with. But it is equally clear that his standard, both with regard to religion and civil and religious liberty, is not the Word of God ; that he has never looked at either with any other eye than that of a Prussian statesman ; and, consequently, that he is ever ready, however unconsciously, to sacrifice not only the liberties of mankind, but the authority of the Son of God, to the despotism of the Prussian throne. Hence, when we turn from his general sentiments to the measures he recommends, we invariably find that what is liberty in the abstract is sure to become tyranny in the concrete. Hence, with eloquence in abundance against clerical tyranny, we have not a syllable against the despotism of statesmen and kings ; hence, after condemning all state-churches in the abstract, we find him devising the means of tying the church and state in Prussia more closely together ; and after denouncing, even literally with oaths and imprecations, the maintenance of episcopacy as an essential doctrine of Christianity, we see him contending for the right of governments to create as many bishops as they please, and setting up a huge diocesan and metropolitan prelacy in his native land. On the same principle, his eloquent chapter on the rights of conscience, and the happiness of mankind, as redeemed to liberty by the blood of Christ, is followed by others in which their very freedom is assumed as a reason for quartering upon them an army of officials ninety thousand strong. And what is the practical result of all his denunciations, equally just and eloquent, of papal Babylon, but a friendly contrivance to make the apocalyptic beast in Germany carry double ; to place a protestant church or two, equally gorgeous and wanton, by the side of Rome, after taking care to subordinate them all to the despotism of the king.

While, therefore, we give our author full credit for the many liberal and devout sentiments which are floating in his mind, we believe, at the same time, that the church of the future, or the subordination of religion to state purposes, is the great practical object to which, from long official habit, all his thoughts and wishes tend. But why should such a system be announced to the world as 'The Church of the Future,' or, in any sense whatever, as a church of Christ ? Can any person, with the Bible in

his hand, believe that this miserable compound of kingcraft and priestcraft, this old anti-christian contrivance, however new in form, to link the free-born consciences of men to an earthly throne, is 'the kingdom of heaven,' 'the kingdom of God,' 'the new creation' of the Spirit; or that so daring a usurpation of Divine authority will be suffered to live a single day when 'he shall come, whose right it is?' No heavenly breath, we speak of course of the system, is in it; no spiritual life runs through it; no millennial glories play around it. It is of the earth, earthy; it smells of death; and, on its very brow, we read the sentence, 'Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.'

In the mean time, if the solemn warnings given us in this volume are properly attended to, we shall subject everything, which comes to us in the name of education or religion from Prussia, to the right of search; watch the movements of Bunsens and Gladstones as closely as we do those of our Wisemans and Puseys; and look upon the royal godfather of Potsdam as cousin-german, in religion, to the high priest of Rome. Let this be done by our readers; and Chevalier Bunsen will not then have written in vain.

ART. II.—*The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley.* By Thomas Medwin. In Two Volumes. London: Thomas Cautley Newby, Mortimer Street, Cavendish Square. 1847.

THIS biography wants simplicity, accuracy, and charity, but it is cleverly got up, and is full of interest. Captain Medwin has scattered over his pages attacks upon his ancient literary foes. Of the self-denial of a biographer he has not a particle. The biographer who is duly impressed with a feeling of what is due to his hero, is careful to avoid obtruding himself upon the same canvass. He places himself behind the portrait he exhibits, and is fearful lest the tips of his fingers should take off the attention of the spectators from its features. But Captain Medwin is quite another sort of a biographer. While portraying his friend, he must be caricaturing his foes. It is not enough for him to erect a statue to Shelley, he must also hang and paste upon it libels and lampoons upon Moore, Hobhouse, and Byron.

This life of Shelley would have been much more beautiful if it had been written with a becoming simplicity and seriousness.

In the character of Shelley, though a poet of the days when George the Fourth was Prince Regent, there is an embodied earnestness, so little showy or theatrical, that we shrink from applying to it the ordinary metaphors, and calling it a drama or a tragedy. It was a life. It was a lot, a human lot. It was a struggle and a trial. There was nothing of stage effect about it, but effect of a grander kind—a studious spirit warring with mystery; a mind struggling for what is free, true, beautiful, and good; a soul full of bewilderment, anxiety, perplexity, waywardness, trying to soar, and falling short; a genius which found itself in a world in which it could only protest against everything, whether moral, social, political, material, or spiritual.

Percy Bysshe Shelley was born at Field Place, in Sussex, on the 4th of August, 1792; and he was drowned off the coast of Italy at Lerici, on the 8th of July, 1822. His life extended to twenty-nine years, and then it was over. It is an infancy, a boyhood, a youth. We have not to study the character of a man, for he never reached manhood, if by it be meant the period when the passions subside into habits, and the character is formed and fixed, henceforth to be expressed by words and deeds. Manhood, as a moral and physical condition, is a very different thing from manhood, as arbitrarily determined by law. The biography of Shelley is the life of a child, a boy, a young man of poetic genius, born in England in the upper class, in the last decade of the eighteenth century, and dying before the expiry of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The regency of George the Fourth, the final struggle of the allies with Napoleon, the catholics assailing Orange ascendancy, the dissenters attacking the Test Acts, the philanthropists agitating against slavery, the gloss of novelty still fresh upon Bible and missionary societies, parliamentary reform a thing of hope; we make the enumeration to recall, by the suggestions of events the period in which the fitful fever of life, and the wild light of imaginative genius, burned in the boy and youth, called Percy Bysshe Shelley. To recall it by more important things than its political struggles, or its military collisions, debates on Catholic Emancipation, or victory at Waterloo, the period was a memorable one in its spiritual characteristics. In all the fields of science and literature, the selfish philosophies of Hobbes, Voltaire, and Bentham, seemed to be victorious over Christianity. In the endowed churches, the teaching of Christianity was a professional formality. In many of the voluntary churches, a tone of philosophy prevailed which accorded the gospel to the moralities of the schools. The right of private judgment had been pushed into a habit of universal doubt. Men believing

only in their own reason, ended at last in doubting even that. Doubt became the element in which all literary and philosophical minds lived. Hence a moral world of doubt and death. Scott prudently concealing the spirit of the time under a profession of regard for the most gentlemanly form of the established religion, amusing the public with splendid sketches of the picturesque externals of feudalism and chivalry. Byron openly doubting God, and believing 'everybody hated everybody,' declaring his despair in gorgeous declamations and flashing satires, and heroic ruffians, while bathing his spirit in the sensual beauty of lakes, cities, and women. Literature vivified in Cowper by evangelism, in Burns by Scotch philosophy, in the men of genius of the succeeding generation was quickened into life by despair, from which the imagination of Scott sought relief among knights and barons in sieges and tournaments, and the imagination of Byron in the adventures of Conrads and Don Juans. Such was the spiritual element of the time. Shelley, by the date of his birth and the qualities of his organization, was born into it as into a moral climate, a spiritual air, a native language. Naturalists notice how soils, climates, localities, meteorological and geographical peculiarities, determine the forms of vegetation and the varieties of animal life. Analogous facts occur in the spiritual kosmos. Localities have their spiritual soils and climates. Various periods are adapted to the production of various spiritual growths. Shelley was not born in a period of scepticism. He was not born in an age and nation in which the leading minds believed in unbelief. Voltaire and Paine had no doubt at all that all religion is superstition, and worked with hearty zeal in rooting it out as false and immoral. But that day was long gone by when Shelley grew up to read and think. He found himself beset with the doubt of doubt. His purgatory was a doubt of faith, and a disbelief of unbelief.

Prior to condensing the volumes before us into a few pages so far as we can, or rather the statements which really give us any glimpses of this philosopher-poet, there is a very important consideration which we must submit to our readers respecting the estimates men form of each other. The importance of the truth of these estimates is not objective but subjective. Our estimate of men of genius, living or dead, is of little or no consequence to them, but of considerable consequence to us. To us the difference is between thinking truly or falsely. It is of small importance to Sir Robert Peel, or the Duke of Wellington, a Bulwer, a Dickens, or a Wordsworth, what the reviewers and journalists think or say of them, but it is of great consequence to the journalists and reviewers, whether they estimate the leading legislators and writers of their

day correctly or incorrectly. It is of consequence equal to the difference between being good or bad. It is of small consequence to a man what reflection a mirror gives of him, but it decides the character of the mirror. Of an amateur performer of private theatricals in London, it was sarcastically said, he was like Macready reflected, not in a mirror but in a spoon. A spoon reflects every object with hideous distortions and disfigurements, characteristic not of the object but of the reflector. From the abundance of such images we may infer that many of our public reflectors are spoons. A muddy stream images trees and skies muddily, vaguely, blackly. Many years ago, in summer play days, we remember often observing a mountain stream which reflected its banks, the yellow flowers of broom bushes, the green leaves, the white or red of wild roses; and the beauty of the reflection was always in accordance with the clearness of the water.

Just because aristocracy has made too much of birth, democracy has made nothing of it. 'What does it signify who a man's father was?—look to the man himself,' has been the reply of Liberalism to the genealogical boasts of Toryism, which has estimated in fact, if not in theory, descent from the possessors of title and land as if it were a superior thing to manhood and worth, exclaiming with Julia, in the 'Hunchback:—

—————" Had he family
Blood, though it were only a drop, his heart
Would pass for something: lacking such descent,
Were it ten times the heart it is 'tis nought."

But the birth of a man is in many points of view, apart altogether from the aristocratic and the democratic estimates of it, the most important event in his life. 'One man is born with a silver spoon in his mouth, and another with a wooden ladle.' The fisher people of the Scotch east coast have a saying, 'I was born with the sea in my mouth.' Gentlemen or citizens who hold the democratic view of birth even most extremely, will acknowledge it makes a considerable difference to man or babe, whether he is born with a silver spoon, a wooden ladle, or a sea in his mouth. It is a hundred chances to one that the difference comes to be whether the biographer will have to write the life of a gentleman, a mechanic, or a fisherman. A little too much has been made of the philosophy involved in the sentence, 'the child is father of the man,' to the neglect of the equally important philosophy in the fact that the father *is* the father of the man and child.

One Timothy Shelley, who claimed descent from certain Shelleys of Sussex, having married an American lady, settled at

Christ's Church, Newark, in North America, and had born to him a son on the 21st of June, 1731, and named Bysshe. This Bysshe Shelley became, according to Captain Medwin, a quack doctor, and, it is said, married the widow of a miller. When the widow left him a widower, he came to England, not as a quack doctor, but as a fortune-hunter. Very handsome, of polished manners and insinuating address, he captivated the only daughter of the Rev. Theobald Michel, the heiress of Horsham. Miss Michel was an orphan and a minor, and her guardian forbade the match. But the lovers had made up their minds. The lady eloped with Mr. Shelley to London, where she was wedded to him in the Fleet by the Fleet parson. Miss Michel did not long survive her marriage, and left her disconsolate widower to lay siege to a second heiress. Every one who has visited Penshurst knows the little inn at the verge of the park—that fine old park where Waller the poet is said to have wooed in vain Sacharissa, and which has been celebrated by the muse of Ben Jonson. This little inn was the battery of the besieging fortune-hunter. Captain Medwin justly observes, that Mr. Bysshe Shelley was not at all influenced by the poetical and historical associations of Penshurst, where the Earl of Leicester had entertained Queen Elizabeth, and where Sir Philip Sidney had written part of the *Arcadia*. Mr. Shelley besieged Miss Sidney Perry, not as the last scion of the house of Sidney, but as the largest heiress in Kent. He was again successful. A second heiress eloped with him to London, and he married her at St. James's, Westminster.

Captain Medwin remembers Mr. Bysshe Shelley, the victorious fortune-hunter, after, by successful electioneering, he had obtained a baronetcy. The picture drawn of his character may be received as a standard illustration of the discrimination of heiresses.

‘I remember Sir Bysshe well in a very advanced age, a remarkably handsome man, fully six feet in height, and with a noble and aristocratic bearing. *Nil fuit unquam sic impar sibi*. His manner of life was most eccentric, for he used to frequent daily the tap room of one of the low inns in Horsham, and there drank with some of the lowest citizens, a habit he had probably acquired in the new world. Though he had built a castle (Goring Castle) that cost him upwards of £80,000, he passed the last twenty or thirty years of his existence in a small cottage looking on the river Arun, at Horsham, in which all was mean and beggarly—the existence indeed of a miser, enriching his legatees at the expense of one of his sons, by buying up his post-obits.

‘In order to dispose of him, I will add that his affectionate son Timothy received every morning a bulletin of his health, till he be-

came one of the oldest heirs apparent in England, and began to think his father immortal. God takes those to him who are worth taking early, and drains to the last sands in the glass the hours of the worthless and immoral, in order that they may reform their ways.

'But his were unredeemed by one good action. Two of his daughters by the second marriage, led so miserable a life under his roof that they eloped from him, a consummation he devoutly wished, as he thereby found an excuse for giving them no dowries; and though they were married to two highly respectable men, and one had a numerous family, he made no mention of either of them in his will.

'Shelley seems to have had him in his mind when he says:—

————— 'He died—

He was bowed and bent with fears;
Pale with the quenchless thirst of gold,
Which like fierce fever left him weak;
And his straight lip and bloated cheek
Were wrapt in spasms by hollow sneers;
And selfish cares with barren plough
Not age, had lined his narrow brow;
And foul and cruel thoughts which feed
Upon the withered life within,
Like vipers upon some poisonous weed.

Rosalind and Helen, p. 209.'

'Yes, he died at last, and in his room were found bank notes to the amount of £10,000, some in the leaves of the few books he possessed, others in the folds of his sofa, or sewn into the lining of his dressing gown. But '*ohé! jam satis.*''

Such was the character of the grandfather of Percy Bysshe Shelley, the poet. It is a remark of the monthly nurses, we believe, that the features of the grandfather are often reproduced in the grandson. Timothy Shelley, the eldest son of Bysshe, the heiress killer, was a man of neglected education, who spent a few years of academic routine at Oxford, and afterwards made the grand tour, from which he returned with a smattering of French, a bad picture of an eruption of Vesuvius, and a certain *air*, which he could put off and on at pleasure. He was a disciple of Chesterfield in manners, and of Rochefaucauld in morals. We have said that it is a very important thing to remember that the father of a man is his father. Perhaps if Sir Timothy had not been the son of a fortune-hunter, he would have had a higher code of morals. Captain Medwin once heard Sir Timothy tell his son, Percy Bysshe, 'that he would provide for any number of natural children he might choose to beget, but he would never forgive a mesalliance.' It would be difficult to respect such a father. In this view of

the matter, the importance of birth would seem to be correlative with the importance of the first impressions of morality. The hackneyed aphorism says, 'as the twig is bent, the tree is inclined;' and the birth and parentage of a man decide the bent of the twig. Sir Timothy sent his servants regularly to church, but seldom went himself. He married, on his return from his European tour, Miss Pilfold, who had been brought up by her aunt, Lady Ferdinand Pool, the wife of the well known 'father of the turf,' and owner of the celebrated 'Potooooooooo,' and 'Waxy' and 'Mealy.' The 'accident' of birth, we have thus seen, gave Shelley, the poet, for his father, a disciple of Chesterfield, and for his mother, a lady bred in the house of a father of the turf. However, as there was land and title in his descent, and his father was both a Sussex baronet and M. P. for the Rape of Bramber, we must, we suppose, record him as highly born; albeit, faithful biography may hint to us that,—

“ His ancient but ignoble blood
Had crept through scoundrels since the flood.”

In estimating the moral character of a man, it seems but fair to take into account the bent given to him by the blood of his ancestors, his birth and his parentage. One ancestral circumstance had a considerable influence on the mind of the poet. The heiress of Penshurst enabled him to claim kin with Sir Philip Sydney, in whose character were blended the graces of chivalry and literature. Captain Medwin fancies Shelley as thinking of himself, when he describes, in his 'Rosalind and Helen,' a gentle boy:—

“ He was a gentle boy,
And in all gentle sports took joy;
Oft in a dried leaf for a boat,
With a small feather for a sail,
His fancy on that spring would float,
If some invisible breeze might stir
Its marble calm.

A Welch clergyman, a good, weak man, was the tutor of Shelley and his elder sisters. His name was Edwards, and he was incumbent of the parish of Warnham. At ten years of age, Shelley went to school in Zion House, Brentford. Here the diet was penurious, and 'the lavations truly Scotch.' The transition from the caresses of his sisters to the wranglings of boys, rude, and knowing, mostly the sons of London shopkeepers, was a painful one to the sensitive, imaginative, and girlish Shelley. His schoolfellow, Captain Medwin, says, Zion House was a perfect hell to him. Instead of the plantations, fields, and

flower gardens of his father's seat, the playground consisted of a few hundred yards, between four stone walls, with only a single tree in it, and that the odious jangling bell-tree. Fagging, in its worst forms, did not exist, but the big boys compelled the little ones to bowl to them at cricket, to go out of bounds for them to a circulating library, or to sell their books by weight to the grocer, for bread and cheese, and to receive all the punishments going for all the transgressions found out. Shelley was a martyr to a tyranny of harsh words, and, sometimes, blows :—

————— ' There rose
From the near school-room voices—that, alas !
Were but an echo from a world of woes :
The harsh and grating strife of tyrants and of foes.'
Revolt of Islam.

And again :—

' Day after day—week after week—
I walked about like a thing alive :
Alas ! dear friend, you must believe
The heart is stone, it did not break.'
Rosalind and Helen.

' We were about sixty schoolfellows. I well remember the day when he was added to the number. A new arrival is always a great excitement to the other boys, who pounce upon a *fresh man* with the boldness of birds of prey. We all had to pass through this ordeal, and the remembrance of it gave my companions a zest for torture. All tormented him with questionings. There was no end to their mockery when they found that he was ignorant of pegtop, or marbles, or leap-frog, or hopscotch, much more of fives and crickets. One wanted him to spar, another to run a race with him. He was a tyro in both these accomplishments, and the only welcome of the Neophyte was a general shout of derision. To all these impertinences he made no reply, but with a look of disdain written on his countenance, turned his back on his new associates, and when he was alone found relief in tears.

' Shelley was at this time tall for his age, slightly and delicately built, and rather narrow chested, with a complexion fair and ruddy, a face rather long than oval. His features not regularly handsome were set off by a profusion of silky brown hair that curled naturally. The expression of countenance was one of exceeding sweetness and innocence. His blue eyes were very large and prominent, considered by phrenologists to indicate a great aptitude for verbal memory. They were at times when he was abstracted, as he often was in contemplation, dull, and as it were insensible to external objects ; at others they flashed with the fire of intelligence. His voice was soft and low, but broken in its tones—when any thing much interested him, harsh and immodulated ; and this peculiarity he never lost. As is recorded of Thomson, he was naturally calm, but

when he heard of, or read of some flagrant act of injustice, oppression, or cruelty, then, indeed, the sharpest marks of horror and indignation were visible in his countenance.'

Shelley was a girlish boy, he loved his two elder sisters very much, and one of them possessed a talent for oil-painting, which implies an artistic nature kindred to his genius for poetry.

Such was Shelley when he entered Zion-house academy—

'Our master, a Scotch doctor of law, and a divine, was a choleric man, of a sanguinary complexion, in a green old age, not wanting in good qualities but very capricious in his temper, which good or bad was influenced by the daily occurrences of a domestic life not the most harmonious, and of which his face was the barometer, and his hand the index. He was a tolerable Greek and Latin scholar: Homer his *cheval de bataille*. He could construe fluently in his own way some plays of Æschylus—Schultz being his oracle—and several of those of Sophocles and Euripides, looking upon the text as immaculate, never sticking fast at any of its corruptions, but driving straightforwards in defiance of obstacles. The brick wall of no chorus ever made him pull up. In reading the historians he troubled himself as little with digressions or explanations of the habits and customs of the ancients or maps. His Latin verses were certainly *original*, but neither Virgilian nor Ovidian, for I remember an inscription of his on a Scotch mull, which had been presented to him, (he took an inordinate quantity of Scotch snuff) by one of his pupils; it ran thus:—Snuff-box loquitur:—

'Me, Carolus Macintosh de dono dedit alumnus
Præceptor, præsensu accipit atque tenet.'

Though the dead languages were bitterly taught, bitterly and badly too by his *dominie*, Shelley acquired them easily. During school hours he did not seem to study, but spent his time gazing through the lofty windows at the passing clouds, or watching the swallows, or scratching on his schoolbooks, drawings of the pines and cedars on the lawn at home. He was interrupted sometimes on these occasions by a box on the ear from his master. The pedagogue, when in good humour, dealt in what he called *facetiae*; when the boys were reading the description of the cave of Eolus in the Æneid he used to indulge them with Cotton's parody on the passage. He always prefaced the parody by mentioning that Cotton's father never forgave him for the travestie, and Shelley cherished an implacable disgust against his schoolmaster for obtruding the obscenity upon him.

Medwin assisted Shelley in cribbing for an exercise the following pentameter from the *Tristibus* of Ovid:—

'Jam jam tacturos sidera celsa putes.'

'When Shelley's turn came to carry up the exercise, my eyes were turned on the *dominie*. There was a *peculiar* expression in his features, which, like the lightning before the storm, portended what was coming. The spectacles, generally lifted above his dark and bushy brows, were lowered to their proper position, and their lenses had no sooner caught the same hexameter and pentameter, than he read with a loud voice the stolen line, laying a sarcastic emphasis on every word, and suiting the action to the word by boxes on each side of Shelley's ears. Then came the comment. '*Jam jam*—pooh, pooh, boy! raspberry jam! Do you think you are at your mother's?' Here a burst of laughter echoed through the listening benches. 'Don't you know that I have a sovereign objection to those two monosyllables with which schoolboys cram their verses? haven't I told you so a hundred times already?—*Tacturos sidera celsa putes!*' What do the waves on the coast of Sussex strike the stars, eh? '*Celsa sidera!*' Who does not know that the stars are high? Where did you find that epithet?—in your *Gradus ad Parnassum*, I suppose. You will never mount so high (another box on the ears which nearly felled him to the ground). *Putes!* You may think this very fine, but to me it is all balderdash, hyperbolical stuff,' (another cuff); after which he tore up the verses, and said in a fury, 'There, go now, sir, and see if you can't write something better.'

His schoolfellows found Shelley a strange and unsocial being. On holidays, when all the boys were engaged in sports on the playground, Shelley might be seen pacing backwards and forwards along the southern wall, musing alone in dreams. Medwin would occasionally join him and listen to the tale of his school sorrows. He abominated, especially, his dancing lessons, and contrived to abscond as often as possible from them. An aunt of Medwin's, at a ball at Willis's Rooms, asked his French dancing master why Bysshe was not present, to which he replied, 'Mon Dieu, madame, what should he do here? Master Shelley will not learn anything, he is so *gauche*.'

Shelley, though seeming to neglect his tasks, soon surpassed all his competitors, from the tenacity of a memory which never forgot a word once turned up in his dictionary. In his leisure hours he devoured many sixpenny blue books, full of stories of haunted castles, bandits, and murderers; and the tale of 'Peter Wilkins' made him wish for a winged wife with little winged children. In 1803, the author of 'Waverley' had not appeared in the small circulating library in Brentford, and Shelley preferred to Richardson, Fielding, and Smollett, the Italian romances of 'Ann Radcliffe,' and the phantasies of the 'Rosa Matilda' school.

Shelley at this time believed in apparitions :—

‘ Oh, there are genii of the air,
And genii of the evening breeze,
And gentle ghosts with eyes as fair
As star-beams among twilight trees ;’

And again, in the Hymn to Intellectual Beauty,—

‘ While yet a boy I sought for ghosts, and sped
Through many a listening chamber, cave, and ruin,
And starlight wood, with fearful steps pursuing
Hopes of high talk with the departed dead ;
I called on poisonous names with which our youth is fed :
I was not heard—I saw them not.”

‘ After supping on the horrors of the Minerva press, he was subject to strange and sometimes frightful dreams, and was haunted by apparitions that bore all the semblance of reality. We did not sleep in the same dormitory, but I shall never forget one moonlight night seeing Shelley walk into my room. He was in a state of somnambulism. His eyes were open, and he advanced with slow steps to the window, which, it being the height of summer, was open. I got out of bed, seized him with my arm, and waked him. I was not then aware of the danger of suddenly rousing the sleep walker. He was excessively agitated, and after leading him back with some difficulty to his couch, I sat by him for some time, a witness to the severe erethism of his nerves which the sudden shock produced.’

Of course, like every other intelligent boy, his mind was intensely excited with the first revelations of the telescope and the microscope. His microscope was for a time his constant companion. Mr. Hogg narrates an anecdote relating to this microscope, singularly illustrative of the impulsive benevolence of the youthful Shelley. Hogg and Shelley, then two lads, were crossing the New Road, when Shelley said sharply, ‘ I must call for a moment, but it will not be out of the way at all.’ They beguiled the weary way with a discussion respecting the nature of the virtue of the Romans. In the midst of the discussion he suddenly wheeled about, and startled his companion by pushing through a narrow door into a pawnbroker’s shop. Some women with squalling children were pointing out the beauties of certain coarse and dirty sheets to the pawnbroker. Hogg whispered to Shelley, ‘ Is not this almost as bad as the Roman virtue?’ The pawnbroker was a rude, ill-conditioned fellow, and behaved disrespectfully to Shelley. Hogg stood aloof in disgust. On their way to Covent Garden, Hogg expressed his surprise and dissatisfaction at being taken into such a place. Shelley told him, simply and briefly, as if the whole affair were a matter of course, that when in London, in

the summer before, an old man had told him a tale of distress, which could only be alleviated by the timely application of ten pounds ; he had drawn five of them from his pocket, and raised the other five by pawning his beautiful solar microscope. The youths were seated in the coffee-room of their hotel, over tea and muffins. Every time the waiter filled their tea-pot, or approached their box, Shelley asked him if any one had called. By and bye the waiter called him. Shelley took out some bank-notes, hurried to the bar, and returned bearing in a mahogany box, with the assistance of the waiter—the solar microscope! and he patted it affectionately, repeatedly. He retained it long after, and cut a hole for it in many a window-shutter, with a southern aspect.

From Zion-house, Shelley was sent to Eton. Here he refused to fag, and was treated with revolting cruelty by masters and boys, which only excited in him a haughtier spirit of rebellion. Hence his compassion for the victims of tyranny, and his fierce enmity towards it. Those boys who had been the most fagged, generally become in turn the greatest oppressors of their fags. In his brave and generous nature the effect was the contrary. He says :

‘ And when I clasped my hands and looked around,
But none was near to mark my streaming eyes,
Which poured their warm drops on the sunny ground ;
So without shame I spake, ‘ I will be wise,
And just, and free, and mild—if in me lies
Such power ; for I grow weary to behold
The selfish and the strong still tyrannise
Without reproach or check.’ —*Revolt of Islam*.

At Eton, Shelley suffered, and the only learning he acquired was suffering—

‘ Nothing that my tyrant knew or taught
I cared to learn.’

The only grateful recollection he had, was of reading the Symposium of Plato with one of the masters, Dr. Lind. He dabbled in chemistry, though it was a forbidden thing at Eton, in 1808, and made himself acquainted with the French and German languages. He composed Latin verses with ease, and once sent up a prose exercise, in which there was a great many verses. His master observed it, and asked him why he had introduced them. He answered, He did not know they were there, which was partly true and partly false. ‘ Old Keate ’ believed him, and applied to him the line in which Horace says of himself—

‘ Et quid tentabam dicere, versus erat.’

Shelley would sometimes open at hazard his 'Livy' or 'Salust,' and transmute several sentences from prose into heroic or elegiac verse with surprising rapidity and facility.

Though Shelley made few intimacies at Eton, his school-fellows, according to custom, on his quitting it, presented him with many books, and his parting breakfast cost fifty pounds. While there, his greatest delight was boating; and his literary recreation, scribbling verses about the wandering Jew.

Towards the end of the year 1809, assisted by Miss Grove, his first love, he published a novel, entitled 'Zastrozzi.' It was shortly followed by another, entitled 'St. Irvyne; or, the Rosicrucian.' At seventeen, Shelley believed in alchemy, and held, with Dr. Franklin, that the perfection of medical science would counteract the decay of nature, and realize the Elixir Vitæ.

It is interesting to know that, when Felicia Brown, afterwards Hemans, was only sixteen, and Shelley about a year older, there was a correspondence between them upon doubtless the topics interesting to a young poet and poetess—poetry, love, and religion. Shelley was communicating to the young lady his own scepticism, when the correspondence was forbidden by her mother. While at Oxford, Shelley published a volume of poems under the title of 'The Posthumous Works of my Aunt Margaret Nicholson.' The work, though consisting of only a few pages, was published as a noble quarto, and printed in huge, unusual types, upon the thickest, smoothest drawing paper. The name was derived from Peg Nicholson, a mad washerwoman, who tried to stab George III. with a carving knife; and the poem sung of liberty in incoherent strains, and recommended stabbing of all who were not sufficiently attached to the right cause. In fact, the poem was a satire upon the sentimental and revolutionary literature of the times. His poem of Queen Mab, begun in 1809, was not completed until 1812. Its object was to relieve the miseries of the poor man, by inducing the rich man to share his superfluity with him, and thus usher in a millenium of freedom and brotherhood. In a letter addressed to the editor of the 'Examiner,' 22nd June, 1821, Shelley thus expresses himself of this publication, showing that few of its readers can ever have had a worse opinion of it than its author had:—

'A poem entitled 'Queen Mab' was written by me at the age of eighteen, I dare say in a sufficiently intemperate spirit, but even then it was not intended for publication, and a few copies only were struck off to be distributed among my personal friends. I have not seen this production for several years. I doubt not that it is perfectly worthless in point of literary composition; that in all that concerns moral and political speculations, as well as in the subtler

discriminations of metaphysical and religious doctrine, it is still more crude and immature. I am a devoted enemy to religious, political, and domestic oppression, and I regret this publication not so much from literary vanity, as because I fear it is better fitted to injure than to serve the sacred cause of freedom. I have directed my solicitor to apply for an injunction to restrain the sale, but after the precedent of Mr. Southey's 'Wat Tyler,' a poem written, I believe, at the same age, and with the same unreflecting enthusiasm—with little hopes of success.'

Whatever opinions may be formed of *Queen Mab*, it was nothing more than an expression of a phase of the mind of a boy. Shelley the man forgot most of it, and condemned the rest of it. He never published it, but piratical publishers gave it a most extensive circulation, and his contemporaries judged the man by the escapade of the boy, and condemned, denounced, persecuted, and exiled him for it. It would have been as just in them to have condemned him for being twenty, as to condemn him for being a victim of a piracy.

We have gone thus minutely into the ancestral and educational circumstances of Percy Bysshe Shelley, in order to trace the sources of the elements of his character. He had derived an energetic and mercurial temperament from his grandfather, the fortune-hunter. His scepticism was hereditary. Neither his father nor his mother had ever shown him a religious example, nor did they themselves ever, perhaps, enjoy an opportunity of realizing the realities of religious life. The family code of morals was exceedingly imperfect, but from a genealogical connection with the author of the '*Arcadia*,' Shelley learned that there was something noble in chivalry, and a splendour in literature. Of a weak and nervous temperament, and brought up among girls, a sleep-walker by night, a fanciful dreamer by day, he felt acutely the rough atrocities of his schoolfellows, for which he had not been prepared, and became, therefore, spasmodically vehement against all the oppressors of the weak, and vehemently generous in behalf of all their victims. Temperament, talents, ancestral and educational circumstances, made him, therefore, even in earliest boyhood, a sceptic, a poetic romancer, and a reformer. His being a sleep-walker is a significant circumstance. The fact evinces a nervous system, which made him feel the present miseries of the world like a nightmare, from which he had no relief, except in millennial dreams of the perfectibility of the future. With the tenderness of a girl, he united the truthfulness of a youth; and for suffering the display of this virtue in print, his life was placed under the ban of society.

Everybody will acknowledge that there must be a period in

which an infant is not to be held responsible for either his opinions or his actions. To what age this irresponsibility shall be extended, is a point about which thinkers may differ. If a child is brought up to believe religion identical with superstition, the blame attaches not to the infant, but to those who mistaught the infant. Shelley inherited indifference, and saw nothing but formality or practical infidelity in his father's house. That he should embody this in his earliest poems, and defend it with the first efforts of his reason, are matters of course. He was in earnest about what he thought true. 'Looking upon religion as it is professed, and, above all, practised, as hostile instead of friendly to the cultivation of those virtues that would make men brethren, he raised his voice against it, though, by so doing, he was perfectly aware of the odium he would incur, of the martyrdom to which he doomed himself.' Thousands of gentlemen, who hold precisely the inward opinions held by Shelley, live and die prosperous churchmen, declaring frankly that their only faith is, 'they have no doubt at all that the church of England is thoroughly gentlemanly.' We once heard a Scotch episcopalian by profession, but a materialist in his inward convictions, say to his wife, 'Well, my dear, whatever they say, they cannot deny the perfect gentility of our religion.' Now Shelley, if he had allowed such a consideration to sway him, in reference to spiritual truth, would have lived a prosperous man, instead of being a persecuted man.

He did not possess an intellect adapted to the investigation of truth. He was a poet, whose nature was adapted only to feeling and singing about what seemed beautiful to him; ideas took hold of him chiefly because they were novel, wonderful, or beautiful. Hence we find him, when at Oxford, speculating with Plato upon the condition of man in a previous state of existence, and deeming all knowledge only memory. Along with a friend, he wrote and printed a little book, without publishing it, entitled, 'The Necessity of Atheism.' It was a bold and plain echo of Hume's Essays. The boy was in his nineteenth year. His life had been enthusiastically devoted to desultory studies at Oxford. He would sit ten or a dozen hours a day, and, abstemious as a hermit, live almost entirely on dry bread. A circle of crumbs upon the carpet marked the spot where he had long sat at his studies, with his face, being near sighted, almost in contact with the book. Friendly discussions with some of his fellow-students, respecting Plato, Locke, and Hume, had been the only discipline of his understanding. He seems never to have mastered any science, though he had amused himself with his microscope, his telescope,

or his camera obscura. The mental fruit of these studies, and his past breeding, was a little syllabus of bad metaphysics, demonstrating the necessity of atheism. The boy was open, at any rate. His errors courted the light:—

‘ Life is real—life is earnest,
And the grave is not its goal.
‘ Dust thou art—to dust returnest,’
Was not spoken of the soul.’

However deplorable the errors of such a youth, his courting the investigation and refutation of them, though very rash and very presumptuous, was the greatest of all merits, it was thoroughly honest. De Quincey said the boy, with his pure red and white complexion, his feminine features, and his tall, stooping figure, with a small head of long auburn hair, and flashing blue eyes, looked like a flower drooping from being surcharged with rain. The university of Oxford tried to break the flower:—

‘ It was a fine spring morning on Lady-day, in the year 1811, when’ says Mr. Hogg, ‘ I went to Shelley’s rooms; he was absent, but before I had collected our books he rushed in. He was terribly agitated, I anxiously inquired what had happened: ‘ I am expelled!’ he said as soon as he had recovered himself a little, ‘ I am expelled! I was sent for suddenly a few minutes ago—I went to the common-room where I found our master and two or three of his fellows. The master produced a copy of the little syllabus, and asked me if I was the author of it; he spoke in a rude, abrupt, and insolent tone; I begged to be informed for what purpose they put the question, no answer was given, but the master loudly and angrily repeated, ‘ Are you the author of this book?’ If I can judge from your manner, I said, you are resolved to punish me if I should acknowledge that it is my work. If you can prove that it is, produce your evidence; it is neither just nor lawful to interrogate me in such a case and for such a purpose. Such proceedings would become a Court of Inquisitors; but not free men in a free country. ‘ Do you choose to deny that this is your composition?’ the master reiterated in the same rude and angry voice.

‘ Shelley complained much of his violent and ungentlemanlike deportment, saying, ‘ I have experienced tyranny and injustice before, and I well know what vulgar virulence is, but I never met with such unworthy treatment. I told him calmly but firmly that I was determined not to answer any questions respecting the book on the table—he immediately repeated his demand; I persisted in my refusal; and he said furiously, ‘ Then you are expelled, and I desire that you will quit the college to-morrow morning at the latest.’

‘ One of the fellows took up two papers and handed me one of them, here it is;’ he produced a regular sentence of expulsion, drawn up in due form under the seal of the college.

‘Shelley was full of spirit and courage, frank and fearless; but he was likewise shy, unassuming, and eminently sensitive; I have been with him on many trying occasions of his after life, but I never saw him so deeply shocked and so cruelly agitated, as on this occasion. A nice sense of honour shrinks from the most distant touch of disgrace—even from the insults of those men whose contumely can bring no shame. He sat on the sofa, repeating with convulsive vehemence the word ‘Expelled! Expelled!’ his head shaking with emotion, his whole frame quivering.’

According to the constitution of the university Shelley was probably punished legally enough, but if this is the case, the constitution is convicted of being a bad one. Undoubtedly, the rules of his college were enforced against him in a very rude, harsh, and tyrannical manner. He suffered a civil penalty of the severest kind for his religious opinions, and the penalty was inflicted very summarily and very cruelly. But this is not all. By being punished for his opinions he was rivetted to them for life. Persecution fastened him to atheism for life. In regard to spiritual growth he was stunted into a boy all his days. If his teachers had recognised distinctly, that he was right in being a zealous inquirer on these subjects, and had commended, instead of condemning, the fearlessness of his appealing to reason by the press, a very little discussion, a perusal of a very few books, the presentation to his mind of a few grand and beautiful facts, might have changed the whole cast of his convictions, and overwhelmed an open and ingenuous mind with contrition for the boyish presumption of his opinions and proceedings. Expulsion sealed his mind against truth. He was made a rebel against all governments, all religions, and nearly all approved moralities.

Endowed with a fine imagination and a generous disposition, Shelley had but an ordinary share of intellect. It is true he died before he reached the age of thirty, but at the best of his intellect he never displayed any capacity for metaphysical studies. In one of his letters he expresses great admiration of the following remark, which seemed to him to refute the doctrine of theism. ‘Mind cannot create, it can only perceive.’ To him this sufficed to prove, that the universe had not been created by a Mind. Reasoners of equal calibre prove, that the world rests upon the back of a tortoise. Nothing but persecution could have enabled the weakest of metaphysical and sceptical cobwebries to keep possession of his reason, and the fact that it did so, is proof of the comparative feebleness of his understanding and the strength of his feelings of wrong and injustice.

Mr. Shelley and Mr. Hogg were expelled together for their publication of the Syllabus, and the Peg Nicholson papers. Both

their fathers disinherited them. The public opinion, in accordance with the decree of expulsion, embraced nearly the whole of the generation to which their fathers belonged. The most read and esteemed of the public journals embodied it. Their expulsion was to these boys only a shape of the frown of their age. It made the hands of their fathers the executioners of the tortures of persecution it decreed. Their homes were made star-chambers; their families were made inquisitors. Fearful, indeed, was the power wielded by Oxford bigotry at this period, for it wedded Shelley to atheism as to Eternal Truth. Consciously or unconsciously, henceforth he felt that if atheism was false, he had lost his father, his family, his home, and ultimately become an exile from his country, and a Pariah among his countrymen, for a folly and a delusion.

But his opinions cost Shelley something which is still dearer than all these, in the esteem of youth. They cost him his first love. The family of Miss Grove, and the young lady herself, repudiated a union with an atheist. Poor Shelley came literally to live a life of dreams. His waking thoughts were engrossed with the phenomena of his sleep; and the excitement of his mind, the feverishness of his nerves, and the habit of dreaming which he encouraged, developed his old disease of somnambulism. One morning, at five o'clock, Captain Medwin says he saw a group of boys round a well dressed person, lying near the rails in Leicester Square. The sleeper was Shelley.

In his awaking hours, the youth would play, like a child, in making 'ducks and drakes' with flat stones on the Serpentine, or in floating paper boats down the wind. In his studious hours he searched Hume, Voltaire, Spinoza, Volney, and Godwin, for arguments wherewith to upset the established religion and morality of Europe, in the notes to his poem, 'Queen Mab.' His father would have pardoned his *escapade* against religion, if he would have taken to politics for the advancement of his family interests, and succeeded him as member for the county. But Shelley scorned a career of such selfishness. He fancied it would be a much more heroic thing to extirpate superstition and conventionality. It is said he actually wrote to the Rev. Rowland Hill, requesting the loan of his pulpit for the inculcation of his ideas. We can believe anything of such a youth, in the mood he must have been in at this time, when brooding over,—

‘ His cold fireside and alienated home,’—

And bemoaning especially his parting with Harriet Grove :—

‘ Her voice did quiver as we parted,
Yet knew I not that heart was broken,

From which it came—and I departed
Heeding not the words then spoken.
Misery ! O Misery !
The world is far too wide for thee !

Such facts explain the phenomena of his character. We have a powerful series of sequences. He inherits from his ancestors a temperament active, volatile, and ambitious. The blending of the blood of the Arcadian Sidney with his, gives a literary tinge and a chivalrous elevation to his naturally lively imagination and sensitive feelings. Scepticism was the atmosphere of his father's house. It necessarily became in him open, chivalrous, literary, or, in other words, defiant, conspicuous, and ornate. He would win fame by it, and risk injuries for it. Once expelled from Oxford, and every opportunity of learning other truths in the society of sincerely Christian people, he was driven for truth to the wandering mazes of the sceptical philosophies.

Repudiated by Harriet Grove and her family, it was a matter of course that the imaginative youth of twenty should fall in love with the first bright-eyed maiden he met, and, if necessary, run away with her to Gretna Green. In the end of August, 1811, Shelley eloped with Miss Harriet Westbrook, a school-fellow of one of his sisters, sixteen years of age, and the daughter of a London hotel-keeper. An anecdote is told of the girlish bride, when the young couple were living in lodgings at the Lakes. Southey, and some of his family paid them a visit, and asked Mrs. Shelley if the garden had been let with their part of the house. 'Oh, no !' she replied ; 'the garden is not ours ; but then, you know, the people let us run about in it whenever Percy and I are tired of sitting in the house.' Shelley, who had gone to the works of William Godwin and Mary Wolstoncraft, for improved notions of religion and morals, soon found the uncongeniality of his hastily-wed bride, and the incompatibility of his temperament with that of one incapable of estimating his talents, or understanding his feelings, or entering into his purposes for life. They separated ; and, on account of his atheism, the Lord Chancellor Eldon gave the custody of their children to the maternal grandfather, instead of their father. Mrs. Shelley was too young and too little protected, for the equivocal and perilous position of a *separée*. Married in 1811, separated in 1813, she drowned herself in 1816. This event cost Shelley a fit of insanity.

Two years prior to this tragedy, Shelley had gone abroad accompanied by two ladies, one the daughter of William Godwin, and Mary Wolstoncraft, and the other a Miss C——, (whose name is never printed fully) her friend and companion.

At Geneva they became acquainted with Lord Byron. It is characteristic of the moral differences of these poets, that Shelley married Miss Godwin as soon as he could; while Byron, the noble poet, did not make any provision for the mother of his daughter Allegra. She became a pensioner on the bounty of Shelley. Once when she was a candidate for the place of companion to a lady, and frankly told her story, she was rejected, scornfully. Captain Medwin is severe upon the lady for doing it, forgetful, seemingly, that perhaps she had not character enough for two. Reputation is indispensable for what is fashionably called 'a sheep dog.' Some one wrote to Shelley, asking why he, who had written against marriage, had married twice. His answer substantially was, he could not inflict upon any woman he loved, the evils consequent upon a disregard of the institution. His practice profoundly and thoroughly refutes his theories. Disregard of the institution was incompatible with true love, which seeks to exalt, and not to degrade, the object of it. The beautiful, gifted, and accomplished friend of Mrs. Shelley, rejected in her application for a sheep-dog's place, embodied the Wolstoncraft doctrines, as condemned by results. But there is more instruction here. Genius, learning, accomplishments, breeding, lights of philosophy, beauties of art, the advantages of gentle birth and finished education, are combined in the two men and the two women who associated together, more than thirty years ago, on Lake Lemman, under the eye of Mount Blanc, among vine-clad slopes, and enjoying perpetually the spectacle of the blue lake, in which the heavens see themselves. We have their lives and conduct before us, in their beginnings and their endings. The results are, crimes, seduction, suicide, desertion, adultery; the hour gratified, but the life miserable; a Shelley deranged, and a Byron debased. There was plenty of education in these gifted and accomplished persons, issuing, however, in misery and crime; yet, forsooth, education is the panacea of the day, for all the evils of the people.

The life of Shelley is written. We have no intention of entering upon an examination of his works. He lived six years after his second marriage, an abstemious and studious life, filling his mind with pictures of the most beautiful scenery, and the most exquisite works of art, writing and publishing poems, which the domineering aristocratic critics of the time denounced, and the public did not buy, loved exceedingly by his wife and children, and friends; longing for the dawning of the day of parliamentary reform, religious liberty, and constitutional government, and living in many different places, at home and abroad, where he could enjoy the pleasure of floating in his boat, amidst the magnificence of lake and river scenery.

A boat was his favourite plaything. During his misery after his expulsion, he used to float paper boats on the Serpentine, and once, for want of more appropriate paper, he used a ten pound note for a sail. Just prior to his death, he advanced as much money as he could to assist in building a steam-boat, a novelty in 1820.

It is of less importance to judge Shelley than it is to understand him. In the biographies in *The Book*, it is notable that deeds are narrated in clear sequence, but almost never in a phraseology of condemnation. Now this much is worthy of weight, Shelley did not reach manhood. Physically, morally, and intellectually, he was diseased. He was a somnambulist, and his walking in his sleep, and lying down under the rails of Leicester-square, were not the only signs his conduct gives of the diseased state of his nerves. He was spiritually diseased. His father taught him scepticism in its worst shape, that of spiritual indifference. The breath of his father infected the chastity of his soul in boyhood, and he came into life amidst precepts and examples of selfish profligacy. Public and domestic persecution for the candid statement of his opinions completed the perversion. Admiring biographers try to justify all his actions, but his would not have been the heart he had, if remorse had not been the emotion which deranged his mind on the suicide of Harriett Westbrook. Nothing but positive vice on her part could have justified his conduct, and no allegation of it is made against his first wife, prior to his desertion of her and her children. For a husband, without this reason, to withdraw his protection from a wife of eighteen years of age, the mother of his two children, and openly go abroad with another lady, is a crime; and Shelley, on her death, must have felt this truth in burning bitterness, until it crazed him. But it was the crime of a diseased, perverted, embittered, and persecuted boy. When he arose in his right mind he sinned no more. Loathsome though we deem some of the opinions on some moral subjects which he expressed—the opinions rather of the school he followed than of himself,—as he approached manhood, his character settled, and never a sensualist, he came to be a man who, in the haunts of pleasure, felt stifled, as if by an atmosphere of bad passions. In the last years of his life, he lived in his affections and his duties. He worshipped God under the name of ‘the Spirit of Intellectual Beauty.’ ‘O Awful Loveliness!’ is one of his apostrophes to the Deity. ‘God is Love:’—O that Shelley had realised this description of the Supreme One! It would have lifted his spirit up with ideas loftier than any in Plato. ‘He went about doing good’—is God in Christ, and Christianity.

No account of Shelley can omit his death and obsequies. On the 20th of June, Shelley heard of the arrival of his friend Leigh Hunt, at Genoa.

Boating habits had made him familiar with the sea, and, therefore, he arranged to go with his friend Williams in the boat, to Leghorn, from his residence at Lerici. They left, on the 1st of July. A shadow of coming misery darkened the beautiful scenery and genial summer, to Mrs. Shelley, who was ill, and confined to her room. To her, the beauty of the place seemed unearthly. A favourable breeze in the afternoon of a calm, clear day, enabled them to make the run in seven hours and a half to Leghorn. A *tracasserie* respecting the 'Liberal' and Leigh Hunt's affairs, detained Shelley at Leghorn; and, writing to Mrs. Williams, and alluding to Mrs. Shelley, he expressed, in one of the last letters he ever wrote, a presentiment in these words: 'I figure to myself the countenance which has been the source of such consolation to me, shadowed by a veil of sorrow. How soon those hours passed, and how slowly they return to pass so soon away, perhaps for ever, in which we have lived together so intimately, so happily.' Walking on the terrace before he left, one evening, with Williams, and watching the effect of the moonshine upon the water, Shelley pointed to the white surf, crying, 'There it is again, there!' On recovering himself, he said that he had seen his dead child rise from the sea, and clap its hands with joy. Some friends of Shelley sitting together one evening, had seen him walk into a little wood at Lerici, when he was actually far away. 'This,' Lord Byron used to say, with awe, 'was but ten days before Shelley died.'

Shelley and Williams got under weigh, on the 8th day of July, for St. Arenzo. All at once the wind changed from a sirocco to a minstral. Captain Medwin says, he saw from the vessel in which he was, an English pleasure-boat hugging the wind under a press of sail. 'The squall drove blackly over the water. As he was looking at the boat through his glass, the skipper beside him said, 'She will soon have it.' As he spoke, the cloud—

' Enveloping the ocean like a pall,
It blotted out the vessel from the view.'

Captain Roberts, from the lighthouse at Leghorn, watched the vessel with his glass. When the cloud had passed, he saw every vessel he had seen before it came, except the little schooner. She went down with all her sails set. Shelley had been reading to the last moment the 'Eve of St. Agnes,' by Keats. When his body was found, his right hand was in his waistcoat, where he had thrust the volume. Williams, an ex-

pert swimmer, tried to undress himself and save his life. Eight days and nights of suspense and horror for the widows elapsed before some bits of wreck reached the shore. Fourteen days after the squall, the bodies were found.

By the Italian quarantine laws, every thing which is washed ashore must be burned. Lord Byron and Leigh Hunt describe the scene of the burning of the bodies. Byron swam ashore from his yacht in the offing. He notes 'the extraordinary effect of such a funeral pyre on a desert shore, with mountains in the back ground and a sea before—the singular effect the salt and frankincense give to the flames.' The spot was marked by an old withered pine tree and a solitary thatched hut. Leigh Hunt lay back in the carriage, to which was attached four post-horses. Byron and some soldiers of the coast-guard stood near the burning pyre. Leigh Hunt says, as the flame rose to heaven with vigorous amplitude, 'one might have expected a sun-bright countenance to look out of it—coming once more before it departed to thank the friends who had done their duty.'

ART. III.—1. *The Anatomy of the Navigation Laws.* By John Lewis Ricardo, Esq., M.P. London: Charles Gilpin. 1847.

2. *The Speech of the Royal Commissioners on the Opening of Parliament.* Supplement to the 'London Gazette,' Nov. 23, 1847.

THE speech at the beginning of the late extraordinary session, summoned, as was generally understood, to consider the condition of Ireland and our monetary laws, contained unexpectedly the following passage in reference to the Navigation Laws:—'Her Majesty recommends to the consideration of parliament the laws which regulate the navigation of the United Kingdom, with a view to ascertain whether any changes can be adopted, which, without danger to our maritime strength, may promote the commercial and colonial interests of the empire.' For that announcement we were hardly prepared. We doubted whether the ministers had yet made up their minds to take the initiative in reforming the Navigation Laws; and in proportion to our distrust, is our satisfaction at the step they have taken. Unfor-

Unfortunately, the speech contained, with much to ruffle the Liberals, nothing else likely to sooth them; and we, therefore, are inclined to suspect that the ministers meant to astonish and gratify them by going on this point beyond their expectations. Our suspicion is confirmed by the language used. Those laws really no more 'regulate the navigation of the United Kingdom,' however much they may disturb it, than a child's mud dam regulates the course of the rivulet it pettily thwarts and impedes. The ministers demonstrate, too, that they have not yet formed a just conception on the subject, by placing in contrast 'our maritime strength,' and the 'commercial and colonial interests of the empire.' They are one and the same; and whatever promotes our commerce, and increases the welfare of the colonies, must add to our maritime strength. Such language, in the mouths of free-trade ministers, seems puerile, not to say contradictory; and confirms our suspicion that the concession is made from party policy, rather than heart-felt conviction.

They may suppose, perhaps, that by allowing our commerce to increase and our colonies to extend, they also promote the commerce of other nations, and increase their maritime strength faster than our own. If they have taken up the shipowners' argument, and suppose, because our laws were intended to check the growth of foreign shipping, and increase our own, that to relax them would have contrary effects; they must have studied the question very imperfectly, and betray a lingering attachment to an old prejudice, long after it has been discarded by careful inquirers. Mr. Ricardo states that 'the tonnage of England and her colonies is nearly 4,000,000, and considerably more than the whole tonnage of all the rest of the world taken together.' To quiet the ministerial apprehensions we may observe, that the average tonnage of ships annually built in the United Kingdom, is about 189,000, at which rate it would employ our ship-building resources twenty-one years to build as many ships as we already possess. But, as the annual increase of shipping is on the average only 50,000 tons, 140,000 tons going annually to decay, or being lost, it would employ our ship-building establishments, or any equal ship-building establishments, and there are not their equals in the world, eighty years to construct and keep up a mercantile navy equal to that we already possess. Taking the tonnage of the United States at one-third of our own, which is about the proportion, by the same reasoning it will take them two hundred and forty years to form a mercantile marine equally large. France having one-third less shipping than the United States, it would cost her one-third more time, or three hundred and twenty years to obtain the same results. We are well aware that the resources

of a free people increase in a compound ratio, and that, consequently, our estimate of the time required is exaggerated ; but England would not be stationary while other nations went forward, and thus the time it would require for them to construct a number of ships equal to our mercantile marine, may assure us that the relaxation of our laws, which promotes the increase of our own shipping, though it promote in a greater degree the increase of foreign shipping, will not speedily raise that to a level with ours. Great Britain in fact towers so far beyond all other nations that there is no fear, if our own legislature will only allow her to grow, of her being for ages overtopped. We regret, therefore, that the ministers should use language which seems to countenance the notion, that in allowing the commerce and shipping of other nations to attain their natural proportions, benefiting the whole of mankind, we run some risk of lessening our maritime strength and diminishing our maritime superiority. Their words will make us watch with some jealousy the propositions they submit to parliament. They have taken the question out of Mr. Ricardo's hands, and the Liberal party will hold them responsible for effectually carrying out the Free-trade views, and sweeping completely away the last remnants of our protective and restrictive laws.

A vast progress has been made within the last twenty years in divesting the subject of prejudice. Great was the outcry against Mr. Huskisson, when he advocated a necessary relaxation of the navigation laws ; and, in common with other statesmen, countenanced many of the errors concerning them, by expressing agreement with Smith, and speaking of these laws as having secured our maritime ascendancy. That necessary relaxation having, by its consequences, completely falsified the shipowners' predictions, led to further investigations, and a multitude of facts were soon brought to light, which demonstrated the injuriousness of the laws. The more the shipowners have complained, the more they have provoked inquiry, and the more their assertions have been refuted. Mr. Ricardo's committee, reluctantly granted, was the first public inquiry instituted, with a view of accurately ascertaining the effects of the laws ; and the conclusions condemning them are now everywhere favourably received. For this bold step, and for its results, the public are much indebted to him ; and he has added to their obligations by examining the evidence collected by the committee, by investigating the history of the laws, and by publishing his 'Anatomy.' Coming to the aid of various other works, it will prepare the public for a very bold measure, and help to make the ministers deservedly unpopular, should they propose

any thing short of the total abolition of the laws. Mr. Ricardo, after stating, incorrectly however, that the navigation law was a compact between the parliament and the shipowners—parliament undertaking to give them a monopoly, and they undertaking to find men for the manning of the royal navy, when, in fact, no such compact was ever dreamt of; the legislature proposing an object to itself without consulting the then politically insignificant body of shipowners—in concluding his work, thus sums up the mutual failure of parliament and shipowners. Though tainted by the error noticed, the effects of the law are correctly described:—

‘The Act of Parliament does not encourage and increase the mercantile marine.

‘The sacrifices of the shipowners do not find a ‘large, constant, and ready supply of seamen for the Royal Navy.

‘The Act of Parliament fails—

‘Inasmuch as the mercantile marine has flourished least where it is most protected ;

‘Inasmuch as monopoly has produced inferiority ;

‘Inasmuch as restriction has produced retaliation ;

‘Because, by restriction on the one part, and retaliation on the other, the field of enterprise is narrowed, the cost of transport is enhanced, and so fewer ships are required altogether.

‘The shipowners fail—

‘Inasmuch as by carrying apprentices they displace able seamen, and so drive them to seek employment in foreign service ;

‘Inasmuch as by registering the sailors, they advertise to them their purpose, and these objecting altogether to fight for lower wages than they could earn by trading, when they are most wanted, are least likely to be found ; and

‘Because the seamen of merchant ships are not adapted for the Royal Navy, and are not such as modern naval warfare requires ;

‘And so the preamble of the Navigation Laws is not proved, and the preamble of the Registration Act is not proved.

‘But there are other classes of the community, of whose interests the statutes take no note, to whom the arrangement is a source of unmitigated and admitted injury, who demand the demonstration of the necessity of the sacrifice they are called upon to make.

‘The colonists must know why it is indispensable that they should be crippled in the competition which has been forced upon them.

‘The merchants require to have satisfactory justification for the contraction of their commerce, and the vexations and impediments to their trade.

‘The manufacturers require proof of the urgency of a law which limits their markets, curtails the supply of their raw materials, and forces the capital of their customers from barter into competition with them.

‘The working classes must be told what real ground there is for

denying to them the freest possible import of the articles upon which their labour is expended.

‘The merchant seaman asks of right what paramount need there is that he alone, of all skilled workmen, should be held to be at the disposal of the State, and to have no full property in his own skill.

‘Finally, the whole community must be persuaded of the soundness of the policy which enhances to them the cost of every article for consumption or manufacture, which is brought from beyond the sea.

‘And as a distant advantage has not been shown, the colonist, the merchant, the manufacturer, the workman, the merchant seaman, and every class of consumer, have a just claim upon Parliament for the repeal of the laws through whose agency the injury is inflicted.’—p.221.

Mr. Ricardo succeeds in setting the effects of these laws in a very striking light. Here is an example :—

‘But India has to contend against a restriction, that not only places her at a disadvantage amongst our colonies, but actually in a worse position, as to trade with the mother country, than foreigners themselves.

‘The seventeenth section of the Navigation Act declares, that natives of India are not to be British seamen. They can neither command nor man a British ship coming west of the Cape of Good Hope. Ships so manned cannot come to our ports as foreign, for the Lascars are British subjects, and the ships are British built and owned. They cannot enter the ports of any foreign country having a Navigation Law, as English, because our law declares that three-fourths of the crew of every British ship must be British seamen; and natives of India cannot be British seamen.

‘The exception that Lascars may be taken when no other men are to be had, is practically of no use; they can only navigate the ship into a British port and not out of it.’—p. 116.

The consequence of this is, that ships cannot be sent profitably from India manned by Lascars; and when the attempt has been made, the expense has been so great as to put an end to the experiment. These are the effects on growing cotton in India, now an object of great importance to our largest manufacture :—

‘The production of cotton in India has of late, spite of the increasing want of it and its high price, declined rapidly. No wonder; the anti-Lascar clause has prevented there being ships to carry it to England, and nothing so soon tells upon the production as any permanent difficulty of getting to market. The Indians are not so simple as very many times over to incur the whole cost of raising, and picking, and cleaning, and packing cotton, and sending it to Bombay or any other port where there is a constant uncertainty as to there being ships to carry it from thence to England. Mr. Browne, says :

‘I received by the last mail, May, 1847, a letter from Bombay,

telling me that the roads in the neighbourhood of Bombay are encumbered with carts and bullocks, bringing cotton, and on its arrival at Bombay, there are no British ships to take it away. The rate of freight has been in Bombay as high as eight guineas a ton.

'The ports of Bombay and Calcutta are at the present moment filled with ships not only seaworthy, but efficiently commanded, and which would bring home that produce if suffered to do so.'

'The witness handed in a list of shipping in the harbour of Bombay, containing eighteen Indian ships of an aggregate tonnage of 10,000 tons, one half of them idle, and not one of the other half bound for England. The case of Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy's ship, one of the idle ones, was quite enough to put England out of the question. Not the least doubt, that but for that anti-Lascar clause, every ship of them would have been employed, and if the said clause had never been in existence, there would have been more of such ships and more cotton. Freedom of trading and ease of carriage would have increased both. But as it is, Lascars cannot be British seamen.

'The cotton is stored up in the warehouses at Bombay.

'Intelligence of the high price in England, spreads up the country.

'More and more cotton is sent down, the bullocks and carts crowd the roads.

'The ships ride idle in the harbour of Bombay.

'There are no British seamen, but there are plenty of Lascars, (*British subjects*,) to be had to man those ships.

'Lancashire wants the cotton, is idle, starves for want of it.

'It is a dead loss to have the ships idle, but it would be a heavier loss to send them manned with Lascars to England, and have to bring them back with the Lascars, and in addition, one British seaman to every twenty tons.

'So the ships ride on in idleness, the owners learning not to build many more.

'The cotton cannot get to the high prices. It lies law-bound at Bombay.

'The growers take a lesson to produce less next year.

'Nothing for the Lascars to do, so they look at the ships and wonder at the wisdom and justice of England. And Manchester spinners and weavers may live or famish as the case may be, and there really are some people going at large, who are, or pretend to be of opinion, that such an outrageous absurdity can last.

'Do not let it be said 'those Indian ships are built for their own coasting trade, and are unfit for long voyages.' The very reverse is the fact, for generally speaking they are of a larger tonnage than the average tonnage of British ships. They are built of teak wood, and are the finest ships in the world. 'I have seen,' says the witness, 'a teak ship that was eighty years old going to sea, and perfectly sea-worthy.'

'It will not do either to say that these Lascars are bad sailors, or hard to manage.'—pp. 121—123.

‘ The late Mr. Soames before the committee of 1844, stated—

‘ That going in the East India trade, he would rather have Lascars. In a warm climate you do not require a greater number of them than of British seamen. Their great merit is in their orderly conduct, they are as quiet as lambs on board ship.’—p. 123.

Having recently explained, at considerable length, the working of these laws, we shall not now go further into the subject. On all points, nearly, Mr. Ricardo’s views, and those put forth in the *Eclectic* for November last, coincide; and his work is not less than our article, an advocacy for the complete abolition of the laws. Into many parts of the subject he goes at greater length than we could go, particularly into the effects of the laws on particular branches of trade, of which his observations just quoted on cotton will serve for an example. Mr. Ricardo makes no claim to give a fair abridgment of the evidence taken before the committee. His book is not intended to be a summary of the arguments on both sides, but an elaborate and skilful pleading against the laws. In stating its avowed object, we do not accuse it of unfairness, but too much, we think, is said of the opinions of the shipowners, and there is a great deal too much gibe, and jest, and ornament, for such a subject. It is all very well to turn geometry or metaphysics, if practical, into light reading, but we like to see serious subjects seriously handled; and would rather yawn over dullness than be mystified by insincere sprightliness. Though powerful in many places, Mr. Ricardo’s book is composed in a manner, which if it be not bad taste, is very unusual. We make this general objection rather unwillingly to so able an auxiliary in a good cause, but we must stand out against the practice of treating serious national subjects with levity.

Perhaps some of our readers may recollect that there was a school of literature prevalent a few years ago; chiefly poetry, heavy, flabby, and voluminous, made up of much common-place, garnished by literary skill, which received the name of the leg of mutton school. Like other things, that has passed away, and now another school prevails, more akin to the dash-and-drive, bold, speculating, gambling spirit of the day. Men of the world, become fully aware of the growing importance of the press, have, with their accustomed rapacity, seized hold of it, not to diffuse truth and improve mankind, but as a means to get power and wealth. Whatever may be their opinions and conduct, they are fully sensible that the prejudices of the day must be flattered, to attain their ends. Though they despise the sickly philanthropy of overgorged wealth, still clinging pertinaciously to injustice, but intent on large schemes of charitable interference with all the humbler classes, and despise the reverence for display, which makes

the trader and the merchant dishonestly ape the aristocracy ; they are sensible that they must do outward homage to them to share their advantages. They have taken, they believe, a correct measure of human folly, and write at it or for it, in order to be read and enriched. Their writings, particularly if you happen ever to have fallen in with the men, glowing with sentiment, zealously advocating the cause of governesses and needle-women, great on the shutting up of shops at an early hour, and allowing youth time for self-improvement, always impress you with doubt of their sincerity. You are continually reminded of the asides of a comedy, and see at every page how the reading world is meant to be taken in. This school of literature, which, like our commerce, or like our Indian empire, is showy, brilliant, and hollow, is the tongue in the cheek school. Once admitted to the company of the writers, you are immediately convinced that they know a great deal more and a great deal better than they write ; but, for their own purposes, they dip their pens deep in the prejudices of the 'day, and with them tint all their writings. Perhaps this literary speculation is overdone, and observers may detect symptoms of its coming to an end. The collapse will begin by the failure of some of the most flourishing tradesmen in *persiflage* and light literature ; then authors, finding their bills neither discounted nor honoured, will bethink them of trying another trade ; and the tongue in the cheek school will make way for some other of the many protean forms assumed by lust of power and wealth, to impose itself on the world as virtue and wisdom.

Mr. Ricardo's book reminds us continually of this school, though it does not actually belong to it. The writing is intended to make an impression like a startling essay in a magazine. Truth, when found, is advocated with a Punch-like sneer. The opinions of the shipowners are easier-caught game than the effects of the laws, and the anatomy is quite as much of their prejudices and errors as of the statutes. With most of the remarks we cordially agree ; and, though the subject has been somewhat familiar to us for many years, we have derived much information from the book. We know that the sharp sayings are as accurate as they are brilliant, but the general reader requires to be convinced as well as startled ; and for one person favourably influenced by the wit, probably a score will doubt whether it be the handmaid of truth, to say nothing of those whose prejudices are more likely to be strengthened than weakened by the anger generally excited by ridicule. When the incorrectness of an opinion is fully established, wit becomes an appropriate auxiliary of reason, but dull pioneers must clear the way before the light troops can make good use of their arms. To

the plodders and grubbers who sap, and undermine, and make a breach, the storming party is more indebted than it is willing to allow ; and the fortresses of error must have been first shattered by reason, to enable wit effectually to assail them. The Navigation Laws have yet hardly reached that stage. They are almost as much honoured by the bulk of the community, even by many of those who suffer from them, as royalty itself: and to treat them lightly will appear as unseemly in the eyes of persons who have paid little attention to the subject, as to ridicule royalty or religion. Admitting, therefore, the great merit of the 'Anatomy of the Navigation Laws,' and their defenders, we cannot admire the taste in which it is composed, nor feel impressed with the sincerity of the author.

Continued personal attacks, too, on one class, to promote the interest of another, reduce this great public question to a mere contest between shipowners and merchants, between the carriers and the owners of goods ; and, in such a contest, the duties of the legislature to all the people, and the great principles of justice, are very likely to be lost sight of. The law, on Mr. Ricardo's argument, is to be repealed, more on the principle of giving convenience to certain traders, than on the principle that it has tended to dry up our maritime resources, disgust the population with shipping, provoke hostility with our neighbours, and to destroy the very object the law was passed to accomplish. We are loath to attribute these faults to Mr. Ricardo himself, though he sanctions them. They arise, we believe, from a deference to the prevailing literary taste in the gentleman to whom he acknowledges great obligations in compiling the book.

A very important question closely connected with the character of our seamen, and almost wholly dependent on the trust to be reposed in them, is now agitated by some journalists and a large number of officers extremely anxious for good berths and full pay. Letters from great commanders deplorably melancholy over the neglected defence of the country have been published, and stirring leading articles have been written, condemning our present supineness, and adjuring us, as if we paid nothing now for the army and navy, not to spare our purses in order to avoid the terrible disasters hereafter of a successful invasion, searching plunder, and wide spread massacre. That a great military commander, proud of his art, and highly exalted by a life-long success, should see no other security for society but forts and armics, though he have defeated the latter, and stormed the former, with great slaughter and great plunder of the poor wretches within, who relied on the walls for defence ;—and should believe that the mass of mankind has no other business on earth but to worry each other—his own special occupa-

tion for the greater part of his life—is according to the usual course of nature; and that we should be domineered over by such men, both physically and mentally, is the proper punishment of our reverence for them. But we must not forget, in listening to their adjurations, that the industrious and the peaceful part of mankind have other avocations than war, and other means of preserving tranquillity and preventing conquests than bayonets and guns. Make as much as journalists and half-pay officers may of the state-papers of Messrs. Guizot and Palmerston, the boastings of the Prince de Joinville, and the complaints of the Duke of Wellington, they cannot establish any national enmity between the French and the English. The opinion of the governments is no index to the opinion of the people. If enmity there be, if quarrel there be, if rivalry there be, it is between the governments and the men they train to animosity and slaughter, and not between the nations; it is between the very classes who demand our money to put us in a posture of defence for their behoof, and not between the classes nominally to be defended. The outcry which these writers make, that the people are not alarmed, and are frightfully apathetic, proves the case against them. The French and the English are busily engaged in seeking the means of subsistence and of comfort; eager to supply each other's wants and to unite themselves together by the bonds of brotherly commerce; and the sole dispute, or chance of dispute, betwixt them arises from the ambition of the cunning and malicious despot that reigns in France, and from the silly interference with all nations of the imbecile and ignorant men of routine who usually fill office in England. They dispute, they quarrel, they will not allow of free trade between the two people, and then they bustle and bristle with fear, and demand on both sides, from the subjects they respectively oppress, greater means of defence and mutual annoyance.

Rightly understood, the cry now got up for new defences, for forts and fortified harbours, for more troops and more ships, after countless millions have been uselessly wasted on such objects, after numerous ships have been built, through a long series of years, only to rot, and numerous forts have been constructed only to destroy sweet meadows and grass-covered hills, and then fall to decay; the cry for new defences has no other source than the mutual fears of the ruling classes, and no other motive but selfishly to provide for their safety and their aggrandisement. From their quarrels the people suffer. If the interest only of the latter were concerned, their defence would mainly be confided, like the means of providing for their subsistence, to themselves, to the seamen, whom they now so cruelly oppress, and to the merchants, whose property is at stake.

But the brawlers have no confidence in the people; they will not trust them with arms—they dare not—and their oppressions of their own subjects make them apprehensive of attacks from their rivals. It is not possible to rely on the pauperised peasant, the impressed sailor, and half starved, sickly artizan, to defend either themselves or others. They are unable to defend themselves against home oppressors, and have neither motives nor means for resisting a foreign invader. But their want of manly sense, their degradation, is the consequence of that terrible and fatal system, of which exorbitant taxation, to build forts and ships, and provide an army of mischief-making diplomatists, is a part; and were the mass of the population relieved from that system, were they perfectly free, and tolerably well off, were there no impressment, no game, and other laws, degrading and impoverishing them, they would be ready, willing, and able to defend their own homes and their ships, whenever assailed. Under just rulers and wise laws, every man would be ready to bear arms for his own defence and the defence of his neighbours. Were the whole people armed, a trifling degree of organization of our willing millions would suffice to destroy the largest army that Louis Philippe could bring together. A little confidence in our seamen and in our maritime resources, would crowd the channel with steamers willingly manned and willingly armed, and would make invasion impossible.

But the oppression of the great multitude comes home to our rulers in deep felt distrust. That is the unavoidable result of injustice. We all feel in taxes, or some similar plague, the bitter consequences of not admitting every man in the community to an equal share of political rights, and treating all with equal justice. The nation suffers from that want of confidence in the multitude which belongs to the inheritors of feudal power. They cannot trust the descendants of the men whom their predecessors enslaved, and whom they continue to ill use. The curse of old political sins visits us to this day; and the effects of the Norman conquest may be traced in the degradation of the many, and in the exorbitant taxation to which all are subjected. Were the system of trusting the people, first doing them justice, in existence, we should say, taking such a place as Brighton for our example, that the mode of action should be this. The people there have chosen to build a long line of splendid mansions close to the sea. They might be bombarded by an enemy. To provide for their own defence is the duty of the inhabitants of Brighton. If left to themselves, they would have very little apprehension of their neighbours at Dieppe; but, being exposed to the casualties of a quarrel between M. Guizot and Lord Palmerston, about precedence at Madrid, they must be

prepared for that. Let them, if they like, or let the state, the quarrel is that of the government—for which the whole people are responsible—build forts for the defence of Brighton. Let batteries be built below and on the cliffs,—batteries at the east, and batteries at the west end of the town,—batteries wherever well-instructed engineers, in consultation with the inhabitants, think advisable. That being done, let the inhabitants organize themselves into an artillery and other corps, let them have the charge of the batteries, and let them, with some assistance and help in case of necessity, provide for the defence of Brighton. Besides these batteries, let the inhabitants prepare the steamers that ply between Dieppe and Brighton to be used as vessels of war for their own defence. Let the fishermen be brigaded and taught by the municipal authorities of Brighton, or under their direction—that is, under the command of the town—direction—for, if justice were done, these fishermen would have as much to say in the council of the town as the inhabitants of Kemp Town: let them, in time of need, man these steamers and they, finding refuge in Shoreham, or on the coast, would form a more effectual defence for the town, always at hand, always on the spot where it is wanted, than an army. Some help from the national resources, directed from the centre to any point of the whole vast coasts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, which might be threatened, would make a system of local defence, by means of the steam vessels belonging to the town, and every neighbourhood converted, when required, into vessels of war, and manned by the maritime population of the neighbourhood, exclusively for their own defence, perfectly complete. We only indicate the principle, our readers will easily imagine the details applicable to every part of the coast. If only a defence were required such a system would at once be adopted, but that would be as effectual against oppression at home as against foreign invasion. It would not place at the command of a Russell, a Castlereagh, or a Wellington, a great military force, by means of which he might compel obedience to a system of disfranchisement, or aristocratic supremacy, which struck his fancy, and seemed to his wayward will adapted to his own or the public advantage. In fact, what is wanted, what is aimed at by all the fine schemes of national fortification and national defence now, is an assurance of safety for the bureaucracy. The forts at Paris, and the forts in England, if not intended to bridle the people, are substitutes for confidence in them. If only the defence of our people were really contemplated, if it were for their benefit and not for the presumed advantage of field marshals, first lords of the treasury, and half-pay officers, such a system of local defence, founded on trusting the people

particularly the seamen, would be at once admired by every heart, and be advocated by every pen; but patriotism and all the social virtues are stifled by that system of imperial and military centralization, admirably adapted for the oppression of a people, which we have borrowed from the very nations we have defeated, and which is based on the principle of ruling the millions in spite of themselves.

Such an army as would suffice to make an impression on England is not to be got together in a week or a month, nor are preparations to embark it made in secrecy, or in a day. Had we a watchful government with a trusted people, invasion would be impracticable because sure to be unsuccessful. But the people not being trusted, forts must be built, armies organized, and an immense number of ships prepared, at an enormous expense, to be ready to repel the aggressions caused by the quarrels of ambitious and tyrannical governments. With the debasement of our seamen, Navigation Laws and impressment are closely connected. The latter, time, and the progress of civilization, have quietly and gradually subverted, though many years will be required to extinguish all its baneful consequences; the former are fast coming to an end, and will, we hope, be nearly swept from the statute-book, during the ensuing parliament. If the nation does justice to its immense maritime population, it may rely on them as a sure defence against the onslaught of an opposing world. But of such a world only protectionist statesmen dream, and trade is now uniting the whole of mankind in bonds of friendship by mutual benefits, annihilating, sorely to the discomfiture of the scions of nobility, the avocations of politicians.

ART. IV.—*The Reformation in Europe.* By Cesare Cantù. Translated by Fortunato Prandi. In two volumes. Vol. I. 12mo. London : T. C. Newby.

A CATHOLIC history of the Reformation was much needed. The want of such a work has been severely felt in studying the life of the German reformer, and grave misapprehensions on leading points of his history have been in consequence formed. *Audi alteram partem* is a wholesome rule, the non-application of which is productive, in such cases, of most serious errors. Each party has its own position from which to view the events affecting its interests, and is, therefore, acquainted with some facts unknown to others, or sees common objects through a medium peculiar to itself. The whole truth can be learnt only through the co-operation of all the parties concerned. Each contributes to the completeness or symmetry of the body, and, though the portion rendered by some may be comparatively trifling, or be greatly obscured, it is yet absolutely needful to a clear and intelligent apprehension of the whole case. As yet, we have been furnished with little more than a one-sided view of the Reformation. The truth has lain scattered and wide, and required, in order to the completeness of its figure, that its members should be gathered up from various quarters. Very few of our countrymen are familiar with the numerous documents bearing on this subject, which exist in the French, Italian, and German tongues; and even those who are more largely informed, have felt the need of some central point, round which should be gathered the scattered contributions of various minds. We are a nation of protestants, and the great bulk of our people have little leisure for research. Protestant histories are, therefore, the only ones with which we are familiar, and even in these we have, till recently, been very deficient. The works of Waddington, Merle d'Aubigné, and Ranke, have gone far to supply this deficiency, and by their varied qualities have done something to compensate for the absence of a more avowedly catholic work. Still they have left a void, which, we are glad to announce, is now in the course of being supplied by the work of M. Cantù.

We have no fear for truth, if it be but allowed a calm and fair hearing. Its interests are damaged by the suppression of the voice of its opponent. A clear stage and no favor, is its utmost request; and we sadly misconceive its temper, and do gross injustice to its authority, when we refuse a patient

hearing to its opponent. The admiration which is founded on ignorance, is no honor to the person to whom it is given, and is momentarily liable to be changed into disgust. That is not truth which cannot bear the ordeal of a searching inquiry, nor is there any justice, much less candor, in refusing to listen to arguments advanced against our views, or to read attentively the narrative which professes to correct our historical prepossessions. Political liberals, we yet like to read the effusions of toryism; dissenters, we can ponder over the pages of Hooker and Stillingfleet with delight, and even smile at the bitterness and small malice which show themselves in some of their degenerate successors. The same feeling prompts us to seek the acquaintance of Bellarmine, Bossuet, and other renowned champions of the papacy, and causes us now to rejoice in the appearance, in an English dress, of the work before us. The exclusive perusal of such a history would, of course, in our judgment, be pernicious; but we know no reason why it may not profitably be read in connexion with the protestant historians named. So far from it, we are convinced that very considerable benefits will be secured by such a course. On some minor points our views may be corrected; the heroes of our imagination may be found less perfect than we had supposed them to be, their conduct may in some instances be open to censure, perfect consistency may be wanting in their lives, judgments may have been pronounced which subsequent experience has proved false, acts may have been sanctioned which the moral sentiments of posterity have unequivocally condemned, and even atrocities have been perpetrated which we find it difficult to reconcile with Christian integrity. We admit all this; but, notwithstanding the admission, we are gainers still. The great points of the Reformation stand out more luminous and commanding; the need which existed for it is more strongly felt; the immense obstacles which lay in its way are better appreciated; the concurring agency of divine providence becomes matter of intelligent faith; and the characters of Luther, Melancthon, Zuinglius, and others, notwithstanding every defect, commands our higher and less hesitating admiration. We may learn to discriminate, but we learn also to love. The men may cease to be angels, but they become, in our esteem, more veritably the moral heroes of our race. This is a great point gained. It stores the mind with definite views, and prepares it to conflict with error. It confers a clear apprehension of men and things, which qualifies for the successful vindication of truth against the many perversions to which it is subjected.

It is not easy to over-estimate the force of the repulsion to which many minds are subjected, on discovering the inaccuracy

of their former views—the false estimates into which they have been led by the partial and one-sided character of their reading. Their chagrin, on making the discovery, is most bitter, nor is it by any means uncommon for them to be propelled by it into an opposite error, equally remote from truth. Men thus pass from one extreme to another, and associate with their newly-adopted faith the vexation and anger, which are produced by discovering what is regarded as a cheat practised on their credulity. From all dangers of this class we are effectually guarded by an impartial examination of opposing testimony; and, as a searching time is evidently coming over protestantism, we rejoice in every well-directed effort to furnish our protestant fellow countrymen with the materials which will enable them safely to pass through the impending ordeal.

Before entering on a notice of the work of M. Cantù, our readers will desire to know something of its author. This is perfectly natural, and we are enabled by the brief notices of his translator to meet the demand. Cesare Cantù was born near Milan in 1805, and was appointed professor of history at the early age of seventeen. He is amongst the most voluminous of Italian writers, and has sought distinction in poetry and prose-fiction, as well as in history. In 1833, he incurred the suspicion of the Austrian government, whose jealous despotism was alarmed by the freedom of his remarks in some dissertations which he published. He was consequently arrested, and subjected to the fiendish proceedings of the inquisitor Salvotti, whose atrocities are accurately described by M. Andryane, in the 'Memoirs of a Prisoner of State.' No means were left untried to induce him to criminate himself or others; but after twelve months' imprisonment, he was discharged, without trial or compensation. Literature was now his chief support, and his productions, whether original or translated, obtained a wide circulation amongst his countrymen. In 1838, he commenced the publication of a 'Universal History,' on 'a plan entirely new, embodying modern inventions and discoveries, and exhibiting mankind, not in separate sections, but in one collective mass.' The work was to consist of about forty volumes, and was to be concluded within eight years. We are not surprised at being told that the project was derided by the Italian literati, and M. Cantù was assailed with ridicule and abuse, on account of the rashness and vanity evinced by his proposal. He, however, persevered; and within the prescribed period completed his undertaking with universal applause. Before two thirds of the original edition were published, and notwithstanding the cost of the work, seven reprints, amounting to twelve thousand copies, were sold in Italy; while translations were issued in France, Belgium, and Germany.

The work now before us forms part of this history, and has unquestionable claims on our attention. 'Unlike most other accounts of the Reformation,' remarks the translator, 'it is not the production of a prejudiced churchman, intent upon throwing discredit on his adversaries; nor of a sceptic, desirous to turn religious convictions into ridicule. It is the statement of a pious layman, who, taking a general survey of the endless quarrels of mankind, has endeavoured to judge them all with the rigid criterion of a philosopher, and the indulgent benevolence of a friend.' How far this eulogium is merited, we shall presently see. We give it as the tribute of an honest admiration, though we cannot ourselves adopt it without qualification. M. Cantù is unquestionably free from the most reprehensible qualities of the clerical advocates of Rome. Yet his own qualifications for the task he has undertaken are more than doubtful. He has no deep sense of the religious bearings of the Reformation, has a very scanty knowledge of scriptural truth, misapprehends greatly the theology of Luther and his contemporaries, and carries with him an air of secularity and mere professionalism into discussions which, in the judgment of the reformers, were fraught with elements of the deepest and most permanent interest. Such an author, however honestly disposed, cannot possibly do justice to the men of the Reformation. There is no sympathy between him and them. He is ignorant of their spirit, is unaffected by their ruling passion, sees not their object, and feels no complacency in what they deem their glory. But notwithstanding this serious drawback, the work is valuable, and deserves to be studied by all who would know what an intelligent, able, and candid Romanist, thinks of the men and the transactions of the sixteenth century.

The introductory chapter, entitled, 'The Church before the Reformation,' amongst some statements to which we demur, contains many strongly confirmatory of our general views. Protestant writers frequently damage their cause by sweeping and indiscriminate censures of the papacy. It is not enough, in their judgment, to denounce its pretensions, to expose its unscripturalness, or to charge on it the blood of a thousand martyrs. So far, the case is clear, and the evidence overwhelming; but when they advance further, and allege that at no period, and in no respect, has the papacy been productive of good, they expose themselves to the triumphant retort of opponents, and reveal their own historical ignorance. A slight acquaintance with the records of that period will convince any candid mind, that both literature and freedom owe special obligations to occasional interpositions of the spiritual power. The monastery frequently sheltered the former, whilst the pontiff protected the latter from

the rude grasp of civil despotism. The end of the popedom in both cases may have been selfish, and little credit may therefore belong to it, but its agency is undoubted; and the denial of this fact only exposes our own ignorance. M. Cantù refers to this topic in a more exultant and laudatory strain than we could do. In the middle ages, he tells us, God delegated power to his vicar, the pope, whom he represents 'as occupied with the care of souls, the preservation of pure morality and unsullied doctrine.' We are not disposed captiously to except to such language, considering the quarter whence it comes. It is enough to note it as an index of the author's views, and as suggesting a modification of the opinion just referred to as common amongst protestant writers.

The corruption of the church is freely admitted, nor could the most zealous amongst us employ stronger terms than M. Cantù sometimes uses on this point:—

'The keys of St. Peter,' he tells us, 'were no longer desired because they opened the gates of Paradise, but as the means of procuring gold. Cardinals were nominated to conciliate the favour of princes, or for money, and as Bellarmine asserts, did not become holy, because they desired to be *most holy* (or popes). Churches were not bestowed according to merit, but for family considerations. The Roman court thought only of deriving pecuniary advantage from the vacancy and collation of benefices, and by multiplying the fees of the papal chancery.

'The bishops, for the most part, did likewise, exerting themselves only to obtain the greatest amount of revenue; and those who renounced their sees reserved to themselves the patronage of benefices and fees of installation. They nominated coadjutors, which was one means of transmitting the bishopricks to their so-called 'nipoti,' (or nephews). The prelacies were then given to the richest, and pluralities were introduced, which gave the power of receiving the stipends without personal residence; so that the same individual might be at one and the same time cardinal of a church at Rome, bishop of Cyprus, archbishop of Gloucester, primate of Rheims, prior of Poland, and reside at the court of France as the political agent of the emperor. Instead, then, of remaining in charge of their flocks, the bishops, more zealous for *good living* than for *a good life*, abandoned them to the care of spiritual vicars, called suffragans; and in order to make the best bargain, they chose the latter from the mendicant friars, who could neither spend money in luxury nor receive it in gifts. Already rich in privileges, these orders received additional ones from Sixtus IV., even to the power of menacing those curates with deposition who did not obey, or who in any way disturbed them.

'To them was committed the office of selling indulgences; but these advantages proved prejudicial to their character for sanctity, and they became worldly, seeking dignities by every species of in-

trigue, 'committing homicides not only by poison, but openly with the dagger and the sword, to say nothing of fire-arms.'

'In Germany, especially, the bishopricks were bestowed on the younger branches of great families, imbued with secular passions and interest; and some prelates, being also princes, neglected the people, who were scandalized by their irregularities, and the application of wealth to every other purpose than the one intended by the devout members of the church, who had consigned it to their charge.'—pp. 5—7.

The prevalence of venality is represented as universal, and most alarming. Each of the monastic orders, and almost every church had its saint, 'in whose praise all manner of absurdities were uttered.' To such an extent is this said to have been carried, that 'whether from fraud or good nature, miracles, wonders, and relics, were multiplied, and a worship was rendered to them, which, amongst the uneducated, amounted to idolatry.' Nor were these corruptions unnoticed, prior to the time of Luther:—

'The boldness with which, throughout Christendom, and especially in Italy, censures were uttered against the vices of the Roman court, and the corruption which had crept into the church, is well worthy of attention. Dante and Petrarch spoke of them with virulence, but they were neither personally reprov'd, nor were their books prohibited. The novels were full of witticisms and adventures at the expense of the monks. Poggio, although he had been secretary to three popes, describes, in a letter to Leonardo Bruno, the executions of Huss and Jerome of Prague, so as to excite compassion towards them, and hatred against Rome. His shameless *Facetiæ*, in which the manners of the Roman court and of its ecclesiastics are held up as laughing-stocks, were printed at Rome in 1469. Pico della Mirandola, in the Lateran council, declaimed against the ambition, the avarice, the immorality of the clergy, with a boldness never surpassed by any reformer. Menot, in his Gallic Latin, denounced violently ecclesiastical abuses; and Maillard, the sale of indulgences.'—p. 21.

The questionable character of Leo x. is sketched with equal boldness, and the picture furnished by our author fully justifies much of the language found in the writings of Luther and his associates. It would not be easy to imagine an assemblage of qualities less in keeping with the pretensions of the papacy, than the following passage exhibits:—

'Leo x. came to the pontifical chair in the flower of his age. Cultivated, amiable, and peaceful, he was an intellectual voluptuary. Sometimes he would listen to music, himself humming an accompaniment to the air; at others, he witnessed the representation of the comedies of Macchiavelli and Bibiena, or assisted at the mock

triumphs of the court fools, Querno and Baraballo. He disconcerted his chamberlain, by appearing in public without his rochet, and sometimes even in boots. He hunted during entire days at Viterbo and Corneto, fished at Bolsena, caressed Aretino and Ariosto. He accepted the dedication of the very immoral poem of the latter; of the voyages of Rutilio Namaziano, one of the last pagans rabid against Christianity, and of the 'Annotations of Erasmus to the New Testament,' which were afterwards placed in the index of prohibited books. In short, he was a perfect gentleman, but a very bad pope. He spent 100,000 ducats at his coronation, which was celebrated with princely ceremonies and diversions. Besides dissipating the treasures amassed by Julius II. to drive the barbarians from Italy, he pledged the jewels of St. Peter, and sold numberless places, so as to increase the annual expenditure of the church to forty millions of ducats, and to incur immense debts. To indulge his family ambition, he intrigued with foreign princes, and was guilty of unheard-of rigours; so that the people said of him, 'He rose stealthily like a fox, reigned like a lion, and ended like a dog.'—pp. 9, 10.

In Italy, the vices of the papacy led to an opposition 'ironical, scornful, and incredulous;' while in Germany they awakened hostility more honest and practical. Infidelity was the growth of the one, and the Reformation sprang out of the other. In the former case the learned smiled contemptuously at the cheat that was practised, yet complied with the forms imposed; in the latter, deep thought was aroused, which led on to a mighty revolution, the issues of which are not yet realized. This difference was strikingly shown when John Tetzel, a Dominican, visited Germany 'with chests of indulgences, ready written and sealed.' 'Wherever he arrived,' says our author, 'he erected a cross in the market place, and spreading out his wares, cried, 'Come buy, come buy; for at the sound of each piece of money which falls into my casket, a soul is released from purgatory.' The people ran in haste to pour in their florins and zechins in exchange for pardons. The bargains were concluded in the taverns; and from Freiburg alone he carried 2,000 florins, to the great annoyance of the Elector of Saxony, and to the indignation of all upright men.'

Luther was roused by this infamous traffic, as is known to every reader of the Reformation. His opposition was, at first, directed solely against the mission of Tetzel; nor was he then aware of the tendencies of the course on which he entered. He had no thought of breaking from the papal church, or of questioning the authority of the pontiff. His purpose was to discharge simply an immediate and present duty, and he designed to do this with all reverence and submission to Leo. Circumstances, however, compelled him to proceed; and hence the incon-

sistencies which are observable in his language. The truth broke on him gradually, and the light of to-day was frequently obscured by the prepossessions and passions of the morrow. Had he at first seen whither his opposition to Tetzel would conduct him, he would, probably, have shrunk from the enterprise. But he did not do so. He proceeded step by step, discharging daily what he deemed the duty of the hour, until he found himself, to his own amazement, committed to an entire and permanent separation from Rome. This feature of his career, ought, in fairness, to be remembered by the historian; and we are sorry to find that it is not allowed due weight by M. Cantù. We regret still more his repetition of the slander, that Luther's opposition to Tetzel was induced by jealousy for his own order. This charge is utterly false, and is now abandoned by all candid men. Its revival in such a work as the present, affords evidence of the tenacity with which error clings to life, and disposes us to regard with less confidence other statements of the writer. His sketch of Luther is deeply tinged with the same want of candor which is conspicuous in the revival of this charge:—

‘Luther,’ he says, ‘had studied much; but in his Latin, instead of the elegance and harmony of the classics, we find stiffness and diffuseness; and when, in writing to Rome, he sought to embellish his style, it was inflated, bombastic, and overlaid with expletives. He wrote better when in anger. He then made up for his deficiency of Latin by means of German. However, he cared not for art, but spoke because he needs must speak; he did not argue clearly, but had recourse to paradox, and pretended to reason on probabilities, after the manner of the schoolmen. Even when advancing the boldest proposition, he would add:—‘That is logic, not belief; and faith has nothing to do with it.’

‘He had acquired much dexterity in treating philosophical and religious subjects in his native tongue, and possessed the requisite qualifications of an orator—inexhaustible treasures of thought, an imagination alike ready to receive and produce impressions, infinite copiousness and pliancy of style, a clear and sonorous voice, a fiery eye, a fine head, beautiful hands, noble and varied gesture—he was, moreover, scrupulously clean in his dress, his hair, and his teeth. He lived among the people, and studied them, understanding them to be the source of durable revolutions. His words were animated by the pride of personal infallibility, which submits to refer to the word of God, but reserves the right of interpreting it according to his own fancy. His declamation was impetuous, and he had no respect to persons or things. Imagination and wit served him instead of genius; and, hurried on by impulse, he considered not whither his arguments would lead him. He preached as often as three times a day, never lacking materials; but it was always with the disorder and the passion of an ode. He was eloquent, if eloquence consist in

constant emotion of soul. He was still a catholic preacher, but he foresaw that eloquence would decline altogether, if he confined himself to the dogma, and relinquished the advantage of exciting the conscience to terror or to tears.

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'Luther then did no more than collect the doubts of ages, and, substituting esoteric expositions for tradition, cast them on a world more than ever disposed to receive such seed. Many righteous souls believed that in him they recognised a man raised up by heaven, not to overthrow doctrines, but to correct abuses, since he manifested such marvellous talents. The men of taste looked upon his writings as vulgar, yet they applauded his attacks upon the schoolmen and the friars, whom they considered the impersonation of ignorance and pedantry.

'Those who first opposed him drew up their arguments in due form; and Luther, parrying them by jests and audacity, thus quickened the zeal of his followers, who bestowed unbounded applause upon him, and hisses on his opponents.

'His was impulse rather than strength; a torrent falling from on high, which, though small in volume, becomes vigorous and noisy; but his invectives and impetuosity, his inflexible intolerance and magnificent contempt for kings and for Satan,' made him popular.

We continually see in history that abnormal power is admired, enrapturing all those who want excitement, as well as those who shrink from the trouble of thinking for themselves. The Germans had looked with ill-will on the popes, even from the time when these opposed the emperors who pretended to confound temporal with spiritual jurisdiction. They now saw, with pleasure, the consecration of their sentiment of hostility to every thing transalpine, and especially to the popes, who had rescued a second civilization from their grasp. Therefore, they readily attached themselves to this new Arminius, who declaimed against pomps and elegancies which they did not know, and against a refined cultivation of which they were incapable.'—pp. 53—57.

We should scarcely look to M. Cantù for an accurate version of Luther's theological opinions, or for a discriminating view of his claims as an advocate of religious liberty. On the former point, he falls into the grossest errors; and on the latter, while magnifying the reformer's failings, he keeps out of view his redeeming virtue. That Luther did not base his hostility to papal doctrine on a solid foundation, is obvious from the fact of his own intolerance; but that he 'claimed' infallibility for himself is untrue, and ought not to be asserted by any writer who takes credit for liberality and candor. As little of truth is there in the assertions, that 'his doctrine of justification subverts all morality and all positive obligation to live virtuously' (p. 113): 'that he continually opposed science as useless, philosophy as

diabolical, and literature as demoralizing' (*ib.*); that 'his destruction of monuments and records nearly plunged Europe again into barbarism' (p. 114); and that 'he cursed it (liberty of reason and conscience) whenever it was opposed to his opinion . . . invoking chains and swords against all dissenters' (*ib.*). Still more discreditable is the representation of Luther's repairing 'in an evening to a tavern, to talk over what he had preached in the morning,' and of his indulging, on such occasions, in conversations 'which would have disgraced an orgy of debauchees,' (p. 71.) Similar injustice is done to Calvin in the account given of his theology and Church platform. We are no indiscriminate admirers of the German reformer. Some of his views were overstrained by an idle attempt at logical consistency, while parts of his conduct were open to the same charge of intolerance, as lay against the papacy. The part he took in the death of Servetus cannot be too severely censured, but it is now too late to represent him as the cool and revengeful monster painted by our author. Similar remarks hold in general, respecting all the sketches given of individual reformers. Their talents are admitted, though in no generous spirit, and undue prominence is given to the darker features of their character. The differences existing between them are unduly magnified, and the general effect produced is widely different from what the whole history justifies. We regret this the more, as from the professions made, we were led to anticipate a calmer and more philosophic estimate of the parties concerned. On the whole, we are compelled to class M. Cantù with a numerous tribe of writers who combine with general avowals of liberality no small share of theological bitterness. The notoriety of the case has forced from him some admissions unfavourable to the papacy; but the leaning of his mind is essentially and bitterly popish. The following passage, in which the labors of Luther and Calvin are contrasted, contains a portion of truth, mixed with much error. It is distinguished throughout by the want of nice discrimination, and is therefore adapted to mislead. The writer is more concerned to produce a general effect, than to convey an accurate view of the systems compared:—

'To free mankind from the chains with which, as it appeared to him, they were bound, Luther denied the existence of free will, and made man entirely dependent upon God, declaring expiatory works to be useless, and the priests who performed these to be in no wise superior to the laity. He asserted that the pope who granted indulgences was a liar, and that the adoration of saints, prayers for the dead, and the sacraments, were useless. In short, he contended that God works all things in us, and he thus spared himself the trouble

of combating separately the tenets of the ancient church. Every one, however, was left free to follow what faith he pleased ; for the Reformation was at first only a sort of protest against the ancient dogmas, or a declamation against the popes, and it assumed a great variety of forms. But the human understanding cannot continue in doubt. Calvin therefore attempted to establish the Reformation upon theological principles, and endeavoured to find a sound foundation in individual revelation applied to the scriptures. A first act of faith, immediately inspired by God, and a mere effect of his grace, forms the first rudimental state of Christianity ; but the moment that by this inspiration we are certified of the truth of the Bible, this becomes our infallible guide.

‘ Calvin therefore had a rule, an authority—in other words, a church : and intolerance followed as a kind of natural consequence. From the premises of Luther, that God alone is the author both of good and evil, both indulgence and severity might be deduced. Calvin adhered strictly to the latter, saying that it was not God’s will that dissenters should be tolerated. Luther had preached the universal equality of man as being no other than God’s instruments. Calvin, from the inequality visible in Divine gifts, argued for the despotic sway of the elect over the reprobate. Luther turned the human mind completely from the ancient path, by calling it to that independence which, though perverted by him, it afterwards attained. Calvin attempted to force attention back upon the past, by reviving by-gone notions, by checking rather than directing the march of human improvement, and by striving against the current of time, which cannot serve those who stand still. Thus Luther stands at the head of one of the revolutions of mankind ; but the work of Calvin was immediately destroyed by the introduction of other innovations as legitimate as his. It acquired renown, because it combined with the politics of nations desirous of regeneration ; but it was necessary that new revolutions should destroy it, in order to clear the way for the triumphs of philosophy.’—pp. 151—153.

There is more truth in the representation elsewhere given, that Luther’s movements were favorable to the monarchical power, while those of Zuinglius developed popular feeling, and promoted republican institutions. This naturally resulted from the political constitution of the countries in which they respectively labored, and shows rather the power of Christianity to adapt itself to various states of society, than to involve in doubt the motives of either of these illustrious men.

During forty years the Reformation spread with wonderful rapidity from the Pyrenees to Iceland, and from Finland to the Alps, ‘ occupying the thoughts of all reflecting men, and changing the systems of nations.’ The measures adopted against it, were at first utterly unequal to the occasion, and were marked by the folly which usually results from the long possession of power :—

‘At first,’ says our author, ‘the dignitaries of the Roman church appeared not to comprehend the whole extent of the evil. Leo x., amused by the great talents and wit of Luther, fancied that he could repel the shafts of cool argument by cultivating a taste for the arts. It is matter of surprise that the defence of the orthodox faith should have been left to men so little fitted for the arduous task. Among these, Silvester Mazzolini, called Prierias, stood prominently forward. As his preaching only fanned the flame, his superiors ordered him to desist, but they at the same time appointed him bishop, and judge over Luther. Melchior Cano used to say that the catholic theologians of his times, in their combats with the protestants, employed nothing but reeds. It would have been far better if they had at once admitted the numerous points on which the protestants were right, and had betaken themselves in earnest to reform abuses with humility, wisdom, and good feeling, instead of leaving the task to proud and violent disputants.

‘Whenever any serious heresy had arisen within the pale of the church, its dignitaries had met in council around the successor of St. Peter, to provide a remedy according to the dictates of their own conscience, and to the inspirations of the Holy Spirit. This mode of proceeding, which was useful so long as the authority of the church was not assailed, had been recommended at the commencement of the struggle. The protestants themselves had appealed to a council against the papal excommunications. The emperor, offended that a monk should disturb his schemes of boundless ambition, was desirous that the contending parties should come to an understanding; and the catholics hoped that, by a similar meeting, they would be enabled to uproot the tares. But it was not likely that Clement vii., illegitimate by birth, and not very legitimately elected, would willingly sanction an assembly, which, like that of Basle, might declare itself superior to the pope. To avoid this, he spared neither subterfuges nor arguments, declaring, among other things, that a synod might be necessary when new doctrines were agitated, but was not so in the present instance, as the subjects of discussion had been clearly settled in former times.’—pp. 158—160.

At length, however, the court of Rome was thoroughly aroused to a sense of the danger which impended, and her efforts were proportioned to the crisis. The order of Jesuits was established, and the council of Trent assembled. The general result is described in favorable terms; and though we demur to the coloring introduced, it is well that protestant readers should know the light in which it is regarded by their opponents. We therefore close with the following extract, in which our author's view is clearly and ably unfolded:—

‘The reformation of morals within the pale of the catholic church was much more extensive than could have been expected in such times of agitation, when the pride of not yielding to those who dis-

of combating separately the tenets of the ancient church. Every one, however, was left free to follow what faith he pleased ; for the Reformation was at first only a sort of protest against the ancient dogmas, or a declamation against the popes, and it assumed a great variety of forms. But the human understanding cannot continue in doubt. Calvin therefore attempted to establish the Reformation upon theological principles, and endeavoured to find a sound foundation in individual revelation applied to the scriptures. A first act of faith, immediately inspired by God, and a mere effect of his grace, forms the first rudimental state of Christianity ; but the moment that by this inspiration we are certified of the truth of the Bible, this becomes our infallible guide.

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sented was the cause of constant opposition to any improvement. The old idolatry of the classics gave way to true religious feeling in the arts, literature, and social intercourse. Numerous provincial councils were held for the purpose of extirpating the remains of superstition and indecency; and from time to time religious meetings were held among the people, so that the purity of apostolic times appeared about to be restored in the world. St. Charles Borromeo renewed in his ritual the penitentiary forms of the early ages. Gian Francesco Bonomo, Bishop of Vercelli, having been appointed to make a visitation of the diocese of Como, after many acts of rigour, admonished the bishop not to make use of costly household furniture, and, above all, not to employ any vessels or candlesticks of silver, as with the value of such things many poor might be maintained. Gregory XIII., pretending to carry into execution the decrees of the Synod of Trent, sent apostolical visitors to examine the accounts of churches, pious institutions, and confraternities; and these visitors excited so much discontent by the severity of their proceedings, that they were expelled by Philip II., and several other princes. Moreover, the inquisition was revived; and, by privileges and exemptions, brotherhoods of men and women were allured to act as servants to it. But instead of limiting its action to oppose the spread of heretical doctrines, it meddled with religious practice, pried into kitchens on fast-days, and cavilled at every word that might escape from the lips of a professor from his chair. These proceedings were considered to be encroachments upon the rights of political power, and the princes, who had formerly declaimed against abuses, now refused to submit to the remedial measures introduced. * * *

'Both the court and the city of Rome assumed an ecclesiastical and orderly aspect. Residence was strictly enforced on bishops and incumbents. The abuse of conferring abbey, colleges, and bishoprics, upon laymen, or even military men, 'who spoke of 'my canons, my friars,' just as they would of their servants or their horses was entirely done away with. Nepotism fell into discredit, and when in the subsequent century it was revived, the pope's nephews were no longer invested with power, but merely with wealth and rank. * * * Moreover, the diffusion of knowledge was eagerly promoted, and more skilfully directed. During the decline of religious studies, the Jesuits, inflamed by the spirit of reformed catholicism, turned their attention to education. They first established several colleges at Vienna, then at Cologne and Ingoldstadt, whence they spread over Austria, along the Rhine, the Main, and at Munich, with the intention of rendering the catholic universities equal to the protestant. They were not philosophical thinkers, nor did they discover any new truths; but they were obliging, affable, disinterested, and they mutually assisted each other. In this novel invasion of the Roman into the German element, the protestant theologians, quarrelling among themselves, and disagreeing in their doctrines, gave way to men who were inferior to themselves, but who had the advantage of being united, and of presenting a system of belief thoroughly complete and

refined in all its parts. They at the same time established schools for the poor, and preached with such admirable effect as to produce enthusiastic devotion in their hearers.'—pp. 203—209.

There are several inaccuracies in the work, which we have not space to point out at length. As a sample merely, we may refer to the date 1555, which is assigned to Tyndale's version; the influence in preparing the Reformation, which is attributed to some productions of Erasmus which were not published until after the commencement of Luther's career; and the reference of the 'Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum' to the sole authorship of Ulric. These and similar mistakes admit of easy correction in a future edition, when numerous *errata* also, will, we trust, disappear.

The translator is already favorably known to the English public, and we need, therefore, scarcely say, that his style is perspicuous and idiomatic. Though differing so widely from his author, we thank him for his labor, and shall recur to the work on the appearance of his second volume.

ART. V.—1. *Despatch of the Right Hon. Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies, to the Governor of Jamaica, on African Immigration.*

2. *The Eighth Annual Report of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.* 1847. London: Thomas Ward and Co.

3. *The Anti-Slavery Reporter.*

THE abolition of slavery in the British Colonies was not only a measure of imperative justice and humanity, but a grand economical experiment. Its success or failure would, under any circumstances, be an interesting inquiry; but the present crisis in colonial affairs invests the question with the utmost interest and importance. Availing itself of the distress, that has overtaken every great interest and almost every class in the community, the West India body is raising a prodigious clamour, and is employed in propagating the most dangerous delusions, with the ultimate design of reconstructing its old monopoly, and creating a new traffic in human beings, and a new form of colonial bondage. These projects are zealously supported by the most powerful organs of the daily and weekly press, and are to a considerable extent favoured by the Colo-

nial Office. In this particular, as in that of the Cape Colony referred to in our December number, the policy of the British government is decidedly and alarmingly retrograde.

The results of emancipation cannot be understood without reference to the preceding state of slavery. Happily, a very brief retrospect will suffice. During the eleven years ending with 1831, the slaves in the British West Indies decreased in number 52,000 upon a population of 850,000, a ratio of decrease which was fully maintained to the period of complete abolition in 1838. What an amount of suffering and cruel oppression is condensed in this single statement! The barbarous inhumanity of slavery needs no further illustration. Yet physical suffering was but the least of the evils of that disastrous institution. The moral debasement both of the oppressed and of the oppressor was yet more appalling, whether regarded in itself or in its consequences. Slavery, too, was an incubus and a blight upon the intellectual faculties, as is well illustrated by an incidental remark of Sir R. Horsford, Acting-Governor of Antigua, in a recent despatch, descriptive of the improved condition and character of the peasantry. He thus observes upon the old state of things:—‘the moral fetters, which controlled the person of the slave, seem, at the same time, to have enthralled his mind and his intellect, restraining every energy and exertion whereby he might have raised himself in the scale of civilized life; his prospects naturally were dreary, hopeless, aimless. I feel satisfied that many of the best feelings of our common nature were in the breast of the negro altogether suppressed, from the mere fact of there being no scope or room for their exertion.’ Sir R. Horsford is, himself, the son of a planter and barrister of the island, the representative of a family long conspicuous and influential in the history of Antigua. He is, therefore, a perfectly competent witness, and if his testimony were true of that comparatively favoured colony, it is yet more emphatically descriptive of the enslaved population of the rest of the West Indies.

What, then, is the present state of these colonies? With regard to population, a rapid increase has been substituted for a steady decline. A general census was taken in 1844, and though the several colonial governors represent it to have been incomplete, yet even this imperfect census establishes the fact, that population has considerably augmented since the abolition of slavery, irrespective of immigration. We had prepared a somewhat detailed statement on this subject, which we are compelled to omit for the sake of brevity, but the reader, anxious for the particulars, is referred to ‘Parliamentary Papers, No. 426, 1845;’ an abstract of which is furnished in the last report

of the Anti-Slavery Society (1847), at page 90 of the Appendix. The following comment of Governor Light on the increase of population in British Guiana is worthy of especial notice. 'But for emancipation,' he observes, 'there was an annual decrease of population, which would soon have thrown more estates out of cultivation than the fears of the planters have predicted would occur since that happy period.' He adds, 'it is now clearly proved, that the creole population is on a steady increase; that the young and vigorous, in the age most necessary for that increase, are in greater ratio than any other portion of the population.'

The preceding is a fair general view of the condition of the colonies, in regard to population under the two contrasted systems of slavery and freedom. It does not need a word of comment.

It is difficult within the necessary limits to present the evidence of the results of emancipation in other important respects. It may be confidently stated *on the authority of the governor of every colony*, confirmed, if needful, by an overwhelming amount of other official testimony, as well as by evidence drawn from other than official sources, *that the emancipated negroes are an industrious, peaceable, loyal, rapidly improving, and on the whole, thriving and prosperous peasantry*. Great numbers of them have become petty freeholders, and are now owners in fee of their own dwellings and garden plots. They are not squatters, nor have they settled down, as the slave holders and their apologists predicted, without energy or ambition, putting forth just enough exertion to procure a bare subsistence, and giving themselves up for the rest of their time to the enjoyment of the *dolci-farniente*. True, the soil is almost spontaneously prolific of the mere necessities of life, and the luxurious and relaxing climate discourages toil, and invites to repose; yet even on such a soil, and under such a sun, the hunger of the soul for the supply of other than mere animal necessities, has induced these sable freeholders to choose such localities, as, to use the expression of a planter, are 'near the labour market.'

The following brief quotations, (all that we have space for,) from official reports and despatches, will give a general view of the state of the emancipated classes, and of the colonial communities generally, and will serve to indicate, but by no means adequately to illustrate, the amazing benefits conferred by the abolition of slavery.

' JAMAICA.

' *Lord Elgin to Mr. Gladstone.*

' In many and most important respects, the expectations of the friends of emancipation have been unquestionably more than realized

by the results of that measure. The peaceful demeanour of the recently emancipated classes, their general deference for law, their respect for religious observances, have formed the theme of repeated and well-merited eulogy. No less remarkable and creditable to all classes, is the rapidity with which feelings which tend to estrange slaves and slave-holders have yielded to the growth of more liberal and kindly sentiments. When it is considered that the negro race in these colonies have passed at one stride from slavery to the full possession of the privileges enjoyed under the British constitution, in the nineteenth century; the readiness with which they have adapted themselves to their new condition, and the moderation which they have generally displayed under circumstances so intensely interesting and exciting, are subjects of gratification as regards the past, and of hope for the future.'—*Reports presented to both Houses of Parliament, July, 1846, p. 22.*

' Extract from the Speech of the Hon. Judge M' Dougal to the Grand Jury, at the Surrey Assizes, in 1846.

' An important document has been furnished me by Mr. Lambert; it is a report of the number of convictions which have taken place during the last seven years, from 1839 to 1845 inclusive, in all our criminal courts of assize, and in quarter sessions, including also cases of larceny under five shillings, tried at petty sessions. This return exhibits a very satisfactory result—it shows that in the year 1845, there has been an evident decrease on the former amount of crime. During the period of 1839 to 1842, the return shows a progressive increase of convictions, arising in all probability from the very active employment of the police in the detection of offenders. From that time there has been a diminution of the progressive increase, and in 1846 there has been a corresponding diminution in the progress of crime, and consequently in the amount of conviction. From this, gentlemen, you may come to a safe conclusion that there is, in point of fact, a large decrease in crime throughout the country.—*Par. Pap. No. 691, 1846, p. 59.*

' BARBADOS.

' Governor Sir C. E. Grey to Lord Stanley.

' The reports in the main are as usual very favourable, and they do not appear to me to go beyond the truth in what they say of the happy and improving condition of the people. The island is more generally prosperous than it ever was before.'—*Par. Pap. 691,—1, 1846. p. 102.*

' BRITISH GUIANA.

' Governor Light.

' I have gone over the greatest part of the province; there is nothing that bespeaks retrogression; new sources of riches are presenting themselves unthought of in former days.' . . . The internal prosperity of this colony, as regards the mass, is undoubted. I had

flattered myself that the crisis of the planters had passed. They have yet to recover from that dispensation of Providence, drought, which has for so many months affected the plantations.—*Reports*, 1846, pp. 42—50.

‘During the tour of Governor Light he visited many of the free villages established by the negroes since the period of emancipation. He thus refers to them in his report:—

‘The village of Lichfield consists of about one hundred and fifty houses; the estate was purchased by a party of labourers. Several good substantial houses, some two stories high, but many are of ordinary construction, wattled, clayed outside and thatched, but inside comfortable. . . . The following day I visited the village of Hope Town, one mile or one mile and a half distant, consisting of at least three hundred houses, laid out in regular wide streets, the houses built continuously; some of these, however, are not equal to the cottages furnished gratuitously on estates; most of them are wattled, clayed, and thatched, but commodious; but the settlers look forward to better residences, and prudently house themselves at the least expense. The population is estimated at from 1500 to 2000; they have extensive provision grounds, and work on the neighbouring estates. From the honest and intelligent bearing of these people, they had felt the advantages of emancipation, without any appearance of disposition to retrograde. . . . From the missionary chapel, at Rothbury, to the estates bordering on the river, are numerous settlements in their infancy, some good substantial houses; but the generality of humbler pretensions. . . . Thence to Ithaca, a large village beyond Blairmont and Balthyock, the properties of Colonel Stopford Blair; it resembles Hope Town, though somewhat larger, with streets well laid out, good houses, and of superior sort; the population actively engaged in clearing out their trenches, making up their roads, etc. . . . Cauboor, eight miles distant; this is of late establishment, and being so, the houses are as yet of inferior appearance; there are about one hundred and fifty inhabitants. I shall here remark, that the banks of the river (Berbice) are dotted with hamlets and detached houses from Ithaca to Cauboor. . . . I walked through the grounds of Ruby. The houses were hidden amidst the richness of every tropical edible; a mine of wealth to the people, which puts them above every personal want, and makes their industry, when applied to the staples, still more praiseworthy. . . . Crime has not been on the increase; the Inspector-General of Police’s statement gives several hundred arrests less than in 1844. Fifty-two out of one hundred and nine convicts at the penal settlement, on December 31st, 1845, are not natives of British Guiana, and only three of these, sentenced by the supreme courts of criminal justice, are under twenty years of age.’—*Reports*, 1846, pp. 42, 43.

‘ST. VINCENT’S.

‘*Lieutenant-Governor Campbell to Sir C. E. Grey.*

‘The predominant feeling evinced by the rural population is, a

of combating separately the tenets of the ancient church. Every one, however, was left free to follow what faith he pleased ; for the Reformation was at first only a sort of protest against the ancient dogmas, or a declamation against the popes, and it assumed a great variety of forms. But the human understanding cannot continue in doubt. Calvin therefore attempted to establish the Reformation upon theological principles, and endeavoured to find a sound foundation in individual revelation applied to the scriptures. A first act of faith, immediately inspired by God, and a mere effect of his grace, forms the first rudimental state of Christianity ; but the moment that by this inspiration we are certified of the truth of the Bible, this becomes our infallible guide.

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'At first,' says our author, 'the dignitaries of the Roman church appeared not to comprehend the whole extent of the evil. Leo x., amused by the great talents and wit of Luther, fancied that he could repel the shafts of cool argument by cultivating a taste for the arts. It is matter of surprise that the defence of the orthodox faith should have been left to men so little fitted for the arduous task. Among these, Silvester Mazzolini, called Prierias, stood prominently forward. As his preaching only fanned the flame, his superiors ordered him to desist, but they at the same time appointed him bishop, and judge over Luther. Melchior Cano used to say that the catholic theologians of his times, in their combats with the protestants, employed nothing but reeds. It would have been far better if they had at once admitted the numerous points on which the protestants were right, and had betaken themselves in earnest to reform abuses with humility, wisdom, and good feeling, instead of leaving the task to proud and violent disputants.

'Whenever any serious heresy had arisen within the pale of the church, its dignitaries had met in council around the successor of St. Peter, to provide a remedy according to the dictates of their own conscience, and to the inspirations of the Holy Spirit. This mode of proceeding, which was useful so long as the authority of the church was not assailed, had been recommended at the commencement of the struggle. The protestants themselves had appealed to a council against the papal excommunications. The emperor, offended that a monk should disturb his schemes of boundless ambition, was desirous that the contending parties should come to an understanding; and the catholics hoped that, by a similar meeting, they would be enabled to uproot the tares. But it was not likely that Clement vii., illegitimate by birth, and not very legitimately elected, would willingly sanction an assembly, which, like that of Basle, might declare itself superior to the pope. To avoid this, he spared neither subterfuges nor arguments, declaring, among other things, that a synod might be necessary when new doctrines were agitated, but was not so in the present instance, as the subjects of discussion had been clearly settled in former times.'—pp. 158—160.

At length, however, the court of Rome was thoroughly aroused to a sense of the danger which impended, and her efforts were proportioned to the crisis. The order of Jesuits was established, and the council of Trent assembled. The general result is described in favorable terms; and though we demur to the coloring introduced, it is well that protestant readers should know the light in which it is regarded by their opponents. We therefore close with the following extract, in which our author's view is clearly and ably unfolded:—

'The reformation of morals within the pale of the catholic church was much more extensive than could have been expected in such times of agitation, when the pride of not yielding to those who dis-

sented was the cause of constant opposition to any improvement. The old idolatry of the classics gave way to true religious feeling in the arts, literature, and social intercourse. Numerous provincial councils were held for the purpose of extirpating the remains of superstition and indecency; and from time to time religious meetings were held among the people, so that the purity of apostolic times appeared about to be restored in the world. St. Charles Borromeo renewed in his ritual the penitentiary forms of the early ages. Gian Francesco Bonomo, Bishop of Vercelli, having been appointed to make a visitation of the diocese of Como, after many acts of rigour, admonished the bishop not to make use of costly household furniture, and, above all, not to employ any vessels or candlesticks of silver, as with the value of such things many poor might be maintained. Gregory XIII., pretending to carry into execution the decrees of the Synod of Trent, sent apostolical visitors to examine the accounts of churches, pious institutions, and confraternities; and these visitors excited so much discontent by the severity of their proceedings, that they were expelled by Philip II., and several other princes. Moreover, the inquisition was revived; and, by privileges and exemptions, brotherhoods of men and women were allured to act as servants to it. But instead of limiting its action to oppose the spread of heretical doctrines, it meddled with religious practice, pried into kitchens on fast-days, and cavilled at every word that might escape from the lips of a professor from his chair. These proceedings were considered to be encroachments upon the rights of political power, and the princes, who had formerly declaimed against abuses, now refused to submit to the remedial measures introduced. * * *

'Both the court and the city of Rome assumed an ecclesiastical and orderly aspect. Residence was strictly enforced on bishops and incumbents. The abuse of conferring abbey, colleges, and bishoprics, upon laymen, or even military men, 'who spoke of 'my canons, my friars,' just as they would of their servants or their horses was entirely done away with. Nepotism fell into discredit, and when in the subsequent century it was revived, the pope's nephews were no longer invested with power, but merely with wealth and rank. * * * Moreover, the diffusion of knowledge was eagerly promoted, and more skilfully directed. During the decline of religious studies, the Jesuits, inflamed by the spirit of reformed catholicism, turned their attention to education. They first established several colleges at Vienna, then at Cologne and Ingoldstadt, whence they spread over Austria, along the Rhine, the Main, and at Munich, with the intention of rendering the catholic universities equal to the protestant. They were not philosophical thinkers, nor did they discover any new truths; but they were obliging, affable, disinterested, and they mutually assisted each other. In this novel invasion of the Roman into the German element, the protestant theologians, quarrelling among themselves, and disagreeing in their doctrines, gave way to men who were inferior to themselves, but who had the advantage of being united, and of presenting a system of belief thoroughly complete and

refined in all its parts. They at the same time established schools for the poor, and preached with such admirable effect as to produce enthusiastic devotion in their hearers.'—pp. 203—209.

There are several inaccuracies in the work, which we have not space to point out at length. As a sample merely, we may refer to the date 1555, which is assigned to Tyndale's version; the influence in preparing the Reformation, which is attributed to some productions of Erasmus which were not published until after the commencement of Luther's career; and the reference of the 'Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum' to the sole authorship of Ulric. These and similar mistakes admit of easy correction in a future edition, when numerous *errata* also, will, we trust, disappear.

The translator is already favorably known to the English public, and we need, therefore, scarcely say, that his style is perspicuous and idiomatic. Though differing so widely from his author, we thank him for his labor, and shall recur to the work on the appearance of his second volume.

ART. V.—1. *Despatch of the Right Hon. Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies, to the Governor of Jamaica, on African Immigration.*

2. *The Eighth Annual Report of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.* 1847. London: Thomas Ward and Co.

3. *The Anti-Slavery Reporter.*

THE abolition of slavery in the British Colonies was not only a measure of imperative justice and humanity, but a grand economical experiment. Its success or failure would, under any circumstances, be an interesting inquiry; but the present crisis in colonial affairs invests the question with the utmost interest and importance. Availing itself of the distress, that has overtaken every great interest and almost every class in the community, the West India body is raising a prodigious clamour, and is employed in propagating the most dangerous delusions, with the ultimate design of reconstructing its old monopoly, and creating a new traffic in human beings, and a new form of colonial bondage. These projects are zealously supported by the most powerful organs of the daily and weekly press, and are to a considerable extent favoured by the Colo-

nial Office. In this particular, as in that of the Cape Colony referred to in our December number, the policy of the British government is decidedly and alarmingly retrograde.

The results of emancipation cannot be understood without reference to the preceding state of slavery. Happily, a very brief retrospect will suffice. During the eleven years ending with 1831, the slaves in the British West Indies decreased in number 52,000 upon a population of 850,000, a ratio of decrease which was fully maintained to the period of complete abolition in 1838. What an amount of suffering and cruel oppression is condensed in this single statement! The barbarous inhumanity of slavery needs no further illustration. Yet physical suffering was but the least of the evils of that disastrous institution. The moral debasement both of the oppressed and of the oppressor was yet more appalling, whether regarded in itself or in its consequences. Slavery, too, was an incubus and a blight upon the intellectual faculties, as is well illustrated by an incidental remark of Sir R. Horsford, Acting-Governor of Antigua, in a recent despatch, descriptive of the improved condition and character of the peasantry. He thus observes upon the old state of things:—‘the moral fetters, which controlled the person of the slave, seem, at the same time, to have enthralled his mind and his intellect, restraining every energy and exertion whereby he might have raised himself in the scale of civilized life; his prospects naturally were dreary, hopeless, aimless. I feel satisfied that many of the best feelings of our common nature were in the breast of the negro altogether suppressed, from the mere fact of there being no scope or room for their exertion.’ Sir R. Horsford is, himself, the son of a planter and barrister of the island, the representative of a family long conspicuous and influential in the history of Antigua. He is, therefore, a perfectly competent witness, and if his testimony were true of that comparatively favoured colony, it is yet more emphatically descriptive of the enslaved population of the rest of the West Indies.

What, then, is the present state of these colonies? With regard to population, a rapid increase has been substituted for a steady decline. A general census was taken in 1844, and though the several colonial governors represent it to have been incomplete, yet even this imperfect census establishes the fact, that population has considerably augmented since the abolition of slavery, irrespective of immigration. We had prepared a somewhat detailed statement on this subject, which we are compelled to omit for the sake of brevity, but the reader, anxious for the particulars, is referred to ‘Parliamentary Papers, No. 426, 1845;’ an abstract of which is furnished in the last report

of the Anti-Slavery Society (1847), at page 90 of the Appendix. The following comment of Governor Light on the increase of population in British Guiana is worthy of especial notice. 'But for emancipation,' he observes, 'there was an annual decrease of population, which would soon have thrown more estates out of cultivation than the fears of the planters have predicted would occur since that happy period.' He adds, 'it is now clearly proved, that the creole population is on a steady increase; that the young and vigorous, in the age most necessary for that increase, are in greater ratio than any other portion of the population.'

The preceding is a fair general view of the condition of the colonies, in regard to population under the two contrasted systems of slavery and freedom. It does not need a word of comment.

It is difficult within the necessary limits to present the evidence of the results of emancipation in other important respects. It may be confidently stated *on the authority of the governor of every colony*, confirmed, if needful, by an overwhelming amount of other official testimony, as well as by evidence drawn from other than official sources, *that the emancipated negroes are an industrious, peaceable, loyal, rapidly improving, and on the whole, thriving and prosperous peasantry*. Great numbers of them have become petty freeholders, and are now owners in fee of their own dwellings and garden plots. They are not squatters, nor have they settled down, as the slave holders and their apologists predicted, without energy or ambition, putting forth just enough exertion to procure a bare subsistence, and giving themselves up for the rest of their time to the enjoyment of the *dolci-farniente*. True, the soil is almost spontaneously prolific of the mere necessities of life, and the luxurious and relaxing climate discourages toil, and invites to repose; yet even on such a soil, and under such a sun, the hunger of the soul for the supply of other than mere animal necessities, has induced these sable freeholders to choose such localities, as, to use the expression of a planter, are 'near the labour market.'

The following brief quotations, (all that we have space for,) from official reports and despatches, will give a general view of the state of the emancipated classes, and of the colonial communities generally, and will serve to indicate, but by no means adequately to illustrate, the amazing benefits conferred by the abolition of slavery.

' JAMAICA.

' *Lord Elgin to Mr. Gladstone.*

' In many and most important respects, the expectations of the friends of emancipation have been unquestionably more than realized

by the results of that measure. The peaceful demeanour of the recently emancipated classes, their general deference for law, their respect for religious observances, have formed the theme of repeated and well-merited eulogy. No less remarkable and creditable to all classes, is the rapidity with which feelings which tend to estrange slaves and slave-holders have yielded to the growth of more liberal and kindly sentiments. When it is considered that the negro race in these colonies have passed at one stride from slavery to the full possession of the privileges enjoyed under the British constitution, in the nineteenth century; the readiness with which they have adapted themselves to their new condition, and the moderation which they have generally displayed under circumstances so intensely interesting and exciting, are subjects of gratification as regards the past, and of hope for the future.'—*Reports presented to both Houses of Parliament, July, 1846, p. 22.*

' Extract from the Speech of the Hon. Judge M'Dougal to the Grand Jury, at the Surrey Assizes, in 1846.

' An important document has been furnished me by Mr. Lambert; it is a report of the number of convictions which have taken place during the last seven years, from 1839 to 1845 inclusive, in all our criminal courts of assize, and in quarter sessions, including also cases of larceny under five shillings, tried at petty sessions. This return exhibits a very satisfactory result—it shows that in the year 1845, there has been an evident decrease on the former amount of crime. During the period of 1839 to 1842, the return shows a progressive increase of convictions, arising in all probability from the very active employment of the police in the detection of offenders. From that time there has been a diminution of the progressive increase, and in 1846 there has been a corresponding diminution in the progress of crime, and consequently in the amount of conviction. From this, gentlemen, you may come to a safe conclusion that there is, in point of fact, a large decrease in crime throughout the country.—*Par. Pap. No. 691, 1846, p. 59.*

' BARBADOS.

' Governor Sir C. E. Grey to Lord Stanley.

' The reports in the main are as usual very favourable, and they do not appear to me to go beyond the truth in what they say of the happy and improving condition of the people. The island is more generally prosperous than it ever was before.'—*Par. Pap. 691,—1, 1846. p. 102.*

' BRITISH GUIANA.

' Governor Light.

' I have gone over the greatest part of the province; there is nothing that bespeaks retrogression; new sources of riches are presenting themselves unthought of in former days.' . . . The internal prosperity of this colony, as regards the mass, is undoubted. I had

flattered myself that the crisis of the planters had passed. They have yet to recover from that dispensation of Providence, drought, which has for so many months affected the plantations.—*Reports*, 1846, pp. 42—50.

‘ During the tour of Governor Light he visited many of the free villages established by the negroes since the period of emancipation. He thus refers to them in his report :—

‘ The village of Lichfield consists of about one hundred and fifty houses ; the estate was purchased by a party of labourers. Several good substantial houses, some two stories high, but many are of ordinary construction, wattled, clayed outside and thatched, but inside comfortable. . . . The following day I visited the village of Hope Town, one mile or one mile and a half distant, consisting of at least three hundred houses, laid out in regular wide streets, the houses built continuously ; some of these, however, are not equal to the cottages furnished gratuitously on estates ; most of them are wattled, clayed, and thatched, but commodious ; but the settlers look forward to better residences, and prudently house themselves at the least expense. The population is estimated at from 1500 to 2000 ; they have extensive provision grounds, and work on the neighbouring estates. From the honest and intelligent bearing of these people, they had felt the advantages of emancipation, without any appearance of disposition to retrograde. . . . From the missionary chapel, at Rothbury, to the estates bordering on the river, are numerous settlements in their infancy, some good substantial houses ; but the generality of humbler pretensions. . . . Thence to Ithaca, a large village beyond Blairmont and Balthyock, the properties of Colonel Stopford Blair ; it resembles Hope Town, though somewhat larger, with streets well laid out, good houses, and of superior sort ; the population actively engaged in clearing out their trenches, making up their roads, etc. . . . Cauboor, eight miles distant ; this is of late establishment, and being so, the houses are as yet of inferior appearance ; there are about one hundred and fifty inhabitants. I shall here remark, that the banks of the river (Berbice) are dotted with hamlets and detached houses from Ithaca to Cauboor. . . . I walked through the grounds of Ruby. The houses were hidden amidst the richness of every tropical edible ; a mine of wealth to the people, which puts them above every personal want, and makes their industry, when applied to the staples, still more praiseworthy. . . . Crime has not been on the increase ; the Inspector-General of Police’s statement gives several hundred arrests less than in 1844. Fifty-two out of one hundred and nine convicts at the penal settlement, on December 31st, 1845, are not natives of British Guiana, and only three of these, sentenced by the supreme courts of criminal justice, are under twenty years of age.’—*Reports*, 1846, pp. 42, 43.

‘ ST. VINCENT’S.

‘ *Lieutenant-Governor Campbell to Sir C. E. Grey.*

‘ The predominant feeling evinced by the rural population is, a

desire of possessing a house and a patch of land ; the result is, that small villages and hamlets have sprung up in various quarters of the island. From information I have collected, I should say that there is every prospect of their number being considerably extended. Upon the first establishment of villages, alarm was excited among the agricultural body. It was feared that the system, by encouraging other pursuits, would tend to an abstraction of field-labour ; but experience proves the supposition to have been groundless. I consider that it should be fostered and encouraged, as one that must be productive of great general advantage ; the certain benefit to the estates to which villages are adjoined is obvious ; *considerable prices are realised for land unfit for the cultivation of sugar*, and a peasantry capable of carrying on their cultivation, located at convenient distance. There are police magistrates attached to each district, and the rights and privileges of the people are specially protected by the stipendiary justices. By the census of 1844, the number of villages and small hamlets, consisting of three or four houses, returned was forty-four.

ST. LUCIA.

' Lieutenant-Colonel Torrens to Sir C. E. Grey.

' The disposition of the people is good ; aggravated crime is rare ; petty thefts and assaults are the principal infractions of the law. The enfranchised population is in a high degree grateful to the British government, and by their contentment and their orderly conduct they vindicate both the policy and the justice of emancipation. Their disposition to labour improves, and is great, considering their few wants in a climate and on a soil requiring so little artificial means to promote comfort and to create plenty.

' The rise of a class of small proprietors or farmers is apparent among the emancipated population. This class of the negroes, the most industrious, has established settlements in many parts of the country, hitherto covered with forests. These lots, whether bought or hired, are usually within the reach of the neighbouring sugar establishments, permitting the negro to resort at crop-time to the cane-fields.

' I have the gratification of reporting an improvement in the moral and habits of the better classes. If on this subject I am to trust to my own observation, contrasted with the generally-received account of former West Indian life, intemperance and the public keeping of coloured females have much diminished since emancipation. The coloured girls formerly educated to concubinage, now commonly intermarry in their own class ; and there have not been wanting instances of their legitimate union with men of European blood. This great but inevitable amelioration of public morals was ultimately to be looked for from the cessation of the former condition of society ; but it is in no ordinary degree gratifying to note the rapid steps it has already made.

' The cultivation improves from year to year. In good hands, and

with sufficient capital, it appears to realize to the planter an ample return. In few islands, perhaps, has the experiment of free labour been more successful, in spite of an insufficient population, a lack of capital, much waste land, and plentiful and cheap food.

‘ANTIGUA.

‘*Sir R. Horsford to Lieutenant-Governor Cunningham.*

‘The energies now exhibited on all sides in the erection and adornment of their cottages, and the pride they naturally feel in their independence, and in the possession of property of their own; the solicitude with which they strive to raise themselves in the ranks of social intercourse, and to promote the advancement and welfare of their children, are all indicative of a newly awakened spirit, which would have slumbered to the end of time under a state which debarred those laudable objects of enterprise and ambition which form the very key-stone of civilization.’—*Par. Pap.* 691—1, 1846, p. 250.

Who can survey these delineations of the results of negro emancipation, without feelings of devout thankfulness? It is but little to say that the most sanguine anticipations have been realised; so greatly have the actual fruits exceeded expectation. There are new perils and new contests in prospect, but looking at the past, every abolitionist may thank God and take courage, exulting in the triumphant proofs of the success that, under the Divine blessing, has waited on former strenuous endeavours.

We have next to consider the success or failure of emancipation as an economical experiment. We must, at the same time, protest against the results of the abolition of slavery being gauged by the quantity of sugar exported. We hold with one of the purest and best of colonial patriots, that ‘Sugar is sweet, but the liberty of man is much more sweet.’ And we heartily admire his noble exclamation: ‘I never did, I never shall, measure the results of freedom by the thousands of pounds that find their way to the pockets of the rich absentee, but by the cottager’s comfortable home, by the wife’s proper release from toil, by the instructed child, and by all that joy and peace which now gladdens the hearts of the beloved people of my choice.’ See *Life of Rev. W. Knibb*, pp. 307, 310. During slavery, the colonies existed but to produce and export sugar and coffee, and the amount of these exports was gradually decreasing, owing to the decline of population, and the gradual impoverishment of the soil by a radically vicious system of agriculture. Under slavery as a permanent institution, the *future* of the British West India Colonies was literally hopeless. Their sole chance of escape from ultimate and utter ruin, was in a total change of system. But such a change implied, of course, the gradual

abandonment of the old slave-driving methods of cultivation and manufacture of produce. As was easy to be foreseen, many of the planters have wanted either the will, the intelligence, or the pecuniary means to avail themselves of the advantages of the new and better order of things; and hence the total export of sugar is at present considerably less than previously to the abolition of slavery. Yet that event, notwithstanding, has opened up so many new sources of prosperity and industrial enterprise, that the value of property in the colonies is on the whole immensely increased. One item of improved value is incidentally brought to light in a preceding quotation. Land formerly unmarketable and consequently valueless, has become saleable at high prices.

The production of sugar, however, has declined less than would appear from a comparison of exports, as the internal consumption is much larger than formerly; while from several of the colonies the exports have actually increased. The aggregate export of sugar from the following islands, viz., Antigua, Barbados, Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Christopher, and Trinidad, for 1831, 1832, and 1833, the last three years preceding the Abolition Act, amounted to 2,944,087 cwts.; while the export from the same colonies in 1844, 1845, and 1846, was 3,213,617 cwts.; being an excess of 219,530 cwts. in favour of the latter period. If we add the enhanced *local* consumption, it is evident the production of sugar in these islands must have enormously increased under the free-labour system. This, in conjunction with the inspiring stimulus of freedom in all other departments of industry, has raised this important section of the British West Indies to a state of prosperity totally unexampled in the former experience of the same colonies. We make this remark advisedly, for the present distress is no more the normal state of these colonies than it is of Lancashire; nor does that distress arise from the abolition of slavery, but from the effects of the temporary panic and pressure in the money market, and the concurrent removal of the close monopoly of the British market, so long enjoyed by our own colonies. Could the colonies have survived the operation of these causes during slavery? Every honest and well-informed man among the planters and their friends will admit, that their sole hope in the presence of unlimited competition is based on the superior energy and elasticity of the system of free labour.

The above-mentioned islands present, with one important exception hereafter noticed, every feature of national and social condition that is either characteristic of the British West Indies generally, or that is distinctive of one colony from another. Barbados is very densely peopled; Antigua is comparatively

populous ; but St. Lucia, Dominica, and Trinidad, have a very scanty population, compared with their vast extent of fertile, unoccupied land. The negroes of the two former islands have long had the benefit of the religious and educational efforts of numerous protestant missionaries ; those of the three latter are far less advanced, and are chiefly under the direction of Romish priests. These islands having been conquered from France and Spain, the negroes speak a very impure *patois* of those languages, which excludes them from various civilizing and improving influences. The soils of Barbados and Antigua have been long since *exhausted*, though, by dint of more scientific cultivation and better general management, these *exhausted* islands produce more and better sugar than the virgin soils of the other colonies, which display the utmost prodigality of vegetative power.

Now, if we take Jamaica as a type of those colonies in which the export of sugar has greatly declined, we find that it has a far more fertile soil than Antigua or Barbados, and, in proportion to extent, a far more numerous, intelligent, and educated body of labourers than St. Lucia, Dominica, or Trinidad. What, then, is the cause of their contrasted fortunes ? The only difference that we can discover is, that the planters of the more prosperous islands are less generally absentees, that they have command of more adequate capital, and have manifested more energy and self-reliance than the proprietors of Jamaica. This important fact is established by the following statement, made for a very different purpose, by the agents of several of the West India colonies, in a 'note,' addressed to Earl Grey, November 4, 1847 :—'It has been, moreover, alleged, that absenteeism is the cause of West India distress : it is not so (! !) ; it is felt severely in Barbados, Antigua, St. Christopher, St. Vincent, and St. Lucia, which the undersigned represent, *where there are proportionately more resident owners than in the other colonies, and where more experiments and improvements have been made than elsewhere.* The residence of proprietors could not have averted the glut of slave sugar, the main cause of the distress.' The document from which this extract is taken dilates, in the usual West Indian style, of 'premature emancipation,' and the 'want of habits of industry,' in the freed peasantry. All this, however, is to serve a special purpose. The late Dr. Nugent, speaker of the House of Assembly of Antigua, a man of great intelligence and weight of character, contributed much to decide that colony in favour of immediate emancipation in 1834, and to the rejection of the intermediate term of slavery under the name of apprenticeship. We know that he was accustomed afterwards to speak of the change with the utmost satisfaction, and to dilate with equal sagacity and benevolence on its prospective advantages. Could he

have lived to witness the population of his native colony largely augmented; its agriculture not only maintained but extended; its imports greatly increased; the social happiness and welfare of all classes promoted; religion, morals, and education, all elevated and advanced by emancipation; he would have blushed to see the signature of his son, Mr. E. L. Nugent, agent for Antigua, appended to the calumnious document alluded to.

Although we have made a comparison between Jamaica and certain other colonies, unfavourable to the former, it is far from our intention to admit that this important colony is in a deteriorated condition because of emancipation. The community, as a whole, is not only far happier, but much more affluent. The colony has had to contend with a succession of severe droughts, hence in part its diminished production of sugar. Recent Jamaica papers state the export of sugar for the fiscal year ending September, 1847, to be 45,000 hogsheads, equivalent, we believe, to nearly 900,000 cwts.; an enormous increase upon the preceding five years, and this occurring at the very time when the cry of ruin and the clamour for immigration have been the loudest. This comparatively large export of the past year is another proof that the previous deficiency was, to a large extent, owing to unfavourable seasons. The greatly enhanced domestic consumption of the freed population has also caused a further decrease in the quantity exported. For the rest, the diminution is more than counterbalanced *to the colony*, by the more just and equal distribution of the rewards of labour, and by improvements in other fields of industry, many of them explored for the first time by the new wants and rising energies of freedom.

The alleged want of labour in Jamaica is the basis of Lord Grey's despatch to the governor of that colony, extending the permission to import labourers from the Kroo coast of Africa, (south of Sierra Leone, extending from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas,) and from such other parts of the coast, 'where slavery and the slave-trade are found not to prevail.' Yet his lordship, and the West India proprietors themselves, prove that the supply of labour is adequate to the demand. For, says Lord Grey:—

'The statements made to me by the gentlemen who waited upon me with the present memorial were strongly corroborative of this hope (of revived prosperity). *They assured me that they had no reason to complain of want of industry on the part of the labouring population.* The evil was not that they were wanting in industry, but that they were too few in numbers for the many employments of industry to which a state of freedom had given birth, independently of those in which the fixed capital of the sugar-planter is invested: and that such is the real state

of the case is shown by the large increase of imports which has accompanied the decline of exports since the period of emancipation. *Nor did these gentlemen complain of the rate of wages as exorbitant.* On the contrary, they stated that they would be content to pay the present wages, if a sufficiency of labourers at those wages could be obtained, with certainty and regularity.'

Any tyro in economical science could instruct Lord Grey and the planters, that the cheapness of labour in Jamaica which they admit, is a proof that the supply of it is adequate, if not abundant. The British public, however, which is a mortgagee to the extent of twenty millions sterling on the colonies at large, happily possesses a complete exposition of the economics of this important colony by gentlemen of great intelligence and the best means of information, colonists themselves, and whose pecuniary interests are bound up with the fortunes of the island. We refer to the letters of Mr. William Smith, addressed to the 'Economist' newspaper in May and June, 1846; and to the evidence of Mr. George Price before a committee of the Assembly of Jamaica, 'appointed to inquire into the present state of the agricultural interests of the island.' An abstract of this gentleman's evidence is given in the 'Anti-Slavery Reporter' for October, 1847. Mr. Price is, himself, an enterprising planter—one, who by judicious improvements, and a moderate outlay of capital, with little or no increase in the *number* of his labourers, has trebled the production and the value of his estate within the last four years, and who, at the present moment, is probably making sugar at a less first cost than any slaveholder in the world. These gentlemen not only assert, but prove, that the supply of labour in Jamaica is in excess of the demand; that wages are very low and have declined from thirty to fifty per cent. within the last three or four years; that the importation of masses of unskilled labourers does not increase the available amount of labour to the planter, to any important extent, because it displaces the far more valuable labour of the native peasantry, who fall back on the resources of their provision grounds; that such immigration depresses all classes by the taxation which it entails; that it absorbs the capital which ought to be expended in scientific and general improvements; and that, in the event of free competition with all the world, it will place the British planter at a far greater disadvantage than he is at present; lastly, that the great want of the colony is not labour, but capital, energy, and enterprise. These cannot be supplied by government. It is beyond the power either of parliament, or of the Colonial Office, to create capital, or by *legitimate means* to direct its flow into any particular channel. Repeal the Navigation Laws; abolish any remaining restriction on colonial

commerce, and on the refining of sugar in the colonies, or in bond in this country, and then really the greatest service that can be rendered to the planter is to throw him entirely on his own resources. ‘Monopoly,’ says Lord John Russell, ‘is the bane of agriculture.’ This is yet more true of the colonies than of the mother country, as their monopoly, until now, has been far more complete and perfect. The oppression of colonial taxation, of which the planter at present so ludicrously complains is a burden of his own creating, and its removal to a great extent at his own option.

Far other views, however, than these prevail in influential quarters. ‘Immigration’ is the cry of the planters, the merchants, and the newspapers, and is formally announced by Lord Grey as a leading feature of the policy of the Colonial Office. Things differing more in degree than in essence from the slave trade and slavery, are promoted under the specious disguise of ‘*free immigration*’ and ‘*free labour*.’ Now, to a *bona fide* immigration of labourers, or other persons, who shall be really free on landing in the colonies, no objection whatever exists. The only obstacles now subsisting to an immigration really free, are those created by the planters and the Colonial Office in the shape of laws which render it very difficult, if not virtually impossible, for the negroes of the populous colonies, where labour is cheap, to remove themselves to other neighbouring colonies, where labour is comparatively scarce and dear. But the patrons of ‘immigration’ mean any thing rather than ‘immigration’ and ‘labour’ really free. Their meaning is, the importation of vast numbers of human beings at the public expense—for the exclusive benefit of the planters—or rather, of a section of the planters. Such immigration has already been tried on a very large scale during the last twelve years, and has caused a waste of human life perfectly appalling. We have looked over a file of Jamaica papers just received, of the date of December, 1847, in which we find new evidence of the miserable consequences of the immigration policy. A planter, writing to the ‘Jamaica Times,’ says :—

‘ You may be aware I had some Madeirans. I have now had them above five months : the men work pretty well, the women indifferently. The expense has been most serious ; all sorts of food being so high. Had they physical strength and will to perform their engagements with me for the next eighteen months, it might pay ; but I ask you, how can they do this ? The wages of one shilling per diem cannot support a man and his wife and family, the way they must be fed. Their climatizing is as difficult as Europeans ; they all suffer from fever, sores, and nostalgia (pining for their own country). I have lost

two children, but on one estate they have lost sixteen or seventeen, and the interpreter to boot.'

Here is a plain admission that the immigrant's wages are insufficient for the due support of life. Mark the responsibility thus incurred by the British government, which has not only sanctioned their introduction, but has assumed a leading share in the management and working of the whole scheme.

Another Jamaica paper, the 'Falmouth Post,' after detailing the particulars of an inquest on a female Coolie, who died of starvation, observes:—

'The infamous abuses practised in obtaining our earlier supplies of labourers in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Germany, by unprincipled characters, have been too fully and irrefragably demonstrated, to require at present more than a simple mention of them; and *those abuses have been followed up in everything that relates to the procuration of Coolies.* On a late occasion, at the police-office in Falmouth, one of these wretched creatures—an attenuated frame of bones, in which the spark of life still flickered—was brought before the magistrates, charged with desertion from his employer; and the book-keeper, who appeared to prove the charge, declared that the delinquent, although regularly indented to the estate, had only done a few days' work from the time that his contract was signed. He also deposed, that he was an habitual absentee from the property. What was the defence set up? It was this:—that he (the Coolie) understood nothing of agricultural labour—that in his native land he was employed in washing clothes—and that, when he was engaged at Calcutta by Mr. Wilson, the agent, he was informed that he would be put to the same service in this island. The woman on whose body an inquest was held at Good Hope, was proved to be upwards of sixty years of age; but what of that? Mr. Wilson was paid for his trouble in sending her here to till the soil, and all that he cared about was thereceival of his salary or commission.'

And again:—

'The melancholy objects that meet our eyes in every direction, and the wretched beings who people our prisons and crowd our hospitals, are the miserable evidences of an unwise and unnecessary resolution on the part of our representatives to add to the population of the island, by expending large sums of money for the importation of people who never will be of any use to it. In fact, the scheme was conceived in ignorance, born in folly, and nurtured in the lap of flagrant and mercenary selfishness. In our next publication, we shall give insertion to a letter which we have received from an intelligent and highly respectable correspondent, describing the awful condition of East Indian immigrants, in the several districts which he is in the habit of visiting.'

Nor has the system even answered the selfish purposes of its originators. Every successive plan has failed. The last and largest experiment of the kind in the West Indies, has been the importation of about twenty thousand Coolies into Guiana, Jamaica, and Trinidad, since 1844. We may observe, that the Assembly of Jamaica was with difficulty induced to make the needful appropriations for their share of them. The arrangement was made between the West India committee, in London, and Lord Stanley, then Secretary for the Colonies, on whom the chief responsibility must rest. A very recent packet brings the intelligence, that by the public confession of its warmest advocates in the colonies, Coolie immigration is an utter failure. The governor of Trinidad states, the Coolies ‘would never repay the expense of their introduction.’ Mr. Burnley, of the same colony, brother-in-law of Mr. Joseph Hume, M.P., ‘considered the Coolies *‘a very unprofitable speculation.’* Mr. Austin, of Demerara, states: ‘the failure of Coolie immigration, as a means of securing any ultimate and lasting benefit, was universally admitted.’ The Hon. John Croal, one of the *mis-governing* powers, of the same colony, speaks to the same effect, in the same breath that he advocates immigration from Africa. We trust a rigid parliamentary inquiry will be demanded into the results of ‘immigration’ to the present time. We do not see how Lord Grey could either refuse such an inquiry, or how his policy, in this particular, could survive the exposé that would ensue. We will present the demands of the West Indians, in their own language.

The Chamber of Commerce, of Kingston, Jamaica, in a memorial to the Colonial Secretary, in June last, says :—

‘ That were steps taken by Her Majesty’s Government, not merely to sweep away, as at present, the piratical vessels employed in the slave trade, but *to provide means of transport for the thousands of slaves brought down by native princes for sale and shipment to the foreign trader,* the cause of humanity and religion would be eminently served; whilst the slave-trade would speedily perish for want of supply.

‘ That *however objectionable it may appear on a superficial consideration, to lend anything like encouragement to the system of slavery which at present exists in Africa,* yet, that experience and reason show, that so long as the demand for slaves shall exist in foreign countries, so long will Africa afford the supply; and that whilst external vigilance on the part of Great Britain may diminish, to a considerable extent, the number of human beings actually and eventually committed to slavery in Cuba and Brazil, still a large number must and do escape that vigilance; the sufferings of these latter being aggravated both on the coast and on board the slaver.

‘ That your Memorialists verily believe that the most, if not the only effectual method of abolishing, not merely the slave-trade, but *slavery itself*

would, in connexion with the present active measures adopted by the government through its naval force, be *to negotiate with the native princes of Africa to allow and promote the free emigration of their subjects: also to ransom their prisoners of war*; and in lieu of the noxious and gorged slave-ship, to afford the victim of savage cupidity the accommodation of a ventilated and comfortable British emigrant ship, thereby providing for his manumission, and changing his lot from one of perpetual slavery to the happy condition of a free christian denizen of a British colony.'

The West India Committee in London has the same goal steadfastly in view, though more cautious in the development of their meaning. It is doubtless deemed safer to wait till the public has become familiarised with the idea, by the 'Times,' 'Spectator,' and other zealous co-workers. In a 'memorandum' presented to government, October 25th, and signed Charles Cave, chairman, the West India Committee state:—

'The committee have for many years urged in vain the necessity of removing every kind of restriction upon immigration into the colonies. They once more respectfully repeat their claim for perfect freedom of intercourse, and for the right of hiring labourers wherever they can be found willing to enter into their service. Without an abundant supply of free labour it is impossible to contend with an unlimited supply of slaves. In order to secure that abundance *it will not suffice merely to permit emigration from Africa; it must be openly and zealously encouraged. For that purpose, the committee trust that Her Majesty's Government will be pleased to employ a part of the funds appropriated to the suppression of the slave-trade; and, instead of shrinking with timid apprehension before the bold defiance and calumnies of the slave-trader, that they will use all their influence to substitute free emigration (!!) for his cruel traffic.*

And—'They beg leave now to declare their conviction, that the West India colonies cannot be maintained in cultivation, without a differential duty of at least 10s. per cwt. on slave-grown sugar, to be continued for such a period as shall enable them to be fully supplied with labour.'

Jacob Omnium, the famous correspondent (?) of the London 'Times,' who, as a cool bystander and consummate artist, can furnish picturesque delineations of Irish distress and mismanagement, and with equal force and skill, in the character of an actor and a sufferer, can both describe and defend the somewhat parallel condition of the planters; who can prove, by the example of Cuba, (with the intimate horrors of which, by the way, he has, in a single graphic letter, made the British public painfully familiar), that absenteeism is a becoming and convenient practice; seeing, that even in that pattern colony, none but embarrassed planters descend to residence, and to the management of their own affairs; this doughty champion of the West Indians complains, not in joke, but in sober earnest, that Lord Grey only permits the colonists to get free labour

where they can, at their own expense. He, too, demands protecting duties, until the planters have secured an abundant supply of labour, and *until the wages of the negroes are raised to a shilling a day.*

We now understand what the planters mean by free 'immigration,' its sources, and mode of supply. Let us next inquire in what condition the immigrants are placed, on landing in the colonies. About a year ago, Earl Grey framed and sent to the West Indies and the Mauritius the 'heads of an ordinance for regulating the labour of immigrants.' These 'heads' may be found in the 'Anti-Slavery Reporter' for February, 1847. In conformity with them, the authorities of Trinidad, Guiana, Mauritius, have framed laws justly characterized as 'Bondage Ordinances;' and similar laws will doubtless be enacted in every colony intending to embark in this 'free labour' speculation. The following is an analysis of the bondage ordinance of Mauritius, which we copy from the 'Anti-Slavery Reporter' for December last. It is long, but every sentence is full of meaning, and deserves to be well weighed:—

'1. It is enacted, that the term 'new immigrant' is to apply to Indians who have been imported into Mauritius since the 15th January, 1842, on whom the government bounty has been bestowed. The act is, therefore, to be *retrospective*, and will bring under its operation the survivors of some 70,000 Coolies, who were imported before its enactment.

'2. No 'new male immigrant' arriving after the 1st of May, 1847, shall have a right to a return passage to India, unless he accomplishes 'five years' industrial residence' in Mauritius, that is, unless he serves a 'sugar planter,' under a 'stamped agreement,' for the full period. In reference to those who arrived previously to the 1st of May, 1847, it is required that, if they be not already in the service of a sugar planter, they must enter his service for the remainder of the five years, under a stamped agreement. In every case the agreements must be renewed year by year, and bear a tax, which is thus regulated. For each engagement of an immigrant a sum of fourteen years—first year £1; second year, 10s.; third year, 8s.; fourth year, 6s.; and fifth year, 4s. For each immigrant from five to fourteen years old, one half of the foregoing sums.

'3. No male immigrant, aged fourteen years and upwards, arriving at Mauritius after the publication of the ordinance, may engage himself otherwise than with a sugar planter for one year.

'4. In reference to immigrants in the colony, at the time of the publication of the ordinance, it is enacted, that if they do not forthwith enter the service of a sugar planter, under a stamped engagement, they are to be subjected to a monthly poll-tax, payable in advance of 4s., if he be fourteen years old and upwards; if under fourteen years of age, 2s.; and every new immigrant, who

engagement terminates on any other than the first day of the month, shall pay 2d. per day for every day of the month he remains without engagement with a sugar planter; and should he not re-engage with a sugar planter, then he must pay the monthly poll-tax in advance.

‘4. Every male immigrant who terminates his engagement with a sugar planter by regular notice, or leaves his employment for a longer period than fourteen days, shall reimburse the planter the amount of the stamp corresponding with the period he had to serve, or the time of his absence. In the case of absence, the immigrant may be proceeded against as a ‘deserter.’

To give effect to these enactments the most stringent regulations are to be enforced against all persons who shelter, lodge, or hire immigrants, or who do not make exact returns according to the requirements of the ordinance. In order the more effectually to secure obedience, domiciliary visits may be made at any time, so that, under pretence of searching for immigrants, no place will be secure from the intrusion of government agents.

‘5. Every ‘new immigrant’ must possess a ticket by which he can be identified, which he is bound to exhibit to any magistrate, or other public officer, requiring it, or on the demand of all other parties interested, together with the last monthly receipt for the poll-tax, if he be not in the employ of a sugar planter; and in default of so doing, he may be detained until he produce satisfactory proof that he has paid the tax, and be sent to the quarter where he is registered, to be dealt with according to the ordinance.

‘6. Every new immigrant found in a district where he has no residence, or in a house or dwelling, without the consent of the proprietor, may, if he does not produce his monthly receipt, be arrested without order or warrant, provided he be taken before a magistrate, who will treat him in conformity with the ordinance.

‘7. All sums due from immigrants for the monthly tax, may be recovered summarily, and all fines on account of absence may be retained by the employers; or in default of payment, the immigrant shall be imprisoned, *with hard labour*, for a time equal to a day’s imprisonment for each sixpence due by him.

‘8. In case of absence from service, the immigrant not only to forfeit his rations and wages, but to be compelled to pay his employer a sum for each day’s absence, equal to the wages he would have been entitled to receive. The absent days also to be made good in completion of the five years’ industrial residence.

‘9. All immigrants who have performed their five years’ industrial residence with a sugar planter, or who have paid the monthly poll-tax for that period, to be entitled to a passport, which will guarantee them a free passage to India; but no immigrant will be allowed to leave the colony in the intermediate time, without obtaining a passport, for which he must pay £6, if he has been one year in the colony; £4. 10s., if he has been two years; £3, if he has been three years; and £1. 10s., if he has been four years.

‘A variety of vexatious rules are established in reference to registration, certificates, tickets, and monthly receipts’ which will reduce the immigrants to a complete state of vassalage. They cannot move in any direction without liability to be apprehended; they cannot lodge a single night in any house but they must be reported. I found out of the district without their tickets or receipts, they may be arrested; and the moment their engagements with a sugar planter ceases, they are brought under the operation of the poll-tax. They cannot leave the colony for any reason, however urgent, even at their own expense, without paying heavily for a passport.’

If it be constitutional for any minister of state, without the knowledge or consent of parliament, thus to re-enact a state of bond-service, as coercive as slavery itself, for the period of its duration; for what have the people of this country paid the twenty millions’ compensation? It is palpable that under such a code of regulations, the Coolie or African immigrant is a slave for five years at least. He is the bond-slave of the planters, and of a body, if not of any particular planter. And will any sane and honest man contend that an ignorant African can be made to comprehend, before his embarkation, first, what is the value of his proposed remuneration, in proportion to his means of subsistence, in the British colonies; secondly, the amount and nature of services to be rendered by him; and thirdly, the complicated details of the regulations framed to restrict his freedom, and to compel him, by effectual coercion administered by the government, to work five years for the planters, and for them only? Yet, coolly observes Lord Grey, ‘The manner of conducting the service must afford an absolute and indisputable security against any immigrants being taken without their free consent, obtained by fair and well founded statements.’ The British government is known on every part of the coast of Africa, and probably throughout its whole vast interior, as the opponent of the slave trade and slavery. Faith in this characteristic is to be the bait of the immigration trap. Such poor deluded wretches as are taken, whether with their own consent, or by an arrangement with their chiefs and ‘headmen’ will, on reaching the colonies, find themselves reduced to a condition of severe bond-service; they will be defrauded, oppressed, decimated by disease and neglect, without the imperial government having either the will or the power to afford them adequate protection, or even to secure them their stipulated pittance of remuneration. Such is the fate of the immigrants at present in the West Indies, the scanty surviving remnant of 60,000 Irish, Germans, Chinese, natives of Madeira and the Azores, Indian Coolies, and Africans, who have been imported thither with

the last twelve years. We regard the whole projected arrangement as a vile prostitution of the power and good faith of the British government.

Another feature of the immigration scheme is its injustice to every other class in the colonies, except that section of the planters who are the most oppressive, and the least enterprising. This has been illustrated by an influential contemporary, by a reference which our manufacturing population will readily understand :—

‘The importation of labourers into our sugar colonies has been sedulously presented to the free-trade public as the removal of a restriction on colonial agriculture and commerce. Many have been induced to regard it as a legitimate consequence of free-trade doctrines. This view of the subject is completely illusory. What would be thought of a proposal to convey a large body of Irish labourers, at the expense of the parish or county rates, to work in our flax and woollen mills at wages less than the market price, and under indentures for five years, the terms of which must also be enforced by a magistracy and police, maintained at the cost of the public? Would such a system work? Even if labour happened to be scarce and dear, would such a mode of supply be a legitimate carrying out of free-trade principles? Yet this is just what the planter and West India merchant demand, and what Lord Grey concedes.’—The ‘Leeds Mercury,’ Nov. 27, 1847.

But the arrangement is even more iniquitous and more unwise than is here represented. Colonial taxation, greatly augmented for immigration purposes, falls heaviest on the very class whose labour ‘immigration’ is intended to cheapen. Mr. Smith, in his letters to the ‘Economist,’ already quoted, shows that the imported provisions chiefly used by the labouring classes, are taxed in Jamaica from ten to forty per cent. This, he justly observes, by enhancing the value of the products of the negro grounds, tends to encourage the native peasantry to forsake the estates, and become independent cultivators. In Guiana the fiscal oppression of the labourers is still more severe. Taxes are imposed, not solely for revenue, but with the design of suppressing every industrial effort of the negroes, except that of working for the planter, on the planter’s own terms. The latest tax ordinance of this colony is a curiosity in legislation, which we would gladly expose, but it would be too long an episode; and we have the consolation of believing that it is beyond the power of the most unscrupulous colonial magistracy and executive, to carry its provisions into full effect; otherwise, the liberties of the ransomed population would not be worth a month’s purchase.

We are compelled to pass over the moral objections to the immigration scheme. We have no space to comment on the evils that have arisen, and needs must arise, from the importation of a large excess of males, and the introduction of new elements of demoralization into a community just emerging from heathenism, and the debasing influences of slavery.

Let us briefly revert to the subject in its economical aspect. Cultivation by free and by slave labour are contrasted systems, constituted on entirely opposite principles. The principle of the one is the employment of the animal strength of masses of human beings; the other works by the strength of beasts and by mechanical appliances, governed by human intelligence, and aided by the least possible use of the mere physical strength of man. It is the contest of the hoe in the hands of degraded human beings under the stimulus of the whip; with the plough and the steam-engine directed by the mind, rather than the hands of man, under the stimulus of reward. The free labour system in the British colonies has not yet had time to supersede slave labour methods, and to develop its own native energies, yet how much has it already accomplished? The number of labourers withdrawn from estate labour, in the exercise of their free choice, and from various causes, many of them highly laudable, is doubtless great; yet we have seen that in those colonies, when the proprietors are generally resident, the exportable produce has rather increased than lessened. This increased production has been effected by the increased efficiency of a diminished number of labourers. Now, as those who have left plantation labour are mostly well employed in other ways, *their* labours are a clear addition to the general wealth and prosperity. This, and the more equal distribution of the results of labour explain the very obvious fact, that the whole population is subsisting in a state of far higher comfort than under the old system. Now the kind of labour that is sought to be introduced into the colonies, will perpetuate the worst economical vices of slave culture. The 'immigrants' will be perfectly unskilled, incapable of handling any implement but the hoe, limited to a particular employment for five years, with the merely nominal privilege of being able to effect an occasional change of masters, and, at the end of their term of bondage, they will be replaced by other new 'immigrants;' and so in a vicious circle the planter will carry on his cultivation, by a succession of unskilled, ill-paid, discontented, and ineffective labourers. Such labour, also, from its transient nature, will be both more costly and far less effective than slave labour. Even should it compete with the slave trade, the Spaniard and American will yet beat the British planter with his own weapons. The

following statement occurs in a petition just forwarded for presentation to the House of Commons from the colony of Demerara :—

‘ In addition to the supply of slaves which are now received by those countries from Africa, the planters in Cuba, under the sanction and with the assistance of the Spanish government, are introducing labourers from the East, under contract extending to periods of from seven to ten years, at a rate of hire scarcely more than a fraction of that which is paid to immigrants in British Guiana.’

Those, therefore, who sanction the measures of Lord Grey must prepare themselves for new exigencies of the planters, new demands upon the government, and new concessions of the colonial minister, until the Act for the Abolition of Slavery, and the consolidated Slave Trade Act, are virtually, if not formally, repealed.

It is well known that nearly all the colonies have, during the last ten years, been visited by severe droughts, some of them for a succession of seasons. Mr. Price, of Jamaica, in the evidence already referred to, says that he has seen labourers working at the rate of threepence a-day, in consequence of the small demand for their services during protracted drought. In reference to Guiana, where the want of labour is alleged to be the most severely felt, Governor Light makes the following statement in one of his despatches :—

‘ The long-continued drought has so arrested the labour of the estates, that in general there is little employment for hands. On estates whose means are not embarrassed, labour is created in various ways ; but where means are limited, the object of the attorneys and managers is to save useless expenditure ; labour is there reduced to its minimum ; amongst other causes of complaint, that of not being allowed to earn a double task was expressed.’

According to a provision in Lord Grey’s model bondage ordinance, the planter can, at any time, terminate his engagement with ‘ immigrants’ by a month’s notice. On the occurrence of a drought, or of a panic, or on the failure of the health of the immigrant, the latter will be liable to be mercilessly sent adrift to shift for himself. In the case of immigrants too weak, or too vicious, to be worth the trouble of coercion, the same result will ensue, and they will be turned loose to prey upon the community. Such are the results, on a limited scale, now displayed in the West Indies, and we shudder to contemplate the enormous multiplication of the same frightful evils.

The immigration scheme has had a fair trial in Mauritius, a colony which has had the opportunity of importing cheaper

labour from India, than it will be possible for the West Indies to obtain from Africa. At the date of emancipation, that colony had a population of sixty thousand slaves. The planters found it irksome to deal with labourers who could make their own bargains. An immigration cry was successfully raised, and with the sanction of the government, Mauritius had, at the close of 1846, imported 90,216 Coolies from British India. What have been the consequences? In the appendix to the Report of the Anti-slavery Society, for 1847 (p. 107), we find the following abstract of official statements:—

‘From a report of the governor, Sir W. Gomm, it appears that, although the emancipated negroes, in 1838, amounted to 61,000, *he does not think there are more in the colony than 40,000 at present.* He attributes the frightful decrease principally to the disparity of the sexes, intemperance, and epidemic diseases. He represents them as not being ‘a stirring or ambitious class of the community; manifestly the reverse;’ yet well-conducted, and seldom guilty of crime. It would appear, also, that there is a ‘growing respect among them for the ties of marriage, baptism of their children, punctuality in the payment of their debts, and approved trustworthiness in select employments, and readiness to contribute with their means to useful undertakings.’ *With the exception of from 4,000 to 6,000 still connected with estates, they are chiefly occupied in cultivating lands for their own subsistence, or for the markets, which, in consequence, are abundantly supplied with wholesome fruits and vegetables.*

‘The Mauritian negro is wholly averse to enter into contracts or engagements to labour, which they say are only slavery over again; they say the planters would never pay their wages regularly, *and they instance the trouble the Indians have had to submit to, in order to show the difficulty of obtaining regular payments every month.* ‘They are,’ says one of the magistrates best acquainted with them, ‘quiet, docile, and industrious; their morals are much improved, many of them are married, and all show great desire to get their children christened; they are fully sensible of the munificent act of the British nation, and are very grateful for it, being good and loyal subjects.’—pp. 349—357.

What a contrast is here presented to the state of the West India Colonies! If, in connexion with this, we consider the mortality among the Indians, amounting to twelve per cent. per annum, their frightful demoralization, from disparity in the proportion of the sexes, and their generally oppressed and suffering condition, we are compelled to the conclusion that emancipation in Mauritius is a failure, and that the present state of that colony is as bad as or worse than the one that preceded it. Such are the fruits of ‘immigration.’ The imported Coolies have cost the colony little less than a million sterling,

besides their wages, and have displaced the emancipated population, *en masse*. Still, deducting the labour so driven out of the market, there has been a great addition to the available amount of labour, and the export of sugar has increased from 456,546 cwts., in 1831, to 845,304 cwts., in 1846. But this show of prosperous results illustrates the homely proverb about 'buying gold too dear.' In a recent communication to Earl Grey, the Mauritius Association, in London, observes: 'The fact is but too palpable, that the cultivation of sugar in the Mauritius has not been profitable; all who have been engaged therein, and all who have given credit to the planter, have sunk their capital; each year calls for fresh advances, and all becomes absorbed and swallowed up in the vortex.' This document bears the signatures of Reid, Irving, and Co., and other houses, once of immense wealth, who have been ruined by their connexion with Mauritius. We entirely agree in the following observations of the 'Leeds Mercury':—

'Immigration has had a fair trial in the Mauritius; and there, as might have been, and ought to have been, foreseen, it has ruined almost everybody connected with the island, and has brought things to such a crisis, that government has been compelled to step in and guarantee the importation of rice, and also to lend money to the planters, on the security of their crops, to prevent the general abandonment of cultivation from the sheer exhaustion of capital. Every theoretical objection which can be urged against a forced and artificial immigration to the West Indies has been exemplified in Mauritius, which has been not merely brought to the brink, but plunged into the gulf of ruin, by a policy precisely identical.

'The waste of the resources of the colonies on such a scheme is no light matter. The experiment is not one that can be tried, and then abandoned, if it fails. Let it be tried on such a scale as Lord Grey and the planters contemplate, and these consequences inevitably ensue:—the colonies will be hopelessly overwhelmed with taxation and debt, and their present predial population—the most skilled and effective tropical labourers in the world—will have been driven (as in Mauritius), by an unnatural and artificial competition, to forsake plantation labour, and to become petty independent cultivators. Under such circumstances of hopeless disadvantage, of his own creating (with the sanction and aid of the government), the British planter will have to meet the unrestricted competition of Cuba and Brazil; and it is in this view of the subject that we cannot but regard the policy of Lord Grey as tending to the ruin of our own colonies, and, so far as human means can tend, to the perpetuation of the slave trade and slavery.'

In the course of the researches into official documents, which our present inquiry has rendered necessary, we have been pain-

fully impressed with the fact that the Colonial Office, once the fountain of protection and succour to the black population of the colonies, is now in league with the West India committee of planters and merchants, in London, against the liberties and interests both of the emancipated and of the immigrant population. The legislatures of Jamaica, and several of the other colonies, manifest an improving tone. Very many of the resident planters are, it is evident, becoming reconciled to freedom in the presence of its vast social and individual benefits, and its innumerable compensating advantages. The worst measures that have been recently adopted by the colonial legislatures, have been suggested, and even pressed upon them by secretaries Lord Stanley and Earl Grey. We trust the present noble incumbent will find that the old anti-slavery spirit of the British people is not dead, though it appears to be dormant; and that the voices of the popular constituencies will yet be heard on behalf of justice and humanity.

In this confidence we dismiss the subject for the present, but shall recur to it again and again, as we plainly perceive the signs of a reaction, against which every honest and enlightened Englishman should steadily set his face. It may suit the temper and policy of Earl Grey and other officials, to tamper with the liberty and social interests of our colonial peasantry; but a different spirit prevails throughout the nation. Let the people once feel that there is serious danger, and no ministry on earth will be able to resist their might. They have willed the destruction of slavery—aye, and paid for it, too—and they will not be defrauded. They are beginning to be suspicious; and unless our rulers are wise, the alarm-bell will speedily be sounded through the length and breadth of the land.

- ART. VI.**—1. *The Scholastic Philosophy considered in its Relation to Christian Theology, in a Course of Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford, in the Year 1832, at the Lecture founded by John Bampton, M.A., Canon of Salisbury.* By R. D. Hampden, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, Canon of Christ Church, &c. Second Edition, with Introduction. London: Fellowes. 1837.
2. *Observations on Religious Dissent.* By the Same. 1834.
3. *The Oxford Protestant Magazine*—October, November, December, 1847—Article, ‘*Hints towards a History of Puseyism* ;’ and January, 1848—Article, ‘*The case of the Bishop of Hereford without reserve.*’
4. *A Concise History of the Hampden Controversy, from its commencement in 1832 to the present time: with all the Documents which have been published, and a brief Examination of the ‘Bampton Lectures’ for 1832, and of the ‘Observations on Dissent.’* By the Rev. Henry Christmas, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., &c. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

THE late mutiny among the chaplains which still threatens consequences more serious than that of the Nore, and which has been put down by the national commander in a style so truly English, and so satisfactory to all but the mutineers themselves, ought not to pass without suggesting some practical hints for bettering the public service, and preventing similar disturbances in future. Faction on board has been repressed, order upon deck, at least, has been restored, for the time, by the strong arm of power, and the decisive tone of our tart and tight little captain; but the spirit of disaffection is not gone; it is as strong as ever; it will gather strength and bide its time. We may not always have so thorough a protestant, nor so skilful a pilot, at the helm; it may, therefore, now be advisable to review the whole movement, and the mismanagement that may have given rise to it; for, assuredly, if there existed any secret intention, on the part of the mutineers, or a section of them, to change the course of the vessel, and veer round towards Rome, it may be as well to look a-head, and in case of any further plots to get the command of the vessel into false hands, or put her back to the port she left three centuries ago, it might be as well to turn the disaffected officers ashore, with their full discharge. We cannot see why we could not hold on our course,

and prosecute one voyage successfully, and perchance more peacefully, without their assistance.

To dismiss all metaphors, and come at once to the investigation of the affair, we beg to observe, there are three distinct subjects which it brings before the British public.

The *first* is the personal question relating to Dr. Hampden. Has there been any just or plausible ground for the opposition which has been manifested against his elevation to the episcopal bench?

Secondly,—In reference to the proceedings in his case, the jostlings and collisions between church and state, the assertion of prerogative and the pleadings of conscience, the firmness of the minister and the insolence of the dignitaries; may it not be asked, and ought it not to be considered, whether the present mode of bishop-making is either the best for the country, the best for the church, or the best that can be attained? and—

Thirdly,—In reference to the abstract or general question of a state-church—does the late ecclesiastical rebellion afford any light to guide the public mind, or any aid towards the settlement of a question at present so much discussed? Do not recent events fairly raise this important question—Shall we continue the system which occasions such unseemly and disgraceful convulsions both of church and state, or would it not be better to dissolve this old and cumbrous connexion, and to leave each to its own free and independent action? To each of these points we shall direct our observations, as concisely as the importance of the several topics will admit.

First, we propose to review the case of Dr. Hampden, now Bishop of Hereford, as between him and his brethren. Every honest man who forms a part of the great jury of the nation, and wishes to arrive at an impartial judgment of this ecclesiastical *emeute*, must look deeper than the newspapers, and extend his inquiries beyond the date of Archbishop Harcourt's death. Let him recall facts which have been notorious enough at Oxford since the year 1832, and he will perceive at once, that Dr. Hampden has been a marked man from the publication, or even before the publication, of the 'Bampton Lectures.' We may even go a step further and say, it is patent now, that irrespective of Dr. Hampden, or any other truly protestant divine, that might have been selected for the late vacancy, the secret and settled purpose of recovering to the church the real election of her bishops, dates prior to Lord Melbourne's appointment of Dr. Hampden to the regius professorship; and is coeval with the origin of Puseyism, and the scheme for unprotestantizing the church of England. There the project of abolishing the *congé d'élire* took its rise, with the few men, or the individual

man, by whom the purpose was formed, of secretly and gradually making way for the reconciliation of the apostate daughter to her lawful mother. Of all the steps yet taken, or attempted to be taken, for effecting this end, none have been so bold, none so likely to prove efficient; and, therefore, none taken with more profound insight into the issues of things, than this first attempt to checkmate the power of a protestant sovereign, and over-rule her government by clerical dictation. The plotting parties were, probably, not the remonstrant bishops, save and except always the *blameless* Henry; but men more powerful than any bishops, who stood behind their episcopal thrones, and worked the springs.

As far back as the year 1828 may be clearly traced the incipient promptings of tractarianism. Many individual clergymen, from time to time, had favoured popish doctrine, and advocated reconciliation between the two churches; but about the year we have named, Mr. Rose commenced his schemes and measures. It was singular enough that he should have encountered in controversy the very person who has since given its name to this new church-sect. Mr., now Dr. Pusey, had published, in 1828, a work on the rationalistic theology of Germany, in which he had warmly espoused the cause of the Reformation, commended Luther as its great instrument, and applauded his coadjutors as 'a noble band, actuated by the same spirit.' He even went the length of expressing his regret, that the spirit of these reformers had not been allowed to develop itself in the German church. But the most offensive portion of Mr. Pusey's volume must have been that in which he expressed his approbation of Müller's words, that '*the font, the pulpit, the confessional, and the communion table, were the four dumb idols of the church.*' This work having been written to counteract the tendency of one of Mr. Rose's publications on the same subject, was answered by a very bitter letter next year from that gentleman. This was succeeded by another volume from the pen of Mr. Pusey, ably defending both himself and the great principle of the Protestant Reformation. In this work he distinctly announced his adherence to the supreme and exclusive authority of the Bible. How or when Mr. Pusey was converted to his present opinions, has, we believe, never been explained. But it is evident that the leaven of Mr. Rose's high church and anti-protestant principles had, in the course of a few years, began to manifest itself in other minds. All the symptoms we need not and cannot name:—

'The society at Oriel College was at that period (1831), of a peculiarly interesting character. Dr. Whately had just become Arch-

bishop of Dublin; Dr. Pusey had gradually laid aside neology, and was commencing that course of reaction which has finally led him to his present position; Mr. Newman was following in the same direction; and the too celebrated Blanco White was hurrying on with rapid strides towards that state of scepticism in which he died. A society with such members, boasting the piety and poetry of a Keble, the logical precision and metaphysical acuteness of a Hampden, and presided over by so distinguished a prelate as Dr. Copleston, could not fail to exercise a powerful influence over the mind of the university; and none more clearly perceived how widely its distractions were likely to compromise the peace of the church than Dr. Hampden himself, when he was called upon, in 1832, to preach the 'Bampton Lectures.' It would seem as though he saw the germ of tractarianism developing itself, day by day; the dangers which it threatened; its reliance on forms; its claim of powers for the priesthood more than the spirit of protestantism warranted; its new and strange doctrines concerning the sacraments; its longing looks towards Rome; and, above all, its illiberality of spirit, and the prostration of intellect which it required. He at once perceived that an opportunity was put into his hands of neutralizing, in some degree, these evils, without entering the lists as a controversialist; and he readily availed himself of it.'—*Concise History*, p. 2.

Hence it may be concluded that the preaching of Dr. Hampden's lectures in 1832 operated like oil upon the slumbering embers. Then again, the Reform Bill had proved gall and wormwood to all who were of Mr. Rose's way of thinking, and to many others who were not Romanizers; for it seemed only the commencement of a reforming process, already pointing towards the church, by the hint of the noble peer who had warned them *to set their house in order*. These pregnant signs of the times fully justified the fears of the clergy, and, naturally enough, counselled self-preservation. The goodly inheritance on which they fed was not to be tamely surrendered to reforming statesmen, and the developed spirit of Luther and his coadjutors. Something was to be done, and that promptly, for the saving of their house, and the defeat of reformers.

In the year 1833, the first embryo conclave of anti-reforming and Romanizing divines met in the rectory of Mr. Rose, at Hadleigh, in Suffolk. We believe the parties known to be present were Palmer, (he that curses), Froude, Percival, and Rose. This meeting took place in July; and in September of the same year, an association was formed at Oxford, including, with a few others, Keble and Newman. At this meeting the fatal confederacy against the protestantism of the church of England was formed, upon the adoption of the two following articles:—

'1. The maintenance of the apostolic succession dogma, outraged in the suppression of the ten Irish bishoprics.'

'2. The participation of the body and blood of Christ, conveyed only by the hands of the successors of the apostles and their delegates.'

This was the nucleus. It was well timed for the party. The clergy were everywhere alarmed, and the younger men especially began to fear, that, if something were not done, their reversionary interests were not worth seven years' purchase. Those who cared as little about popery as protestantism, but piously looked towards the *livings*, fell into the snare, but were not admitted into the secret. A resuscitation of high church-principles, a teaching of them in all directions through the land, might overawe the people, paralyse the reformers, and save 'the church of our fathers.' Yes, but it might also do something more, as we have painfully seen, and shall yet see—and more, we verily believe, than most of the men originally banded in the conspiracy ever expected. However, let us proceed with the history.

The following year Dr. Pusey openly abandoned his protestant principles, and joined the association—an association formed for the purpose of calling upon all men to worship those four dumb idols which Mr. Pusey had joined Müller in condemning.

Those who know anything of the prevailing tendency of the clerical mind in our richly endowed establishment, need not be informed, that elements abounded everywhere suitable to sustain and spread the spirit of that association. Exclusiveness, sacerdotal pretensions, fondness for ceremonies, pomps and vestments, assertion of sacramental grace, and belief in episcopal inspiration, were elements widely spread, predisposing many for the purposes of the association, and waiting only for a nucleus around which they might be consolidated and combined into a body having movement and power.

Welcome, therefore, to many a heart, old as well as young, were the tidings, that the church was about to fortify itself against reforming parliaments, Whig ministers, and encroaching sectaries of every name. The scheme advanced, by the aid of the tracts and innumerable other publications, beyond the fondest anticipations of the conspirators. It roused the clergy throughout the land to resist political reform, as threatening church reform. It tended to the glorification of the clergy as the exclusive channels of Divine grace, to the undermining of protestant principles, the spread of popery, and the revival of traditionary and patristic authority. It prostrated private and individual judgment before the decision of 'the

church,' meaning not the fathers of the English church, but those of the fifth and sixth centuries; and it saved the temporalities, at least *for a time*, from the pruning and lopping that had been threatened.

One of the early measures, by skilfully concealing the ultimate purpose, secured a much wider co-operation than could have been expected. It was an address to the archbishop, declaring attachment to the established church, signed by 7000 clergy, and 230,000 heads of families. Thousands set their hands to this document who knew nothing, and suspected nothing, of the real hatred to all protestant principles, by which its promoters were actuated, and the destruction of which they were purposely associated to promote. But the secret was kept for several years, while the anti-reforming, and unprotestantizing spirit was insidiously spreading itself through the colleges and halls of Oxford. The cry was:—The church is in danger! and the salvation of it depends upon the clergy, who are solemnly called to its defence, by maintaining those doctrines of exclusive sanctity, authority, and grace, which will check the inroads of dissenters, recover the people to their 'duly authorized teachers,' and neutralize the plans of reforming statesmen. But the principles adopted were anti-protestant, and the weapons seized in the hour of peril, were from Rome's armoury.

The party had now entered upon a large and bold project, encompassed with perils, and full of difficulties. To prosecute it successfully demanded no ordinary measure of courage, subtlety, and talent. The persons who took the lead were undoubtedly men of superior learning and ability, but then they were fanatical, and like all fanatics, though most sincere, yet not calm enough, or not conscientious enough, to perceive, that the prosecution of their plans involved flagrant dishonesty both to the country and the church, whose servants they were, and whose hire they received. Yet, blind to the treason and immorality of their project, they continued to print and post themselves promoters of Roman dogmas, and haters of the Reformation.

Dr. Hampden was known as the decided opponent of all the principles involved in the enterprise. He was not the only man they had reason to fear, but he was one of the most formidable of their opponents. His influence must, therefore, be destroyed. He must be a mark for the dagger of the moral assassin. His lectures were marvellously adapted to the time, and the movement. Had he known the secret counsels of the conspirators, he could scarcely have produced an abler check, or done better service to the protestant cause. But in the eyes

of the would-be-conclave, this was an unpardonable sin. He could hardly have given greater offence, or provoked fiercer hostility. According to their logic, he was branded as a heretic by his own writings—for every protestant is a heretic, and all protestantism leads to Socinianism, and is synonymous with infidelity.

From the date of those celebrated lectures, all thorough-going tractarians feared him, hated him, and cursed him, in true church-style. They fixed their eyes and their hearts upon him as a victim, just as the tiger and the vulture do. They only couched for the spring, or balanced themselves on their wings, till the favourable moment should come. It was not long before it arrived.

In the year 1836, Lord Melbourne gave Dr. Hampden the divinity professorship. Henry of Exeter, foremost in mischief and in broils, calls upon the Hebdomadal Board and the vice-chancellor to supersede the appointment, or silence him; for already the leading tractarians, with Dr. Pusey at their head, had settled this syllogism—that every protestant is a heretic to the true church—that Dr. Hampden is a protestant, even an ultra—*ergo*, Dr. Hampden is a heretic. But it would not do to announce this syllogism either to the world or the university, because the natural and unanswerable reply would be—our church—our nation, is protestant; and you yourselves, who bring the charge, are officially, legally, and, by voluntary compact with the state, *protestants*; so that your syllogism would prove *rather* too much. But tractarians knew a safer mode of hunting down Dr. Hampden. Impeach him of heterodoxy, upon the ground of some dark or dubious sentences; detach and dislocate pieces of sentences, and put your own interpretation upon his words; work the *odium theologicum*, and it will, at least, cast a shade of suspicion over his character, and prevent many from reading his dangerous works. We may not succeed in defeating his appointment, but we may hold him up to the younger clergy as heterodox, destroy his influence in the university, and rally our own forces. The resolution is taken. The secret cabal try the heads of houses, because with them all such proceedings ought to originate. But though Henry of Exeter invoked their aid, and the Association tried its hand, yet these said heads of houses *thrice* rejected propositions for condemning the regius professor, before he had entered on the duties of his office. The secret committee thus checked by the proper authorities, yet unabashed by defeat, and undeterred from their dark and malignant purpose, mustered their forces for another more desperate effort. They felt they were growing in numerical strength. In the last week of February, 1836, they met, to the

number of sixty-five, when two propositions were carried. The first, 'To petition the vice-chancellor to call a convocation, for the purpose of appointing a board of inquiry into Dr. Hampden's theological writings.' The second, 'For the purpose of petitioning the bishops to accept, in future, the Margaret professor's certificate of lectures, instead of the regius professor's.'" The object aimed at by this measure was openly professed to be *the prevention of Dr. Hampden's advancement to a bishopric*, by affording the archbishop of Canterbury a handle for declining to consecrate him, in case he should receive such a nomination.

When the first of these propositions was carried, it was asked, Who would be Dr. Hampden's accuser? After a solemn pause, Dr. Pusey, whose orthodoxy had by this time become more than doubtful, and who was well known to be personally hostile to the regius professor, said, '*if no one else would, he was willing.*' Thus, less than one-third of the resident members of convocation carried their object, so far as to compel the vice-chancellor and heads of houses to summon a convocation, for the express purpose of condemning the regius professor, voting his doctrines heretical, and degrading him from the proper prerogatives of his office; and all this at the instigation of individuals who were then deluging the country with popish tracts, and who, soon after, voted all Roman doctrine and teaching, true and orthodox.

But now the non-resident members, who knew nothing of the secret springs of this conspiracy, and just as little of Dr. Hampden's writings, were to be privately prepared by garbled extracts, exaggerated statements, and false elucidations, circulated by letters after letters through the kingdom, for the grand demonstration, whose real object was to crush a protestant professor, and forward the Romanizing project. The convocation met on the 19th of March, and the scheme was ripe for execution. It was well known by the Corpus committee of persecutors, that the proceedings were informal and illegal, and would be *vetoed* by the proctors. Yet this was concealed from the non-residents, for the purpose of securing a demonstration, and passing a sentence which, if it could not legally dislodge Dr. Hampden from his post, might, nevertheless, throw over him the odium of a heretic, destroy his moral influence, and show the strength of his opponents. The day arrived, the convocation assembled; and what a sight did Oxford present to protestant England, when the Romanizers, the ultra-protestant Lord Kenyon at their head, with the evangelicals at the tail, all combining, in a motley and tumultuous assembly, to crush the staunchest protestant in all the university, and to forward, it may be blindly and unwittingly, the designs of the men who were thus triumphantly hastening on their project of eradicating

the protestantism of the church, in defiance of their oaths and offices, their sovereign, and the statutes both of the nation and the university ! But the proctors put in their *veto*, and the convocation became powerless. Yet that 'tower of protestant strength,' Lord Kenyon, afterwards set up his standard at Brazenose, and gathered around it no less than three hundred and fifty of his followers, for the purpose of passing a complimentary and congratulatory resolution to these secret conspirators against protestantism, and to declare their determination to proceed, notwithstanding the temporary obstruction thrown in their way.

Encouraged by their success thus far, the tractarians speedily set to work again, and by their circular letters announced that, though foiled through the forms of the university, they would attempt to pass a penal statute against Dr. Hampden in another convocation. Accordingly, in May, 1837, the Romanizers, ultra-protestants and evangelicals, these latter, no doubt deceived by the false cry of heresy and Socinianism, passed the infamous statute which has been made so much of in the late episcopal meeting, by four hundred and seventy-four against ninety-four.

Now this measure was carried without time for examination, by a court profoundly ignorant of the merits of the case, deluded by artful tacticians and tractarians, heated by political faction, and led exclusively by the Romanizers. The deed was declared illegal by Lord Campbell and Dr. Lushington, and has been since condemned and regretted by many who took part in it ; and yet this has been made the main plea by the remonstrant bishops and others, who have sought to defeat Dr. Hampden's elevation. It proved, at the time, a mere *brutum fulmen*, so far as Dr. Hampden's character and status were concerned. He had shown, by his 'Inaugural Lecture,' and by a long introduction to a new edition of his 'Bampton Lectures,' that he was no Socinian nor anti-trinitarian. The eyes of many persons who had been deceived by the cry of heresy and heterodoxy, and on that ground had become the tools of the Romanizing cabal, were presently enlightened : and with sorrow they discovered that they had been persecuting a man whom they ought, above most others, to have applauded and defended.

The professor had appealed to the archbishop against the attempts of his enemies in the very first instance, and had implored of him a statement of the errors attributed to him. But the archbishop evaded the appeal, and left the unprotected professor to bear the fury of the tempest which was beating against him at Oxford. The archbishop received and presented from the tractarian party a memorial to the king against Dr. Hampden's appointment, but to Dr. Hampden, himself, he denied what simple justice demanded. Again and again a fair trial of

his orthodoxy was requested, yea, implored of the archbishop and of the university; but all the parties were too well aware of the impossibility of sustaining a charge of heterodoxy, before any competent tribunal, whether of lay or clerical judges, and they, therefore, craftily avoided it, and at length obtained their infamous 'statute' without it.

About that time the matter was noticed in parliament. Lord Melbourne took occasion in the House of Lords to observe, that nothing in Dr. Hampden's writings was open to blame; and that the parties who had petitioned against his appointment to the regius professorship, appeared to him 'totally ignorant of Dr. Hampden's writings.' This called up the archbishop, who evinced that he was far enough from agreeing with the head of the king's government. He thought the appointment an injudicious one; and stated, that he had made a representation to the government to that effect.

The report, in the papers, of this conversation in the House of Lords immediately called forth Dr. Hampden, who, in the most respectful and earnest manner, invites and urges the archbishop to show why the appointment was an injudicious one. The reply of the archbishop contains no explanation, but that it was offensive to certain parties at Oxford—either not knowing, or not seeming to know, that the only parties offended were the *tractarians*. But Dr. Hampden pursued the archbishop vigorously, and pressed for specific allegations against his doctrines, and, after addressing to him several of the most forcible and manly appeals we ever read, had the mortification to receive from him a reply of which this is the cream. 'At the same time that I acknowledge your letter, I must be excused from entering into any discussion on the several matters contained in it, *with most of which I have no concern.*'

Let the reader ponder that—the Archbishop of Canterbury had *no concern* in the orthodoxy or heterodoxy of the Regius Professor of Theology at Oxford—which was the only thing about which the professor wished him to concern himself; and yet he had done everything in his power to prevent his appointment, and, after it was made, to discredit him in the eyes of the nation! *Proh pudor!*

But Dr. Hampden had too much sense of honour and justice, too much self-respect to end here. He follows up his claim for distinct charges, and after two or three more evasive replies, closes the correspondence with a letter, that must have made the venerable prelate feel rather puny and uneasy under the hand of such a giant. We cannot resist the inducement to give this letter entire.

'Ch. Ch. Oxford, Mar. 23, 1838.

'MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,—Peculiar circumstances have prevented my replying to your last letter as soon as I could have wished. Your grace still persists in declaring, without any proof of the assertion, that 'both common and learned readers' of my publications have mistaken me. Now, it does not even appear that you have yourself done so; for you have not ventured to state, in reply to the question which I put to you on the point, whether your objections are drawn from *your own* unbiassed reading of the works themselves, or from the *representations* of them by others. I cannot but conclude, indeed, from your grace's reserve on the subject, that your attention had not been directed to the matters discussed in my 'Bampton Lectures' before you took part against me. But though the case were as your grace states—though I had written on the 'great topics' to which you refer, so as to have been mistaken 'both by common and learned readers,' it would by no means follow, that I should be disqualified for giving elementary instruction to junior students in theology. Fallacious as such reasoning is in itself, it has been amply refuted by experience. Let any of them who have attended my lectures, private or public, before or since my appointment to the divinity chair, or who have heard my public examinations in divinity, be called, and asked how and what I have taught? I wonder that your grace should put forward an *à priori* objection, where a positive experience exists to be appealed to—an objection, too, so palpably open to refutation by that test, and respecting which you may have satisfied yourself by questioning those who have presented themselves before you for ordination from this university.

'But, my lord, is it come to this, that all the roughness with which I have been treated is to be slurred over with one smooth phrase? Is it indeed, then, the 'main objection,' that, having been 'mistaken,' as you state, 'I am not, in your opinion, a safe teacher?' Weak must be the cause which, in such a case, can resort to such a plea. Contrast this plea with the intense exertions made against me. Only, in fact, contemplate yourself going on a formal mission to the minister of the crown, with such a plea in your mouth; and how disproportionate to the occasion—how ridiculous, might it not be said, but for a solemn injury enacted against a brother Christian in the name of religion—does all that effort appear! The university and the church, sooth, were to be agitated, because an individual—sound in his own mind, and irreproachable in his life, on the showing of his adversaries themselves—had been misconstrued in some passages of his writings, and was, *therefore*, not 'a safe teacher.' Certainly, the plea looks more like an after-thought, and a retreat from higher ground of attack, which could not be carried; and it may so far serve the cause for which it is advanced, as, unlike any specific charge, it admits no direct answer.

'As for 'withdrawing disapprobation,' I did hope that your grace might be open to conviction of your having been in error in regard to it. I reflect, at the same time, how hard it is for those who have

taken a harsh step against another, to own themselves in the wrong, or pardon the individual whom they have wronged—especially for men in responsible stations, whose example has influenced others, and paved the way to outrages beyond their power to control.

‘Your grace speaks of ‘objections entertained by yourself and by others, to certain passages in my writings;’ and you observe that, ‘in my Inaugural Lecture, I declare of these, in common with the whole of my books, that I meant nothing but what was orthodox in them;’ also, that I ‘asserted the same thing in substance in a private letter to yourself.’ Now I am not aware of having stated anything of the kind, either in my Inaugural Lecture, or elsewhere. For I have never seen any passages, or particular objections whatever, alleged by your grace; nor can I, therefore, have stated what you observe respecting such passages. The fact is, that I have asked your grace to bring a specific objection, and you have constantly declined doing so.

‘Happily, my lord, I do not depend for my character for ‘veracity and integrity’ on the opinion of any individual. I endeavour to act in a straight-forward manner, looking, I trust, to His approval who has bade us fear him, and not man. I must aver, therefore, that in writing to you, I have not sought to obtain your commendation, or any ‘useful result,’ beyond the vindication of right and truth.

‘I am, and I think with the best reason, anxious to clear up a matter in which I feel myself deeply aggrieved, on account of not only the insults which I have received, but the serious obstructions thrown across my path in doing those duties to which God has called me. I verily, but humbly, believe, that God has called me especially to the duties of my office—unworthy instrument as I am in his hand—unworthy, indeed, to be trusted with so great a dignity, as from him. And I assure you, therefore, that, with His help, I will not cease my exertions against the opposition to me, from whatever quarter it may come.

‘In prosecution of this view, I beg to inform your grace, that it is my intention to lay this whole correspondence before the public.

‘I have the honour to remain, my Lord Archbishop, your grace’s most obedient, humble servant,

‘R. D. HAMPDEN.’

There for the time terminated the efforts of the tractarians to annul Dr. Hampden’s appointment. They failed; through the protestant principles, not of the archbishop, but of the noble premier. Had not Lord Melbourne resolved to stand by his appointment, and had he not understood the secret reason of the opposition, as well as the character of Dr. Hampden’s writings, better than the archbishop, the cause of protestantism in the established church had received a most alarming shock, and an honourable and honest man had been victimised to the tractarian conspirators. But Dr. Hampden not only maintained his high and important post, in defiance of the plotting faction,

with the archbishop as their tool, and the Bishop of Exeter as their patron, but such was the high sense entertained of his ability and orthodoxy at the university, that *another statute* was passed, placing him at the head of an examining board of theology. Every body perceived, and admitted that this was more than a virtual nullification of the '*solemn decree*' which had degraded him; it was the strongest expression of confidence in his theological opinions that the university could give. Yet these two '*solemn decrees*' of the university respecting the same man, stood in palpable opposition to each other. The university became a thorough *Janus*, with his two faces looking in opposite directions. It became, indeed, a trumpet, giving no certain sound. They had raised a man to the very highest pinnacle of honour as a theologian, of whom a '*solemn decree*' affirmed, that they had no confidence in him at all! The heads of houses and vice-chancellor could not conceal from themselves and the world, that the university was hereby placed in no very creditable position; that, at any rate, its consistency was compromised. It was, therefore, proposed to abrogate the rash and illegal statute which had condemned Dr. Hampden unheard. The attempt failed. The power of the tractarians bore down the authorities, and maintained the '*solemn decree*,' which condemned Dr. Hampden, and which, for more than five years, has placed the university in the anomalous position of condemning its first and most influential teacher of theology. Such a state of confusion and absurdity could exist only in an establishment, where the struggles after power and wealth make so many men reckless of truth, honour, and principle.

From the day when the tractarians carried their solemn decree against Dr. Hampden, the protestants of England have witnessed strange things. Where are now most of the leading promoters of that infamous persecution? Some few, and among them the arch-persecutor himself, though condemned for popish doctrine by the same university, remain still at Oxford, labouring at their old craft, to bring the church of England to adopt popery. But all who retained any sense of shame, or any respect for morality, have seceded to their mother church, though scarcely time enough to save their consciences, or redeem their characters from reproach. It is evident that, taking the kingdom generally, there is yet a large number waiting to do mischief, holding their places in defiance of their most sacred oaths, and in opposition to their secret conviction that all Roman doctrine is true and ought to be taught.

It is now evident that the design of preventing Dr. Hampden's elevation to the bench was originated in 1836. It has been in abeyance till 1847. It was entertained in the first

instance, as the most plausible occasion for wresting from the crown the power of making bishops. This was the ambitious point aimed at, and Dr. Hampden was only selected as the most likely man against whose nomination they could raise formidable opposition. The attempt to obtain this power from the crown had been openly mentioned. The right of the church to elect its own bishops had been often asserted; and now drew near the time for the first movement against the royal prerogative. Henry of Exeter will denounce it in the abstract, and, with many others, will protest against Dr. Hampden. It was a well laid scheme; for, could the right to elect their own bishops once be gained by the cathedral clergy, the bench might be speedily filled by Puseyites, and ordination made easy for Romanizers, but denied to protestants: thus, the conversion to popery would have been hastened, and we should have seen the clergy and the bishops, in a few years, making a short cut to Rome.

It is not our intention to intimate, that the episcopal remonstrants were *all* cognizant of the ultimate purpose for which Dr. Hampden was persecuted in 1836, or again in 1847. They were mostly the catspaws of others, and probably would have sympathised only up to the point of asserting the church's right to elect its bishops, without perceiving why, at the present juncture, that concession is so eagerly and devoutly desired. It is very evident, however, that at least Henry of Exeter is in the secret, and has lent his most zealous co-operation to effect the entire plan. His patronage of Dr. Pusey, in defiance of the university, shows this. It is not very creditable, however, to any of the bishops to have lent their names to the plans of a Romanizing faction in the church; and to those who have had to confess that they signed the protest before they had examined Dr. Hampden's works, it ought to be a matter of humiliation and shame.

How the business has proceeded, and how it has terminated, every one knows. It has filled the papers and filled the country to its remotest corner. Dr. Hampden is Bishop of Hereford, and the Puseyites are foiled in their most cherished project. The crown will not bate a jot of its supremacy, and the attempt to Romanize, so far as the prerogative is concerned, falls to the ground *for the present*. We deem it unnecessary to detail the course of events, or put on record in our pages any of the documents which have been published on the occasion. They will all be found in a neat and compact form in the 'Concise History' by Mr. Christmas, named at the head of this article. The elucidation we have attempted will enable our readers to judge of the connexion between these events of

1847, and those of 1832, 1836, and 1837. There is one design prosecuted continuously from first to last. To crush Dr. Hampden was only one of its aims; but the importance of this step in reference to the main end of undoing the Reformation, may be estimated by the pains taken to accomplish it. The successive defeats of the 'conspirators' is a matter of congratulation to every sincere protestant, whether of the established church or not. To every member of that church it ought to prove an occasion of thanksgiving, that it has had an escape from the plots of its worst enemies, and the mismanagement and imbecility of its professed friends.

We might now proceed to the *second* part of our undertaking; but, before we do so, we will sum up in a few observations, our judgment of the case in its personal relation to Dr. Hampden.

1. As an act of justice, we think it becomes us to say, that after carefully examining his 'Bampton Lectures,' there appears to us no valid ground for even a *suspicion* of his orthodoxy upon either the Trinity or the Divinity of Jesus Christ. In his 'Observations on Religious Dissent' he has given no license to latitudinarian doctrine, no sanction to heresy, but simply endeavoured to screen those who dissent from orthodox doctrine, against the anathema of churchmen. He objects to investing dissent in religion with the awe of the objects about which it is conversant. He admits that we may guard against supposed errors with more caution and accuracy on account of their solemn importance, but says, we must not wield against the person the terrors of the invisible world—we must not say, that '*without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.*'

The most offensive part of this work, so far as we can learn, is the passage in which he takes up the case of the unitarian, as supplying, perhaps, the strongest test of his argument. The passage runs thus:—'When I look at the reception by the unitarians of both the Old and New Testaments I cannot, for my part, strongly as I dislike their theology, deny to those who acknowledge the basis of Divine facts, the name of Christians. Who, indeed, is justified in denying the title to any one who professes to love Christ in sincerity?' His whole offence, if to any it seems an offence, consists in declining to judge unfavourably of the individual, while he enters the strongest condemnation against his errors. He seems simply to mean—'Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth.' And there most liberal and charitable controversialists have been content to leave their conclusions.

2. It is obvious to those who know the principles of the tractarian Romanizers, that the real offence, both of the 'Lectures'

and of the 'Observations,' consisted in the repudiation of fathers, schoolmen, philosophers, dialecticians, councils, and confessions, as *authorities* over faith; and in the author's adherence to the language of Holy Scriptures, in which facts are stated without definitions, and to which alone we are bound before God.

3. Ever since the birth of the tractarian faction to the recent movement to degrade and crush Dr. Hampden, it is evident that he has been persecuted for his liberal protestantism, and for his consistent and unalterable attachment to the rule—the Bible only is our religion; and further, that he has suffered this persecution from his clerical brethren, and from the bishops of his own church, who, as protestants, ought, in all honesty, to have sustained and applauded his efforts, under *false pretences*.

4. The conduct of the Very Rev. the Dean of Hereford, in pleading conscience for his impeachment of the bishop's orthodoxy, after having sought, in a sneaking and supplanting manner, the office for himself, as well as the conduct of the Bishop of Oxford, was both insulting and unjust personally to Dr. Hampden, and worthy of being held up to public execration. We give the Bishop of Oxford, however, full credit for his '*Amende*.'

5. The calm determination of Lord John Russell to stand by the man who stands by protestant principles, in these days of rampant and insolent popery, is deserving of all praise; and excites the hopes of the nation, that, in making future bishops, as long as they must be made by prime ministers, they may all be men of the Hampden stamp.

We have offered these observations as cordially sympathizing with all true protestants of the established church, in the apprehensions they most justly entertain of the ultimate designs of Dr. Pusey and his 'conspirators.' Nothing will ever satisfy them but the reconciliation of the national church to Rome. They have been defeated in one of their boldest and most subtle moves; and how keenly this is felt even by the open Romanists, has been evinced in the gratuitous and officious impertinence of Dr. M'Hale, the Roman Catholic archbishop of Tuam, whose mortification at the appointment of Dr. Hampden, is identical with that of Dr. Pusey and Dr. Philpotts.

But we have now done with what is personal and temporary in this affair, and invite the attention of our readers, *secondly*, to a few observations on the system of bishop-making.

It seems that the nomination of all bishops is by statute vested in the crown. So well is this known, and so willingly assented to by all the bishops themselves, that, since the Reformation, it has never been resisted or questioned by the church. But there is another right, or shadow of a right, pertaining to the dean and

chapter of each cathedral, who go through a mock election, when they receive a document called a *congé d'élire*, with a *letter missive* from the crown, which requires them, within twelve days, to assemble and elect the person nominated by the crown. They may elect no other person; they must elect this person upon pain of a *præmunire*, which is a very serious affair. All parties in the cathedrals know that they have no right of demurrer. Obedience is always expected; disobedience would be ruinous. Every dean and every member of the chapter knows that election is a mere pretence; for where there is no freedom of choice, there can be no election. Yet, strange to say, this mock election, conducted with all the forms of a religious ceremony and in connexion with the public worship of Almighty God, is legally or constitutionally necessary to complete the official character of a bishop, or to place the given individual in the true line of apostolical succession. It seems to be admitted in this clumsy affair, that, somehow or other, a church-election is *essential*. But so they wrap it up; while Rome sneers both at the politico-ecclesiastical farce, and the pretended successor of Peter. It must be evident, even to churchmen, that this *congé d'élire* is a useless and perilous affair—no better than a snare for the consciences of clergymen, who are expected, yea constrained, to say they have *elected*, when they have only *accepted*, a bishop, appointed, or elected *really*, by the prime minister. The man thus named to them, they may think very unsuitable to be placed in the apostolical succession, but they must approve. Perhaps there are many cases in which deans and chapters cordially disapprove; yet they must not only *accept*—that would be mere passivity—they must, by their voice, say they *approve and elect* the said person. This is a mischievous snare for their consciences; but it is of a piece with other snares laid for the consciences of clergymen at every step in our established church.

It is a rare thing for a dean to have at once the tender conscience and manly courage of the Dean of Hereford! It is not often that a dean is exposed to such a trial as that of saying, that he elects another man to an office he had desired and sought for himself. Dean Merewether wished to be a bishop, and wished to appear an honest man; wished to obey his sovereign, and keep a clear conscience, *if possible*; but this *congé d'élire* places him in a grievous dilemma, because he thinks Dr. Hampden a heretic, or little better than an infidel; and yet he has received a virtual command from the head of the church to elect him bishop. It is a delicate case for any clergyman, when his official obligation says *obey*, and conscience says *disobey*; yet it is a position in which many a clergyman has been placed. Whether Dr. Merewether looked calmly at all the difficulties of

his position, it is not for us to inquire; but it is open to any one to observe, that, if conscience constrained him, on the one hand, so solemnly to protest against Dr. Hampden, why did not conscience also suggest, on the other hand, the solemn obligations he had undertaken to obey absolutely the queen's majesty, *in every cause civil and ecclesiastical*? Had he forgotten how often he had, *ex animo*, sworn to the *thirty-seventh article*, and how solemnly he had bound himself thereby to obey the head of the church *in every thing*? But we inquire not too curiously into this case; our only aim, at present, being to show this snare, among many others which the established church lays for men's consciences, as well as the degradation which it compels men to inflict upon themselves, when they inwardly feel, with Paley, that *they cannot afford to keep a conscience*. Most of the clergy, no doubt, feel that they have bound themselves, by their assent and consent to the thirty-nine articles, to obey the queen's command, and, in consequence, they quietly submit, and say nothing about their conscientious objections to the person or the act. They sold their conscience to passive obedience when they accepted the price. Most of them, therefore, never again dream of letting conscience out of prison upon such matters. But in the present case, the conscience of Dr. Merewether, being over subtle and too much excited, slipped its keeper, obtained its liberty, and made a most unseemly and unusual brawl in a cathedral, where, it is well known, that to assert the rights of conscience, is to lift up the voice of treason, and invoke an authority disowned; and where, if any conscientious recusant of church-rates had uttered the same plea before the consistory court, he would presently have found himself on the way to the county prison, to afford another illustration of the manner in which conscience is treated by church-law and church-men. But Dr. Merewether pleads conscience in a case in which he ought to have had no conscience—for the election of Dr. Hampden was a foregone conclusion to the man who had sworn to obey the head of the church in everything ecclesiastical; and it seems a marvellous thing to us, a thing that could scarcely have occurred in any other religious community, that, though surrounded by all the pious and learned members of the chapter, no one ventured to remind him, that the plea of conscience came too late, for that the whole fraternity had taken their emoluments upon the terms of implicit obedience to the royal head of the church; and that, if conscience were allowed to rise up there, against both law and conscience, they must either renounce their livings, or go to prison for conscience-sake, like scurvy dissenters and church-rate recusants.

But we must leave this strange and edifying scene in Here-

ford cathedral, with the remark, that the sooner the crown or legislature releases the deans and chapters from the humiliation, disgrace, and snare to which this *congé d'élire* exposes them and the church, the better for all parties. By abolishing the mock election, and making the appointment of bishops a mere act of the crown, reserving to the existing bishops simply the act of consecration, the necessity or the opportunity for such scenes as the world has recently witnessed, would be superseded. As things are managed at present, every one must perceive that the theory of a state-church clashes in innumerable ways with individual conscience, both within and without its fold. Dissenters are immured in jail, while dignitaries are tempted to rebel against the sovereign, or are held up as public examples of immorality; and clergymen of every grade, from the humble curate to the archbishop, writhe under the fetters of state power, which even their pay does not make them wear gracefully or decently. This, however, is not our business, and we should not have noticed it, but for the credit of our common Christianity, which, we think, all parties must admit, is likely to be not a little disparaged by these collisions between the state-conscience and the individual conscience, and which seem to be inseparable from the theory of a state-church. How to harmonize the headship of Christ with the headship of the Queen is the problem.

There is, however, another important view to be taken of this *congé d'élire*, or mock election of bishops, after they are already irrevocably made by the crown. Something is concealed historically under this French phrase. An election there ought to be, by somebody and of some sort. That is implied by the law and by the practice. But how came the great statesmen and greater reformers of the national church, to admit so dangerous and clumsy a fiction to creep into the constitution of their church? The Puseyites and the papists say, with apparent reason and justice, that the election of its bishops has always belonged to the church, and that this *congé d'élire* only marks the oppression and robbery of the church, by the arch-reformer Henry VIII.; for that the reality which this only shadows forth, is one of its most ancient rights. But that Henry, who had determined to be a pope himself, and even something more, took the real choice into his own hand, and conceded to the cathedral clergy only the empty form, which he required to sanction and sanctify his sacrilege.

Hence the recent plot laid by the Puseyites in concert, no doubt, with the open Romanists, to re-assert this ancient right of the church, and to place the election of bishops beyond the reach of the monarch's sceptre. But to disturb so clear a right of the sovereign, and so radical a foundation of the protestant

church, required not only a special occasion, but special efforts of the bishops themselves. Dr. Hampden's nomination supplied that occasion, for he was an ultra protestant, and had long laboured under a *mala fama*, and some of the bishops were known to favour the plan for restoring the election to the church, and they could influence more to try one step towards it—a step that seemed so reasonable, as to oppose an odious man. Thus thirteen bishops attempted to stay the royal prerogative.

Henry of Exeter, in his letter to Lord John Russell, is very intemperate in condemning the *congé d'élire*, and very haughty in claiming for the church the right of election. Some things he states are true; but then, to produce the proper effect of truth, he should have told the whole truth, which we shall now attempt to do for him.

The crown, at the Reformation, did not claim any power in the nomination of bishops which it had not long previously enjoyed. It only repudiated the sanction of the pope, which had previously been deemed necessary. This, however, was essentially involved in the secession from Rome. But will the Puseyites, with Henry Exeter at their head, tell the people of England, that the clergy had ever enjoyed a free election of their bishops, since the kings of England had agreed to unite the ancient English church to that of Rome, and accept the apostolical succession from the Bishop of Rome? During times of national commotion, bishops had sometimes been appointed by the clergy, and sanctioned by popes, and the pope himself had often taken the initiative, in defiance of the royal prerogative; and sometimes our history presents the spectacle of two bishops contending, *vi et armis*, for the same see—one elected by the clergy, the other appointed by the crown; or, one by the crown, and another by the pope. Various were the issues of such contests. The true successor of the apostles always being ascertained, either by victorious arms, skilful diplomacy, or the richest presents at Rome, for his consecration. It was the same in every kingdom throughout Christendom. But in times of peace and order, and in the regular course of things, the monarch exercised an undisputed right to name the bishop; the chapters generally assented, and the pope consecrated, or sanctioned the consecration, by his proper officer. Between the king and the pope, the clergy rarely asserted anything beyond the right of a mock election, save when they were in a state of rebellion against the crown, which was, indeed, not unfrequently the case, while they could fall back upon their fealty to their other sovereign at Rome.

But when it is affirmed that the election of the bishops an-

ciently belonged to the church, and by our 'blameless' Henry of Exeter (see his own quotation of 1 Tim. iii. 2), that the statute which enforces the nominee of the crown is '*the magna charta of tyranny*, the most hateful and tyrannical law which is permitted to pollute our statute book;' we beg leave to suggest, that since the election of bishops has begun to be questioned between the state and the church, and the one side complains of foul oppression, and the other of interference with royal prerogatives, it would be desirable to sift the whole question clear of the rubbish of statutes and councils, *congé d'élire*s and prerogatives, and discover, if we can, the few grains of pure gold—the precious truth Divine, concerning apostolical bishops, amidst the mountains of earthy matter which have so long concealed them. It is very well, in the present case, that sovereign power has been on the side of protestant principle, and has saved the church from the peril of an addition to its Romanizing bishops; but if we understand the history of this whole matter of bishop-making and choosing, which can date, or ought to date, only from the New Testament, then the crown has no more right to assume it than the deans and chapters. For earlier in history than deans and chapters come the clergy of the diocese, or province, quite a different body from the chapter, and not in any sense represented by the cathedral body. But when we have traced the election of bishops back to the provincial clergy, we have not got quite far enough. For then originates the question, whence did the provincial clergy get the right of choosing the bishop? Have they had it quite from the beginning? Did the New Testament give it to them? Assuredly the earliest history of the church attests, that the bishop was chosen by the people, and that his *charge* was the people, not the clergy. Who does not know that this is as clear in ecclesiastical history as that there were Christian churches from the days of Paul and Timothy? Who does not know that the disturbances created by those popular elections of bishops, when Christianity had gained possession of the masses, figure upon the page of history as one of its most common facts, being often attended with riots, bloodshed, and outrageous eccentricities of the popular will, which supplied the first occasion for encroachments upon the rights of the people, by their civil rulers. The election of Ambrose, so late as the fourth century, a civilian, made at once a bishop by the will of the people, proves this. When the bishops of individual and independent churches came to have several inferior, or assistant clergy, under them, which was the first step towards metropolitan and diocesan episcopacy, the people had an equal vote with the clergy, and no bishop could be admitted or consecrated to his office, till the people of his church

had declared their will by an open election. Let any one who doubts the antiquity of the people's right to choose their own bishop, consult 'Bingham's Antiquities,' book iv. chap. 2, and he will see this matter set at rest. The vote of the people then, taken often by their *signatures*, was a *sine qua non* in a bishop's election, the very first and most essential basis of his authority. The very ancient forms of the law that occasioned those scenes at St. James's, and Bow Church, prove this. But this fact guides us back to the New Testament. The popular right stands in history connected with the apostles. 'It is quite unquestionable that the *church* chose its own bishop,' says the high churchman and Puseyite, and so say we; but 'the church *then* did not mean the *clergy*, but the *people* in the Christian society. 'Church' did not mean any provincial or national hierarchy, comprising many congregations of believers, but each congregation was a 'church,' each bishop had but 'one church;' each church with its bishop, all historians attest, asserted an independence of all other bishops and churches.

Hence this whole history of bishops, and the mode of making them, which has troubled and periled so many statesmen before Lord John, and shaken the thrones of so many kings and emperors, turns out to be, in the light of the New Testament, a very simple and easy matter: it was just the election of some gifted and blameless brother out of the community to be its overseer; and this right of the flock to choose its own bishop remained from the days of the apostles undisturbed, even through the third century. But *then*, we are reminded, neither bishops nor their churches had entered into any alliance with the state. In the very first instance, there was congregational episcopacy, but no diocesan episcopacy. When St. Paul addressed the presbyters of the church at Ephesus, who met him at Miletus, he said, 'Feed the flock of God over which the Holy Ghost hath made you *bishops*,' Acts xx. 28. Here is congregational, but no diocesan episcopacy.

Thus we have traced this election of bishops to its true source. There ought to be an election. Scripture shows that. The *congé d'élire* retains the ghost of it. The confirmation attests it. Popery itself has a shadow of it. But the reality exists not in our protestant establishment. It exists not in the presbyterian establishment of Scotland. It exists not in the methodist church. These have all annihilated or superseded the right which the people of the Christian churches exercised from the apostolic days, and for centuries after, of choosing, by popular election, their own bishops. When will it be restored?

But we have now reached the third and last stage of our

review—the bearing of recent events on the general or abstract question of church and state. This, we may be allowed to say, is its most important and most practical aspect. We wish to treat it with the utmost seriousness, and with the most intense regard to the interests of Christianity. We would not dare to write and publish one syllable upon this momentous question, if we did not see our way scripturally clear to the conclusion, that the church of our Divine Redeemer ought never to have been placed in such a state of alliance with the kingdoms of this world, as that which has led to its recent humiliation and disgrace; and that it never can recover its true glory and its spiritual energy, till it dissolves the golden band that enslaves and degrades it.

The question is now forced upon the public mind—Do recent events throw any light upon the general question of established churches? Does this unseemly squabble between the prime minister and half the bishops, with probably half the clergy tacitly approving, enforce the arguments of the anti-state-churchmen? or does it leave unaffected the great argument, from *expediency*, on which churchmen rely? Will the movement itself, with the facts it has brought to light, and the principles it has laid bare, accelerate or retard the settlement of the abstract question? Ought we, or ought we not, as Christian men, to maintain the establishment of the Christian religion by the state-sword, and the state-pay?

We cannot but infer, from all we have noticed, that this transaction is calculated to aid the investigation and settlement of the abstract question more than any event of modern times, although there are many others which are helping to mature the public mind for a decision. This event is only one indication among many, which show how trembly our existing establishment holds the balance between popery and protestantism—how perilous, therefore, it must be to the liberties of Englishmen—how near it has now come to a total reversion and transposition of all those high purposes for which any sound protestant and sincere patriot would ever have defended it. If with our practical fellow-countrymen the utility of a thing and the easy working of a system are of more weight than all theories and all authorities to boot, then we should augur that this state-and-church quarrel between all the high contracting parties, coming in connexion with the grinding of consciences, and spoiling of goods, and casting into prisons, which are now becoming the common lot of sturdy nonconformists, but all for the sake of Jesus Christ, and at the bidding of the established church, will greatly tend to show practical men the monstrous blunder that was committed when this alliance was formed.

We have no intention of going into the general argument; neither our space, nor the patience of our readers will allow this; but only of making a few observations upon the late movement, viewed as a symptom of the internal state of the established church, and consequently helping us on towards the settlement of the question—Ought this connexion between the church and the state to be continued or dissolved?

Of course we readily admit the principle, that the abuse of a thing is no argument against its use, and that accidental evils are not to be pleaded against what is ordinarily good: but we appeal to the indisputable maxim, that ‘every tree is known by its fruits;’ and if this tree brings us forth no good fruit, but only apples of Sodom, and apples of discord, then it would be no loss, but a real gain, to vote it a cumberer of the ground, to hew it down, and supply its place by a true vine under the immediate direction and cultivation of the heavenly husbandman; thereby releasing both Lord John Russell, and Queen Victoria, from all further care and responsibility in the matter of Christ’s church.

1. The late movements have shown the tendency of a rich establishment to bring together the most incongruous and discordant materials under a common name, and that the abused and degraded name of Christian. These contraries and repugnancies are obviously not of that nature which all wise and moderate men agree to tolerate in each other; but such as enter into the very life and soul, and prohibit all religious sympathy between the parties. Hence, in all honesty and sober truth, the idea of Christian fraternity is utterly excluded. Churchman takes churchman by the throat, crying out *heretic!* *infidel!* and such like. This is a scandal upon the Christian name that only an established church can inflict. The state interposes to prevent the parties from harming each other, showers its favours upon them all, and commands them to mingle in the same acts of devotion, and declare that they love one another as dear brethren in Christ, and ministers of the same altar. For the sake of these caresses the commands are obeyed. But the infidel triumphs, and Christ is wounded in the house of his friends. It is obvious that nothing could make such materials cohere but the attraction of gold. The real union of Christian hearts, the voluntary combination of Christ’s disciples, the love of the Spirit, are precluded by such an anomalous, unreasonable, unholy juxtaposition of conflicting elements. Talk of the unity of the church secured by an establishment! It is utter mockery and delusion. All the sects of the empire never presented such scenes as the established church presents at the present moment. There are Romanists and protestants, trinitarians, Sa-

bellians, Arians and unitarians, Pelagians and Augustinians, with endless others, even descending to pantheists of the new school at Oxford. We write it with grief and reluctance; but it is all true, and the true fruit of your tempting emoluments. No church but an established one could present such facts; none other would tolerate them for an hour. It is a foul blot upon pure Christianity, which its friends ought to wipe off at any cost. Would not the cause of Jesus Christ be honoured and promoted rather by the disruption of such a fraternity, than by its maintenance? Why should the church of Christ try to serve two masters?

2. Have we not an instructive elucidation of the question, which we may call the *economical* one, in late events? How far does the vast outlay of national wealth for the maintenance of the established church, an outlay always increasing to satisfy, not the demands of the people, but the cravings of the clergy, answer the proposed purpose of Christian instruction and enlightenment? Has the state ever received a *quid pro quo*? Does not this system stultify itself by its cross purposes? If one half the clergy teach doctrines which the other half denounce as heretical; if one half insist that all Roman doctrine is true, and the other half proclaim Rome and its doctrine to be antichrist; if one set of teachers insist that private conscience must be coerced by authority of tradition and the church, and another set of teachers proclaim the indefeasible right of private judgment, and the supreme authority of the Scriptures over all churches and all consciences—then the teaching neutralizes itself—truth and error must be equally sanctioned by the establishment, and the same fountain sends forth sweet water and bitter. The church becomes a mere Noah's ark of clean and unclean. Then of what use is this establishment? Our national wealth is wasted. The people receive no kind of service which they could not enjoy without it, and much more to their peace and contentment, while all the wealth might be saved.

3. It may fairly be inquired, does not an established church greatly tend, above all our other institutions, to shake the foundations of morality, to excite and maintain party spirit, and to weaken the power of conscience in those who ought to uphold its purity, authority, and supremacy. In what a variety of ways is conscience either violated or tampered with, and vanquished by the state-church! Men within the church and men without it, are alike injured by its practical working. They are brought into dilemmas and difficulties that never could occur by the opposite system. How many painful elucidations of this have been presented in the late clerical rebellion!

Snare beset the state clergy on all sides, and many of them seem scarcely to know it, or have become by custom indifferent to it. Take, for instance, Dr. Pusey and his party, sworn against popery and transubstantiation, yet teaching them; sworn that the holy scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation, yet writing and preaching that they are unintelligible and incomplete without the traditions of the church:—would they follow Christ in the establishment, if it were not for the loaves and fishes? In what a state then are their consciences!

Take the remonstrant bishops, and the ‘blameless’ Henry at their head, impeaching the prime minister, and through him virtually the head of the church, of *flagrant sin*, in venturing to promote a brother teacher of Christianity to a higher rank, whom they had themselves for years been virtually sanctioning, by permitting him to prepare clergymen for their parishes, while in their hearts they hate him as a socinian or an infidel. Does this savour of honest zeal for truth, and of homage to conscientious conviction? Would any of those who have questioned Dr. Hampden’s principles refuse to sit with him on the bench, and resign their own mitres, rather than own him as a brother? Take, again, the position of the dean and chapter, compelled to elect the man nominated by the crown, though posted through the kingdom as a heretic by this dean, and yet that very dean perfecting the instrument that gives validity to the nomination. Is not this a fearful snare for a man’s conscience? In fact, as one long ago well observed, there is scarcely a clergyman of any degree, who, if he would look carefully into the solemn obligations by which he binds himself, from the day of his matriculation to that of his ordination—or, if it may be, that of his consecration to a see, when he swallows the *nolo episcopari*—but would find that his conscience had been constantly beset by snares, and could scarcely pretend that it had not been wounded, or its voice, which to a clergyman should be the voice of God, suppressed or bribed. It is well for the Dean of Hereford, if he can feel that he has escaped the fiery trial unscathed. Certain it is that thousands have felt that trial as keenly, but said far less about it.

Now all these collisions with men’s consciences are perilous and awkward things. Churchmen treat them as trifles when they happen to dissenters, but when they happen to gentlemen, dignitaries, and bishops, they become serious, and remonstrances reach prime ministers and princes. But how much relief would all our consciences experience, both bishops, deans, and chapters, clergymen, churchwardens, and dissenters, too, if we were but once free from state-pay!—for then none of us would fear state-control. The cause of morality, conscientious uprightness, and

the influence of pure, genuine Christianity, would be evidently advanced by the abolition of the alliance.

4. It is evident that the state-church greatly complicates and entangles the work of the civil power. To statesmen, this ecclesiastical affair has always been the most irksome, difficult, and annoying part of their business. The *spiritual estate* is confessedly the worst to govern, and the worst to harmonize with the government of the other powers. What a perpetual source of annoyance must every prime minister find in the claimants for place and office—in the bestowment of his ecclesiastical patronage, and exercise of the royal prerogatives—in having to adjudicate among rival candidates—to listen to the representations of friends—to play off one party in the church against another—to keep all within decent bounds, and prevent the clergy, as a kind of *imperium in imperio*, or *fourth estate*, having an interest separate from all the rest, from combining against the sovereign, her ministers, her parliament, and her people! The clergy of the church of England, viewed historically, have always been powerful and influential supporters of arbitrary power; sometimes accidentally useful, but, in the main, obstacles to reform, and opponents of every measure tending to the promotion of civil and religious liberty. All statesmen, therefore, and especially all liberal statesmen, who seek the advancement and civilization of mankind, might be expected to hail the day that should deliver them from this spiritual incubus. Why should they be thus thwarted in their plans, and encumbered in their work of government, by the affairs of a church which might safely be left to self-government, if it were once relieved from state-pay?

It seems the more reasonable that they should unburden themselves of this responsibility, since so large a portion of the nation repudiate the right of the state to interfere with their religion, and will accept none of the pay. One would think that the late episcopal rebellion, together with many other ominous signs of the times, might teach Lord John Russell to look a little more favourably upon the theory of voluntary religion than he has yet done. But if he does not, the statesmen of the future will assuredly be more disposed to leave 'the church of the future,' to manage its own affairs according to the wishes of the people, and will avail themselves of the first favourable opportunity of releasing the state machinery from those collisions and perils which are perpetually occasioned by the church.

5. The late controversy has evidently aroused many able advocates for the separation of church and state, and has procured for them a much larger audience than they ever had

before. Let any one who has observed the tone of the provincial as well as of the metropolitan press, during recent occurrences, say, whether the prevailing opinion has not embodied itself in something like this:—‘What a bore this church is! Why should the nation be agitated by the squabbles of these churchmen? Would it not be better for us all to take charge of our own religious affairs? Would it not be more for the credit and advancement of religion to take away all these apples of discord? Why could not the episcopal communion manage its government as peaceably and decorously as any of the sects?’ The answer has in many cases been given, and it is plain and simple enough:—Only remove the golden link between this church and the state, and everything will fall into its right, that is, its natural place. Then should we have more real religion, as we had more conscientiousness; and we should have more individual conscientiousness, just as we renounced the mischievous fiction of a *national conscience*.

These at least are our deliberate views. We have not embraced them hastily, nor for the occasion; and we are not very sanguine of their speedy prevalence among our phlegmatic and practical fellow countrymen. It takes a great deal of argument to induce them to change a venerable custom; yet we feel quite satisfied, that churchmen are themselves doing much in the present day to disgust the people both with the bishops and the church system; and when once the people of England see that the establishment is an intolerable burden upon their resources, and of no real benefit to their souls, the removal of the incubus will not be long delayed.

We have only in conclusion to express our obligations, *first*, to Dr. Hampden, for the pleasure and improvement we have derived from the careful perusal of his admirable lectures, as well as our good wishes for his happiness and usefulness in the see of Hereford, where, as we are informed, he will find ample scope for the exercise of apostolic zeal and devotedness; *next*, to the conductors of the ‘Oxford Protestant Magazine,’ for their very valuable assistance in elucidating the Puseyite conspiracy, with our cordial recommendation of their work to the protestants of the empire: and, *finally*, to Mr. Christmas, of Zion College, for his very complete collection of all the documents touching the late *emeute*, and his very able exposition of Dr. Hampden’s theological views.

Brief Notices.

The Pilgrim's Progress. By John Bunyan. *Accurately printed from the First Edition, with notices of all the subsequent Additions and Alterations by the Author himself. Edited for the Hanserd Knollys Society, with an Introduction, by George Offer.* 8vo. London: Printed for the Society by John Haddon.

THE Hanserd Knollys Society has rendered an invaluable service by the publication of this volume, which completely realizes our largest anticipations, and supersedes all previous editions of Bunyan's immortal work. The Council of the Society are entitled to our best thanks for their selection of the work, and we are at a loss for language to convey our sense of obligation to Mr. Offer, for the research and painful industry with which he has illustrated its literary history. It has been emphatically a labor of love, for which few men were fitted, and which leaves nothing to be accomplished by subsequent editors. It does just what was needed, what all intelligent readers have long desired to see done, but what no other man was so qualified to accomplish. 'The edition is carefully corrected from Bunyan's first copy, which is followed literally, in the orthography, capitals, italics, and punctuation. Every omission or alteration that the author made during his life is noted, as well as the edition in which such alterations first appeared. Where the author, in the second part, refers to the first, his figures are retained, but a reference is added to this edition in parenthesis. All the original woodcuts are accurately copied by that very excellent and worthy artist, Mr. Thomas Gilks, of Fenchurch Buildings. Every reference has been proved, and where there appeared an evident typographical error, it is corrected; but in all such cases, the alteration is noted at the foot of the page.' The labor thus expended on the work itself is only a part of what the editor has done. Determined to make his edition as complete as possible, 'every allegorical work that could be found previous to the eighteenth century, has been examined, in all the European languages,' and the result is shown to be 'a perfect demonstration of the complete originality of Bunyan.' A brief sketch is furnished of such works, together with a bibliographical account of the several editions of the *Pilgrim's Progress* published during the author's life, together with notices of the principal modern editions. Altogether, the volume constitutes the most complete edition of a popular author which our language contains.

Mr. Offer has prefixed an extended Introduction, in which he triumphantly establishes the fact of the work having been composed in Bedford Goal—not, by the bye, in the river Ouse, as his language (p. ix.) inadvertently intimates. We regret the terms in which he

advertises to the doubts recently expressed by Mr. Philip, respecting the place where the allegory was composed. The tone of the reference is wanting in amenity and justice, and we shall be glad to find that it is modified in subsequent editions. We were greatly surprised, at the time, at Mr. Philip's doubt, and could not satisfactorily account for it, but we never questioned his confidence in Bunyan's word.

In conclusion, we strongly recommend to the patronage of our readers, the Society by which the volume is issued. Its subscription, which is only ten and sixpence, places it within the reach of all, while the works it has issued are amongst the most valuable in our language.

Reminiscences of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and Robert Southey. By Joseph Cottle. Post 8vo. London: Houlston and Stoneman.

ABOUT ten years since, Mr. Cottle published his *Early Recollections* of Coleridge, which were reviewed in our journal by the late distinguished Essayist, John Foster. The article has since been reprinted in Mr. Foster's *Contributions to the Eclectic Review*, (vol. ii. pp. 25—54) and should be carefully read by all who wish to form an accurate estimate of the intellectual and moral character of Mr. Coleridge. The *Early Recollections* have been revised by the author, and are now embodied in the work before us. The scope of this volume is wider than that of its predecessors. Another distinguished personage is introduced, or rather, is made a more prominent figure on the canvass. The position occupied in our recent literature by Coleridge and Southey, naturally awakens public interest in their history, and no man certainly is so competent to throw light on their early career as Mr. Cottle. He was intimately connected with them, rendered them important aid before their fame was established, and was regarded by both with affection and gratitude. He saw them behind the scenes, associated with them in their undress, noted their weakness as well as their might, their folly and their wisdom. He is, therefore, possessed of a fund of information not in the keeping of any other person, and has wisely and with becoming regard to what is due to the living as well as to the dead, contributed a portion of it to the public. Such contributions are amongst the best services which the aged can render to the young, and we should be glad to find that they were ordinarily rendered in the spirit, and with the fidelity which characterize these *Reminiscences*. A loud outcry has been raised in some quarters against Mr. Cottle, for having printed a letter of Coleridge to his friend Mr. Wade, and we readily credit his assertion that he would gladly have withheld it, 'had not the obligation to make it public been imperative.' We concur in this opinion, and believe that 'concealment would have been injustice to the living, and treachery to the dead.' We thank him for the faithful discharge of a painful duty, not as gratifying our curiosity,

but as affording a solemn warning to others who are tempted to indulge the same bad habit. We repeat the favorable judgment formerly expressed, and assure our readers that they will find much to interest, and many things to instruct them, in these *Reminiscences* of an aged and estimable man, who with one exception, has survived all the associates of his earlier days.

Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough, with his Original Correspondence ; collected from the Family Records at Blenheim, and other Authentic Sources. By William Coxe, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A. A New Edition, Revised by John Wade. In Three Volumes. Vol. I.

The Dramatic Works of the Right Honourable Richard Brinsley Sheridan. With a Memoir of his Life. By G. G. S.
London : Henry G. Bohn.

THESE volumes belong to the *Standard Library*, and are worthy of the place assigned them. Their selection reflects credit on the judgment of their publisher, and can scarcely fail to add to the already high reputation of the series in which they are incorporated. Archdeacon Coxe's *Memoirs* are well known to historical readers, and are indispensable to an accurate knowledge of one of the most eventful periods of our annals. Its costly form, however, has hitherto prevented it from being generally read, and the work, therefore, through the present edition, will come to most with the charm of novelty. The voluminous correspondence is wisely printed in a smaller type, and the editor has diligently availed himself of the many sources of information which have been opened since the publication of the original work. Valuable illustrative matter has been gleaned from various quarters, and been disposed of with a skill which adds considerably to the value of the work.

The other volume is sure of a wide circulation. It will probably be one of the most popular of the series, and will meet the demand, and gratify the taste, of various classes of readers. The *Memoir*, which extends to two hundred and six pages, contains the most memorable circumstances of the author's life. Such only are recorded as do not admit of doubt. All apochryphal anecdotes are rejected, and the prurient curiosity which seeks gratification in disclosing the *arcana* of private life, is discountenanced. It is a melancholy record, at the best—one of the most humiliating and painful with which we are acquainted. The genius of Sheridan only adds a deeper gloom to the meanness and turpitude of his career. We exult in the scintillations of his intellect, while we mourn over the vices by which his career was dishonored, and his intellect itself eventually enfeebled. His works survive him, and form part of the literature of our country. Their sterling qualities ensure this, and the volume before us is, therefore, certain of being heartily welcomed. 'Whatever Sheridan has done,' said Lord Byron, 'has been, *par excellence*, always the best of its kind. He has written the best comedy, the best drama, the best farce, and the best address; and, to crown all, delivered the very best oration ever conceived or heard in this country.'

Honor ; or the Story of the brave Caspar and the fair Annaerl. By Clemens Brentano. With an Introduction, and a Biographical Notice of the Author. By T. W. Appell. Translated from the German. London : John Chapman.

THE author of this small volume, Clemens Brentano, belongs to the romantic school of Germany, of which little is known in this country. Their productions are not suited to the English mind, nor do we think that any effort will avail to make them popular. The present tale is introduced by Mr. Appell, as the writer's 'most finished production ; the ripest fruit of the enchanted tree he planted in the garden of German literature.' To such as are interested in marking the various phases of mental character, it will possess a powerful charm, but, for the most part, it will be felt to lack the qualities attractive to our countrymen. We should be sorry to change the productions of our English soil, for fruits of such foreign growth.

The National Cyclopædia of Useful Knowledge. Vol. III. London : Charles Knight.

IN noticing the previous volumes of this work, we have recorded our most favorable judgment on its great worth. In doing this, we have rendered it simple justice, and are concerned that its enterprising publisher should be adequately sustained in his labors. Few men have done so much for popular instruction as Mr. Knight, and *The National Cyclopædia* is amongst the most useful of his publications. It meets the wants of the day by supplying accurate and full information at the lowest possible cost. It brings home, in fact, to reading men of all classes, what has hitherto been confined to the studies of the learned or the dwellings of the rich. We cannot, therefore, but anticipate for it a very wide circulation, and most cordially recommend it to all our readers. As a book of reference, it is invaluable, and young men especially will do well to avail themselves of its well digested scholarship, and vast range of information.

Memoir of the Life of Elizabeth Fry, with Extracts from her Journal and Letters. Edited by two of her Daughters. In Two Volumes. London : Charles Gilpin.

THE second of these volumes reached us too recently for notice in the present number. Seldom, indeed, have works been placed upon our table which we felt less disposed to notice summarily and hastily. A Christian heroine in collision with crime ! A close capped quakeress of the nineteenth century at work in Newgate ! But, for the present, we must do little beyond noticing the exterior of these handsome volumes. Type, paper, and binding, are excellent ; and there are a couple of interesting portraits, one of Elizabeth Gurney, when only

ghteen, and another of her when a beautiful old lady, with a look of
 kindness like one's own mother in her eyes.

But the perusal of the volumes must do everybody good; and next
 month we would much rather compare our views of the character and
 fluence of Mrs. Fry with those of our readers who have, than with
 those who have not, read her Memoirs.

The Journey of Life. By Catherine Sinclair, Author of 'Modern Accom-
 plishments,' 'Jane Bouverie,' etc, etc. London: Longmans.

His little work, to use the words of its author, is intended, by 'one
 taught in the school of deep and painful experience,' to suggest, 'for the
 use of others, a few such reflections, sincerely felt, and simply stated,
 which appear most to promise permanent consolation during the long, and
 sometimes rugged, journey of life, as well as its mysterious and solemn
 termination.' It consists of twenty-six chapters, devoted to subjects in
 harmony with the writer's intention, written in an easy and graceful
 style, interspersed with poetical extracts, and often well told anecdotes,
 and altogether, although rather too desultory for our taste, forming a
 pleasing volume, especially for serious young people.

*The Autobiography and Justification of Johannes Ronge, (the German
 Reformer.)* Translated from the Fifth German Edition.. By John
 Lord, A.M.

This translation professes to be as literal as the rhetorical style of
 Ronge will admit. A few unimportant letters and paragraphs are
 omitted, but no alterations have been made. It will be valuable to
 many who wish to be acquainted with one of the most remarkable
 documents that have appeared in modern times.

*The Eternal; or, The Attributes of Jehovah, as 'The God of our Fathers,'
 contemplated in Christ and Creation.* By Robert Philip. London:
 Ward and Co. 1846.

To give the name of the author, is to give a description of the cha-
 racter of this work. Mr. Philip's excellencies and faults, as a writer,
 are so marked, so great, and so fixed, that it is quite superfluous to
 do more than state the design and contents of the volume. There are
 nineteen chapters on the perfections of the Divine nature, the general
 tendency of which is practical. This is as it should be. Mr. Philip
 has more power in urging a plain truth than in developing an obscure
 one. 'The Eternal' will well bear the companionship of the 'Guides.'
 We trust it will participate their success.

The Pryings of a Postman. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

THE idea of this book is taken from 'those successful methods' of obtaining a knowledge of people's correspondence, 'so lately authorised by 'the powers that be.' ' The Postman of Stockgate is supposed to know the contents of all the letters passing through that 'loyal and flourishing town,' and to furnish some specimens of different writers for the amusement and instruction of the public. Some of the disclosures of character are good, but, taken as a whole, the book might have been much better.

1. *Charles Elwood, or the Infidel Converted.* By O. A. Brownson.
2. *Sermons of Consolation* By F. W. P. Greenwood, D.D., Minister of King's Chapel, Boston. Third Edition.
3. *Ultramontaniam, or the Roman Church and Modern Society.* By E. Quinet, of the College of France. Translated from the French. Third Edition, with the Author's Approbation. By C. Cocks, B.L.
4. *The Destination of Man.* By Johann Gottlieb Fichte. Translated from the German, by Mrs. Percy Sinnett.

London: Chapman, Brothers.

THESE works form part of a series of reprints and translations, which will be best described in the language of the publishers:—

'The publishers of 'The Catholic Series,' intend it to consist of works of a liberal and comprehensive character, judiciously selected, and embracing various departments of literature. An attempt has been made by the Church of Rome to realize the idea of catholicism—at least, *in form*—and with but a partial success; an attempt will now be made to restore the word *catholic* to its primitive significance, in its application to this series, and to realize the idea of Catholicism in SPIRIT. It cannot be hoped that each volume of the Series will be essentially catholic, and not *partial*, in its nature, for nearly all men are partial;—the many-sided and *impartial*, or truly catholic man, has ever been the rare exception of his race. Catholicity may be expected in the *Series*, not in every volume composing it.'

This statement sufficiently intimates the kind of catholicity which marks the Series. It comprehends all opinions, except those commonly termed orthodox. The liberality is indifference; we say it not as an accusation, but as a fact. Generally speaking, the theology is unitarian, and the philosophy transcendental.

We should be sorry to express or imply approval of many sentiments contained in the works already issued. We not only reject them as untrue, but deem them eminently hurtful in tendency. Still, to those who can exercise an independent and enlightened judgment, the series supplies a large amount of valuable reading. The authors, whose writings are selected, are for the most part men of great abilities and high repute. We would only add, that the volumes are 'got up' in a style of exquisite neatness.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

The Life of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke; with selections from his Correspondence, Diaries, Speeches, and Judgments. By George Harris, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 3 vols.

A Mission to the Mysore with Scenes and Facts, illustrative of India, its People, and its Religion. By the Rev. Wm. Arthur, Wesleyan Minister.

The Convent, a Narrative, founded on Fact. By R. M'Crindell, authoress of the 'School Girl in France,' &c.

The Middle Way; or the Province of Patristic Divinity determined, to which is added, The Samaritan, a Sermon. By the Rev. R. W. Essington, M.A.

The Family Jo Miller, a Drawing Room Jest Book. Jo Miller, a Biography.

The Jewish Exile; or Religion Exemplified in the Life and Character of Daniel. By the Rev. John Kennedy, A.M., Stepney.

Bohn's Standard Library. Herodotus, a New and Literal Version from the Text of Bache, with a Geographical and General Index. By Henry Cary, M.A., Worcester College, Oxford.

Bohn's Standard Library. The Dramatic Works of the Right Hon. Rich. Brinsley Sheridan, with a Memoir of his Life. By G. G. S.

The Parlour Library, No. XI. The Emigrants of Ahadarra, a Tale of Irish Life. By Wm. Carleton, Esq.

Travels in the Great Desert of Sahara in the years 1845 and 1846, containing a Narrative of Personal Adventures, during a Tour of nine months through the Desert, amongst the Tonariaks and other Tribes of Saharan People; including a Description of the Oases and Cities of Chal Ghadames and Mourzuk. By Jas. Richardson. 2 vols.

The Modern Orator. Charles James Fox. Part X.

Rest in the Church. By the author of 'From Oxford to Rome.'

Laneton Parsonage; a Tale for Children on the Practical Use of a portion of the Church Catechism. Second Part. Edited by the Rev. W. Sewell, B.D.

The Sketches; Three Tales.

A Concise History of the Hampden Controversy, from the period of its commencement in 1832, to the Present Time, with all the Documents which have been published, and a Brief Examination of the Bampton Lectures for 1832, and of the Observations on Dissent. By the Rev. Henry Christmas, M.A.

Borneo and the Indian Archipelago, with Drawings of Costume and Scenery. By Frank S. Marryat.

Congregational Independency in Contradistinction to Episcopacy and Presbyterianism; the Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament. By Ralph Wardlaw, D.D.

A History of Auricular Confession, Religiously, Morally, and Politically considered among Ancient and Modern Nations. By Count C. P. de Las-
teyrie. Translated under the Author's Special Sanction, by Charles Cocks, B.L. 2 vols. 12mo.

The Pictorial Bible. Part XI.

The National Cyclopædia of Useful Knowledge. Part XII.

Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. Edited by W. Smith, L.L.D. Part XXIII.

The National Cyclopædia. Vol. III. Bavaria—Cæsar.

On the Nature and Elements of the External World; or Universal Imperialism fully Explained and New Demonstrated.

Sermons. By the late Rev. Thomas Tattershall, D.D., F.C.P.S. With a Memoir of the Author. By Thomas Byrth, D.D., F.A.S., Rector of Wallasey.

Nimrod, a Dramatic Poem, in Five Acts.

The Works of John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury. First and Second Editions. Edited for the Parker Society, by the Rev. John Ayre, M.A. Grenville and Caius College, Cambridge, Minister of St. John's Church, Hampstead.

The Zurich Letters; or, The Correspondence of several English Bishops and others, with some of the Helvetian Reformers, during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth; Translated and Authenticated Copies of the Autographs. Edited for the Parker Society, by the Rev. Hastings Robinson, D.D., F.S.A., Rector of Great Warley, Essex. Second Edition, Chronologically arranged in one series.

Original Letters, relative to the English Reformation, written during the Reign of King Henry VIII., King Edward VI., and Queen Mary, Translated from Authenticated Copies of the Autographs, and Edited for the Parker Society, by the Rev. Hastings Robinson, D.D. 2 vols.

The Life of William Allen, with Selections from his Correspondence. 3 vols.

A Walk round Mont Blanc, &c. By the Rev. Francis Trench, Author of 'Scotland, its Faith and Features,' &c., &c.

Horæ et Vindiciæ Sabbaticæ; or, Familiar Disquisitions on the Revelation of the Sabbath. By Richard Winter Hamilton, D.D., Leeds.

Antichrist. A Poem; with Notes, and Sketches of Oriental Scenes. By the Rev. H. Newton, A.B.

Sketches from the Cross. A Review of the Characters connected with the Crucifixion of our Lord: to which is added, A Notice of the Character of Balaam. By John Jordan Davies.

Sermons on the Histories of Scripture, suitable for Family and College Reading. By Arthur Roberts, M.A., Rector of Woodrising, Norfolk. Author of 'Village Sermons.'

Journal of Sacred Literature. No. I.—January, 1848. Edited by John Kitto, D.D.

Liturgical Services. Liturgies, and occasional Forms of Prayer, used forth in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Edited for the Parker Society, by the Rev. William Keating Clay, B.D., Perpetual Curate of the Holy Trinity, Ely.

An Account of the Cultivation and Manufacture of Tea in China, derived from Personal Observations, during an Official Residence in that Country, from 1804 to 1826, and Illustrated by the best Authorities, Chinese as well as European, with Remarks on the Experiments now making for the Introduction of the Culture of the Tea Tree in other parts of the World. By Samuel Ball, Esq., late Inspector of Teas to the Honourable United East India Company in China.

Immortality, its Real and Alleged Evidences, being an Endeavour to ascertain how far the Future Existence of the Human Soul is discovered by Reason. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. By J. T. Gray.

Nelson's Matthew Henry's Commentary. Part XII.

Ethics of Nonconformity, and Workings of Willinghood. Reprinted from the 'Nonconformist.'

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR MARCH, 1848.

ART. I.—*The Advertisements of Religious Publications in the Dissenting Periodicals for the Year 1847.*

THE state of literature among dissenters has long pressed heavily upon us. There are not many themes that awaken us to thoughtfulness so serious. For our literature exhibits both our mental and our moral strength. It indicates our comparative fitness to affect for good the destinies of our country and the world. It is significant of the character of our religion, of the extent of our sympathy with the mind of God, and of our approximation towards a perfect understanding of the nature of His providential government of human minds. Our literary state, then, is to us a phenomenon of no ordinary importance; and in the *most* 'religious' light, clear, therefore, and not 'dim,' are we accustomed to place it for examination. We would not represent it as the only index to the amount of favour which dissenters have found in the sight of their Lord; nor would we speak of it, for we do not think of it, as the most important, or as nearly such. But it is a conspicuous one, and one on which the eyes of many, of both foes and friends, are fixed. Besides, it is the one which, in the providence of God, we have been called, and have undertaken, to watch and to interpret; and though we do not wish to be accounted fools in glorying, neither would we fail to magnify our office.

We propose, then, to lay before our readers some of our late thoughts upon dissenters' literature. The present article, in-

deed, will do little more than to prepare the way for future animadversions. To show what our literature is, and what only it can reasonably be expected to become, this is our chief immediate object : we may add a few remarks on one or two of the more important hindrances to our attainment of a higher state. We have spoken of *dissenters'* literature ; meaning, however, to refer to those classes only of dissenters whose religious sentiments in general we are supposed to entertain. We have no explicit commission to inspect and to amend the literature of other sects. Ever ready to gather from it for our own information, and happy to direct the notice of our readers to distinguished selections from its productions, we think that our specific function, as religious and literary mentors, relates to the two great communities of evangelical congregationalists. As brethren, or as neighbours, it may not be unseemly for us to offer occasionally to other bodies, or to individuals of those bodies, the results of our attention to their literary character and works, especially when regarded in connexion with their religious profession and reputation. As public organs, also, in the open world of letters, we, of course, feel bound to survey its different departments without exception, and at liberty to remark on any according to the dictates of a judgment neither bribed nor flattered. But as in general it is the service of the orthodox congregationalists in which we labour, so it is their literature which both our religious convictions, and our understood engagements, induce us especially to watch, and to the best of our ability to raise. Those whom we represent will do well, indeed, to listen candidly to all suggestions from both enemies and allies : but from themselves must necessarily proceed the most earnest, discriminative, and sympathetic calls to rectify their course when wrong, and to hold it steadily when right. Our great object is, then, and none can blame us for the choice, to cast out the beam out of our own eye : then, if required, we shall have more power and conscious authority to aid our brethren.

'The literature of dissenters,' it was once said when the phrase had been just used ; 'where is it ?' The sarcasm was envenomed ; yet we should not like, if amidst enemies, to hear some among us abruptly summoned to reply to the insidious question. We should feel too little triumph, even if not otherwise unwilling, to render taunt for taunt. Our aspect would be that of unarmed dignity : our answer would express little but awakened shame, joined with the consciousness of gathering energies, and the aspirations of a modest hope. If again attacked, however, we should feel guilty of neither resentment nor indecorum were we to protest against all such hostility

ago believed, in common with their most infatuated
ies, that necessary ignorance is the judicial punishment
n such as theirs; and the dogma seriously asserted and
sly maintained by a graduated clergyman of our ac-
ce, in other hours, too, than vinous, that no dissenter
ibly learn Latin, would not have been in closer accord-
to one sense, with the law of the land than, as to the
ith the conviction of the unanimous people. Scarcely
ever, even of our deadliest opponents, will deny that
in spite of its many disadvantages, has produced and
not a few men eminent for general learning, and for
second unto none. Yet the appearance, at too distant
, of a light which arrested the eye and compelled the
on of the lettered republic, not excepting the haughty
of cloistered exclusiveness, has failed to vindicate the
m the charge of vulgar and defective taste and super-
nowledge. The amene and accomplished Doddridge
permitted to add his elegant biblicism and graceful
to the stores of theological learning; and his proximity
brary, or Watts's, or even that of the less sprightly but
nderous and learned Owen, to Barrow, Taylor, or even
licious Hooker,' might be often indulgently allowed.
f houses, too, might tacitly permit their undergraduates
to the pure classicism of Robert Hall, and occasionally
es mortify a prejudice for the sake of a gratification.
e estimate formed of evangelical dissenting learning
in general depreciatory; and an almost universal im-
of our illiteracy has been entertained and transmitted
generation of 'the church.' But we maintain that the

lighter, nor our efforts at improvement be less hopeful and efficient, when we shall first have ascertained what faults are indubitably ours, and by what means only we can seek amendment.

Inquirers into the comparative literature of religious bodies are liable and, we think, accustomed to commit an early error that vitiates all their subsequent investigations and conclusions. They revert, for instance, to a certain number of dissenting congregations, and proceed to place beside them an equal number of the state-church congregations, or so many as comprise an equivalent aggregate of individuals. The congregations being impartially selected, and their numerical value equalised, the inquiry proceeds; and the conclusion is soon reached, without opposition or demur, that the dissenters are inferior to their rivals, and so much so as to warrant a suspicion disreputable to dissent. The adjudication is injurious. The estimates are fallacious. The primary data do not represent the truth. The entire procedure is most vicious. The controversy lies between the literary character of state-churchism and the literary character of dissent. Dissent, however, is unfavourably represented by a congregation of dissenters; while state-churchism is too favourably represented by a congregation of state-churchmen. The hundreds who, professing dissent, are of no dissenting congregation, are among the most distinguished members of the social classes to which they respectively belong, for the cultivation of the elements of the literary character. The thousands who, professing state-churchism, are of no state-church congregation, are, with a few exceptions in different classes of society, notorious among their brethren for ignorance, hebetude, and mental sloth. Of the children of dissenters few, unless renewed by the Holy Ghost, adopt the profession of dissent; of the third generation, scarcely any. The evangelical holiness inculcated among us has no charms for them; the lawlessness towards God compatible with a recognised profession of Christianity in state-churchism, has many. These are they, however, who have felt the full vigour of the literary impulsion of dissent. They owe to us their learning and accomplishments. Remaining among us they would have prevented the sweeping charge brought against us of illiteracy. It is no fault of dissent that they repudiate dissent. Their repudiation shows little but their enmity to God and the deceitfulness of sin. As state-churchmen they shine gloriously; yet the polish they reflect upon their new profession was indirectly imparted to them by the action of dissent. We, they say, are too ignorant for them; though if not born among us they would, probably, have had no knowledge. We have developed and refined their taste for every good thing

out the godliness of Christian churches; but because with us the last is preferable to everything besides, they say that in taste for literature we altogether fail. We still think, however, that though in us subordinated to a strong religious sense, and faint, therefore, when compared with it, *that* cannot justly be described as absolutely weak to whose primary inspirings they are indebted for all they value in themselves. Meanwhile, in exchange for so many of our best educated sons we seldom receive from state-churchism any but its intellectually benighted. A little light directed towards them by dissenters' hands has excited them to slight activity. They have followed the bright ways and thus have found their way among us; pursued, however, by the taunting cry, that in their ignorance they are attracted towards their like. To exchanges such as these, then, are we liable; and such are daily made. We repine not at our lot; but we deny that either class of congregations represents, with even seeming fairness, the literary worth of the two parties.

But there are more important errors still in the miscalculation. For the literary tendency of *evangelical* dissent can with no justice be set against the literary tendency of *heterodox* state-churchism. Unitarian, Arminian, Swedenborgian, Antinomian, Calvinistic, nondescript influences on the one side must, surely, be compared with influences of the same specific nature on the other. Preaching, pastoral example, and congregational associations, all should be reasonably equal in the things compared; state-churchism and dissent should alone be the respective characteristics. We, then, about whose literary merits we are speaking, and who are commonly recognized as Calvinistic dissenters, must be opposed to none but Calvinistic state-churchmen; their pastors to our pastors; their sermons to our sermons; their people to our people; their reading to our reading; and their 'works' to our 'works.' The designed comparison is now found a contrast. We insist on accuracy in ascertaining the phenomena to be examined, not in the hope of making our opponents just, however long we 'bray' them, but in the earnest desire of checking the dissenters' suicidal spirit of gratuitous concession. Congregations, then, must be selected, or ministers, families, and individuals, over whom spiritual orthodoxy has so prevailed as to impart to them its own distinctive character and genius. If congregations be compared, those members only of them can in fairness be considered who would recognize each other as spiritual though mistaken men; those who among dissenters would be regarded as 'the church.' Even such a principle of representation as this is too favourable to the state-church system. The literary condition of the spiritual

poor, including domestic servants and operatives, would, perhaps, be the best criterion of the literary tendencies of the two creeds; and the finer the criterion, the more triumphant will dissent be found. But we will be content with orthodox dissenting 'churches,' on the one hand, and such ministers and people in the state-church congregations as, according to our previous limitations, constitute a correspondent class. And a broad contrast, we repeat it, now appears. For, allowing for occasional exceptions, the evangelical dissenters owe to evangelism as embodied in dissent what literary life they have; while the same evangelism as embodied in state-churchism renders it hard for the literary spirit to exist at all. Their own Arnold—theirs, though they knew it not, nor he—has well exposed the almost total lack of sympathy with literature observable among the evangelical clergy; while for intellectual habits, powers, and operations opposed to, or at least distinct from, those of literary men, the evangelical laymen of the church of England seem to us as deservedly notorious as it is well nigh possible for spiritual men to be. We could joyfully leave the decision concerning the comparative literary merits of the two competitors to either Arnold's party or the sturdy school of church and king men. We have used the word 'competitors,' but we doubt if the spiritual men of the state-church would compete with us, or with any people, for literary reputation. For while the spiritual dissenter, especially if he be a cordial hater of the state-church system, accepts from every mind what it can offer to invigorate his own; the converted members of the church of England seem generally to regard as heathenish all that is not scriptural, and to reflect on their past acquaintance with poets and philosophers as on the sins of unregenerated youth.

We have hitherto compared our literature with none but that of our true brethren in the church of England. Were an extension of the comparison desired by other men of spiritual piety, we should willingly enough pursue it. We know of one class only whom for a moment umpires honourably chosen would be prompted to prefer before ourselves; we mean the renewed men in the church of Scotland, including their brethren also in the free church. And we need but indicate, we think, the existence of peculiar causes in North Britain, securing there a more general cultivation of the literary spirit than is found in England, in order still to appropriate to the evangelical religion of dissent the laurel due to the most powerful quickener of the literary life. We, indeed, but for the truth's sake, should be careless to advert to such peculiar causes. For we confess that we have yet to learn the actual literary superiority of Scottish Christians to ourselves. We have heard much

if it, but we have not seen it. Class with class, in similar circumstances, just as we are, without deduction or qualification, we should willingly compare. We should anticipate their superiority as to literary *form* in frequent instances among the lower classes of society. This, too, we should concede to many brethren of the higher classes in the church of England. But as to the complement, the force, the *vis vitæ*, the health, and the luxuriance, of the constituent elements of the literary character, we are ready for the trial, judge who may. The evangelical piety of a country whose national literature stands about midway between that of the older North American states and that of England cannot possibly, without a miracle, be more literary than our own. But we must ascend to higher topics.

Whatever be the literary demerits of the evangelical dissenters, we have shown that they are not chargeable upon dissent: for the evangelical state-churchmen of England, notwithstanding their superior advantages, are undoubtedly more culpable than we. It is, therefore, by some parties suggested that the evangelism common to us both must be at fault; at least on the supposition that the anti-evangelicals are our literary superiors. This supposition we, of course, readily allow; provided it be not applied to the poorer classes of society. At the same time we offer a direct and full negation to what, however, is a plausible deduction; that for the literary inferiority of the evangelicals, whether dissenters or not, evangelism chiefly is responsible. For evangelical apprehensions of the truth as it is in Jesus, such as we believe are inseparably associated with genuine spiritual religion, are not diffused and propagated as men multiply political or heterodox convictions. Were it as much in our power to spread spiritual Christianity as it is in the power of our censors to spread the forms of Christianity they welcome, we should be as fully responsible for the literary condition of our disciples as are they for that of theirs. But the declaration stands at present, and it is amply exemplified every hour that we live, that 'it is not of him that willeth' to make spiritual men, 'nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy.' We would evade no responsibility for the employment of appropriate means. We believe that such efforts to devise and to exert them as are prompted by hope in God and obedience to his will, God by blessing will encourage us to multiply. We believe, too, that the rise and progress of every part of his spiritual creation, and that every occasion also on which he disappoints his people's expectations, all, if fully illuminated by his instructive comments, would display his perfect wisdom no less than the absoluteness of his rule. But we have no faith that he will convert all whom we wish him to convert; or all for whose conversion we have

striven according to our wisdom ; or none but those in regard to whom we have thus striven. In short, it is he alone who makes men into spiritual Christians. Thus far it has pleased him to conduct conversion so as continually to exemplify ‘ that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called.’ Did we see that taste and literature met with less social respect than scriptural character ; that spiritual men themselves betrayed no undervaluation of the Divine in comparison with the human ; and that the literary was never regarded either as an equivalent to the spiritual, or as its almost certain preparative ; we should then hope that the Most High was about to make the dispensation of his mercy less restricted, and that the great end of past restrictions gained, the ‘ due time ’ was at hand for the redemption of all classes to be more strikingly accomplished. But the lesson of six thousand years is not yet mastered, that there is a nobility which cannot be inherited, a priesthood without father, without mother, without descent, without transmission. The coronet itself may pass from brow to brow, while neither the brain nor the heart of the noble wearer can be secured to his successors. Still less is the highest nobility of which our nature is susceptible, the nobility of goodness, the nobility of godliness, the nobility of union to the Son of God, the certain inheritance of either our posterity or those to whom by our affections and our care we nurture as our own Evangelical Christians, therefore, must be made of just such ‘ fools ’ and ‘ simple ones ’ as the inscrutable but all-wise God pleased to ‘ call.’ And if he still shall call the comparative uneducated, the poor, the busy, the confined, neither is the responsibility devolved on us by him, nor is the reproach of vulgarity and illiteracy due to us from man. From classes such as these has he thus far, for the most part, formed the people for his praise. From them, in general, have the evangelical dissenters been called forth. Yet, notwithstanding every early and every later possible obstruction, disadvantage, and discouragement, these men, through the ceaseless energy of the evangelical dissent, the seed of God which is within them, have aroused the literary jealousy of the wise men of the world ; have supplied the ranks of their envious adversaries with numbers of the most illustrious ornaments ; have compelled their defamers, the learned, to become more learned, lest, outstripped by the unfamed, their learning should seem ignorance ; have done, though few in number, more than all classes in the land besides excite throughout that land a cry, and then to satisfy it, for knowledge ; have secured literary communication with one half the human race who but for them would still have been isolated from us and from each other ; to nations without writ-

symbols have conveyed the art of writing; and, with a slight hyperbole we add, finding sons of men whose vocal utterance was inarticulate have, in the fulfilment of their glorious mission, instructed them to speak. They are filling the world with the glory of the living God and, as a necessary consequence, are making the boundaries of the literary commonwealth commensurate with the limits of mankind; but neither Oxford nor Cambridge has beheld them; their most scholar-like have falsified a quantity; their 'million' have no taste for Italian operas and 'classic polkas;' if they have read Bulwer and Sué, they do not imitate them; 'Away with them, therefore! They are nothing but canaille! They know not the law, and they are cursed!'

Our opinion is by this time evident, that the literary capabilities of evangelical dissent exceed those of any other modification of religion and, of course, the capabilities of irreligion. The facts to which we have adverted justify the assertion; the nature of evangelical dissent would have warranted the prediction of the facts. To describe this form of spiritual religion, the mental operations previous to its becoming the distinctive characteristic of the inner man, its subsequent stimulating and disenthraling action on the intellect, its corrective influences, its guidance, its control, and its support; to do this would be no other, in our judgment, than to describe the physiology of pure and perfect human intellect, intellect prepared for any thing 'that may become a man,' and sure to be alive to all things subjected to its cognizance by God. There is a state of intellect to which in its purity everything is pure; to which in its conscious immortality, difficulties are but pleasant work prolonged; which, having painfully acquired symmetry and health, knows well their value, and guards effectually yet easily against distortion and disease; which fearless follows God wherever he has left the impress of his hand, whether when bestowing benedictions or inflicting curses; which from every course of action comes readier and fitter for another, be it what it may; to which the past in its instructiveness is as precious as the present; and whose prospective visions by their majesty and beauty demonstrate it poetic, while their gradual but continuous conversion into fact reveals that the afflatus is the true Divine, and reminds us of the poet-seers, the heaven-taught literati of the past. This intellectual state, now, is what we understand by the literary. To produce and to maintain it we know nothing so adapted as evangelical dissent. The approximations towards it made already by dissenters of a spiritual mind are, next to such men's moral sanctity, of which, indeed, these approximations are results, or, more properly, a phase, among the

most glorious and delightful of all the works of God, and the most strikingly evidential of his fixed designs.

Were we preparing a volume, we should here, of course, describe evangelical dissent both objective and subjective, and should direct attention to all points of contrast between it and the schemes of its impugnors. But to the readers of this 'Review' such a discourse would be superfluous. Those of them who wish to understand dissenters, already understand them; those who have no such wish, we care not to instruct. Here, then, we close our account and vindication of ourselves; our remaining observations will have another tendency and spirit.

Yet in proceeding to animadvert on our actual literary state, we think it reasonable and necessary to prescribe somewhat definite limits to our notions of that state. For if to make a man into a spiritual dissenter be not a human work but God's, we must not only look for the literature where it pleases him to create the religion, but we must expect such literary aspects only as we should expect in parallel circumstances among the people of other religions. Oxford dignitaries have been *Eton* boys. Senior wranglers have not usually spent their youth behind the counter. We ask but like for like, as near as may be; University School and College, London, against King's; Coward against St. Bees; Mill Hill, or Hull, against Huddersfield; the 'Patriot' against the 'Record'; Sunday-school against Sunday-school throughout Lancashire and Yorkshire. We are not now provoking comparisons. Our comparison is ended. But we are reminding ourselves and our assessors that we must not, from a consciousness of the irresistible and inexhaustible energy awakened in us through spiritual dissent, expect such consequences of this energy as are not in accordance with the means providentially submitted to its action. We must not find fault with our Sunday-schools if teachers in them are not classics, nor the scholars able to compare Addison with Steele. Our heads of colleges, if not altogether equal to the 'heads of houses,' stand in need of no apology for claiming professorial rank. The personal history of the known dissenting contributors to the 'British Quarterly Review' and the 'Eclectic,' not to speak of the 'Westminster,' the 'North British,' and the 'Edinburgh,' should alone, familiar as it must be to those 'ill birds' among us who take pleasure in 'fouling their own nest,' occasion a rather different estimate of our literary tendencies than that avowed by croaking brethren. We did not emblazon on our flag, 'Dissent, winner against all England,' when our essayists gained prizes for which *all* England, though invited, never entered. Nor will we whine with those who whine because we

have no fruits as full grown and as rich as some we know of, when grace has not grafted our religion on the stock, nor providence supplied it with the climate, without which fruits like these can never come. At present, then, we have no right to look for exhibitions of a literary taste such as some ranks of religionists can show. To demand that we occupy positions in the learned commonwealth correspondent to those which we believe ourselves to occupy in the kingdom of the Saviour; to insinuate that our theology can be only as our general literature, that our spiritual influence is rightly measured by our literary, and that our evangelical operations are as feeble as our contributions to the press are ephemeral and few; to represent that the power and the quality of the literary life within us may be justly estimated from the impression which that life's palpable productions make upon the men whose learning, accomplishments and worldliness are all they have; to act in this wise,—and no few of our busiest declaimers act thus and in this spirit only,—to act in this wise shows among ourselves a soul well nigh as childish, carnal, and unjust, not to say as ungrateful and rebellious, as the soul of those who hate us is supercilious, tyrannical and mean. And to our friends we say the like of what we formerly said of them to our foes; that the proofs which they have given of an enlightened, genuine and fervent love of literature—proofs such as those of which we made a summary enumeration—demonstrate that, excelling in other forms of the divine life, they are not deficient in readiness, at all events, to 'intermeddle with all wisdom.' Be it remembered that *we* would not own a novelist like Scott himself; or a poet such as Byron, or Mr. Little; or a dramatist like Shakespeare even. We should deplore the fact were Whateley's works and Hampden's, Whewell's even and great Arnold's, the productions of the most venerated teachers of the evangelical dissenters. We covet neither Bishop Wilberforce nor Bishop Blomfield. Nor are we distressed because as yet we cannot point to excellences of all classes equal to the noblest that we see in others, but brightened with a glory which they have not, and not vitiated by errors which they have. Yet, to display such excellences is, we think, our destined function; and when we are ready, and the world is, this mission, too, we shall accomplish. Just now we have another work to do, and one, too, no less honourable. If while actively engaged in present duty we showed no elementary preparation for what we deem our future, but despised the honours waiting for us, and neglected what opportunities we have to fit ourselves to wear them; we should then, indeed, deserve, and should require, the most contemptuous mockery from our assailants, and should

have cause of gratitude and not complaint did some among ourselves implore us not to shame them quite. Our case, however, is not such; and except a few disappointed—must we admit unworthy?—men among ourselves, no one, we think, describes our case as such. That we should have literary faults was certain. Our literature springing from the best of soils, our personal religion, was sure to be affected by its wants and changes. That we are not as religionists all that we should be is a mere truism. But that we have walked so utterly unworthy of our vocation as at present to be fit only for abandonment and for anathemas does not appear. God hath not cast us off; he still visits us, and, we think, to encourage and to cheer; if we mistake not, to approve as well. He shows us many faults, we own; more, too, than he uncovers to the gaze of those who rage against us. But whom he loves he teaches thus; and such become zealous and repent. And it is thus, we think necessarily, we hope most earnestly, with our literature as well as our religion. Our enemies malign them both; some friends, too, can misrepresent them. We may not think over highly of them, though we refrain from coarse abuse and sweeping declamation, and though we reverently and thankfully acknowledge that God in his mercy hath done great things for us. Two or three of the chief faults that we discover in our literary character we now purpose to expose.

And we view with serious alarm a tendency to isolate our literature from the literature of our country. We hear much talk about denominational literature. We would as soon hear of denominational science, denominational botany, anatomy, or politics. If other men will have nothing to do with our Calvinism and Independency, so be it. They may gain something better if they can. They thus form religious denominations; and the more, the greater pity. But it ill becomes us to make a denominational literature while complaining of denominational religions. If because of the world's dislike of our religion we forbade their sharing in our literature, the resentment if ungenerous would still have an air of dignity. But to exclude ourselves from the world's literature on account of the world's exclusion of our religion, shews at once both the petulance of babyism and its feebleness for aught but self-destruction. We hate an *imperium in imperio*; we pity a Cracow or a San Marino. To be sent to 'Coventry' is an index that our temper is unsocial: for a man to send himself there proves as well that he will have a fool for his companion.

If by 'denominational literature' were meant nothing more than descriptions and defences of our religious creed and practices, histories of their rise and progress, statistical accounts,

and periodical or other publications respecting the faults, the operations, and the desiderata, of our churches; we should not be disposed to quarrel with the phrase, or be alarmed by the facts that it denoted. The last, however, of these four classes of productions could alone be strictly called 'denominational;' as probably of use to none but the 'denomination' it addressed. The other 'works' would furnish information of the first importance to all inquirers concerning men and manners; nor does any reason, general or special, confine the preparation of them to the body of whose peculiarities they treat. All such publications, therefore, and, of course, the comprehensive class the authorship of which is the only thing denominational about them, ought to be regarded as contributions to the national literature, subjected to the general laws of criticism, and used according to their fairly estimated qualities. We see, however, indications of a tendency among us to a very different course from this. We are told, for instance, that we do not accredit our own authors, or support them, or take pains to multiply them; that hence our 'denominational literature' is impoverished; and that hence the literary life among us fails. What preposterous balderdash is this! If the whimperers itch so, let them write. The market is an open one. If they square the circle every man will buy their 'Cocker.' De Foe is read, and Milton, though each was a dissenter. A dissenting grocer thrives, however spiritual, if he know his trade, sell good figs, and abstain from cheating. He thrives, that is, as well as others; provided that the market is as open as the literary. But a denominational grocer, we apprehend, would quickly starve; at least if, like his brethren the denominational literati, he should sell bad plums, charge them above market price, and all the while affect to be the conferrer of a benefit. The author, the bookseller, and the grocer, all must work for the vast commonwealth; or if they find it convenient to prepare goods for one particular department of the citizens, they must refrain, unless in special cases such as those already granted, from aiming to supply each *the religious body* to which he happens to belong. Exclusiveness, it is true, would do but little harm to any but a man's own friends. If any person sell good wares, the public *will* obtain them; and we never heard of a dissenting author at all reluctant to gratify the public by the sale of his. If he compose a nonsuch history of no-man's land, a treatise on Backsliding, 'Og,' 'Belshazzar,' 'Judas,' 'Bethlehem,' 'Sacred Mounts,' and 'Sacred Founts,' and 'Guides,' and 'Manuals,' and 'Spiritualized Cookery Books,' and 'Diaries,' and 'Glimpses;' well, if the public want such literature, and he can sell it to them good enough, it would be a thousand

pities that they should not trade. But if the public do not want it, neither, he may depend upon it, does his 'denomination.' He, perhaps, wants the 'denomination;' that is another matter. If the 'denomination' want his wares, let them do as their neighbours do; let them go to the open literary store and buy. If they will not buy of him, let the simpleton be satisfied and print no more. But let him not call his refuse 'works,' and other such, a denominational literature. Let him not complain of his denomination as ungrateful and illiterate because they will not buy the rubbish. Let him not exemplify a theory of authorship which fully carried out would soon make our libraries no better than literary stercus, and reduce the 'denomination' to the function of buyers of such rogues' most worthless compost. We take no notice of the holy tone and the disinterested air with which such conduct is continually forced upon us. But only let it in its best form be maintained and tolerated for a score or two of years, and the less truth that should thenceforth be told about the evangelical dissenters the better would it be for their reputation and their cause. 'Denominational news' is one thing, and is necessary: let us have no 'literature' but what all men have as well as we, such as bears every test and notwithstanding competition and censure is called for still.

But we wish to discriminate with caution. We have no objection to the constant succession of religious productions of a secondary order. There is, doubtless, a demand for such; and it is on many accounts better that living writers should prepare them, than that the cottage literature of a former generation should be exclusively that of our own. Theology, as truly as grammar and geography, should have the benefit of man's acquisitions and experience; and the benefit should hardly be monopolised by the men of opulence and leisure. Style, too, and tastes are ever changing. Book-making has fashions. And the reputation of the living preacher may gain a currency for his published sermons or his other writings, such as could not be secured for the merely equal writings of the dead. Give us, then, by all means, 'milk for babes,' and plenty of it too; but let us have no more than what the public calls for, than what can be disposed of in the open market of the commonwealth. Let it be ticketed as what it is, a certain kind of thing for certain kinds of minds; and let the minds, or their friends for them, get the thing. Only if they will not, let not other kinds of minds be charged with neglect of *their own* literature. Let not every species of appeal, from the mean and false to the rude and shameless, be adopted in order to secure a sale for what would be otherwise unsaleable. Let

not ministers become unlicensed hawkers of their own ware, or paid agents for the sale of either brethren's property or book-sellers.' Let not reviewers, from the fear of resentful piety, whatever be its influence, or on the pretext of brotherly affection for the devoted author, call on every man who has a shilling to exchange it for the shilling's-worth (?) before him. Let the dissenting butcher who imposes carrion on his eating friends for beef be as much entitled to his denomination's custom as the dissenting author who imposes mawkishness upon his reading friends for sense. As well get copies cut and sewed of a sainted pastor's cast-off garments, and disposed of for his widow's benefit, as copies printed of what he either would or ought to have been ashamed of acknowledging before the world as the workings of his soul. 'Good wine needs no ivy bush.' Introductory prefaces, commendatory signatures, friendly critiques, pathetic appeals, ministers' douceurs and *per centages*, be they all, and such like, resolutely, sternly, and without one exception, eschewed, denounced, put down, by the strong hand of every man of strength, till nothing like denominational literature remains. Few men can buy the 'wine' thus signalised and buy 'good wine' too. Those who can are usually too sensible to drink as well as buy. Those who cannot, buy the bad, drink and are poisoned; deluded by the outcry of our doctors and inspectors about their duty to their denomination and its literature. To bring texts against us is in vain. The ignoramuses would only raise our indignation higher. If we must be cheated, let us not be cheated thus. Use not a text for a pretext. Or if you will torment us till we buy, calling us your brethren, and insisting on it that we show our love to you by buying; sell us, we pray you, anything you have, quack medicines, quack perfumery, dirt, or anything unmentionable even, but force us not to buy denominational, that is, your own literature. 'It hurts our understanding;' it depraves our sensibilities; it emasculates our soul. Besides, we, too, can quote texts, and can annotate them also. For 'if any man will not work'—and we understand, work well, not ill—'neither shall he eat.'

We shall now advert to another fault, which, if it be somewhat less conspicuous than it was twenty years ago, is still too mischievous to be altogether overlooked. We refer to the timid spirit with which so many of our ministers regard the influence of general literature. Some of them, no doubt, fear derision of their own total want of education and polite reading; and others—comprising, too, we apprehend, no few whose goodly octavos are the coveted admiration of their brethren—shrink from a comparison of 'works' like theirs, however vaunted, with those of a Hampden, a Davison, a Wiseman, to say nothing of Germans and

the Anglo-German school. The former are the worthies whose boast is that at all events they know the *gospel*, and can preach it; the latter may be recognized by their adoption of the popular principles of mutual assurance, and their exemplification of the ancient adage, 'Ka me, Ka thee.' Of the two we honour most the former. They hate learning, it is true, and do the little that they can to check it. But they are not chargeable with dissimulation; and their folly is manifest to most men. Their more important brethren, with outcry loud enough about their patronage of general literature, give but too much proof of ardour for the sale among the laity of no other books than such as compete not with their own. Each calls his neighbour, 'that distinguished man,' and each receives his neighbour's praise in turn. False estimates of their pastors' actual attainments and scholarship, and false notions of what literature is, are thus formed among the common people. The descriptions, too, current in their talk, of the stores, the researches, the accomplishments of every kind of many of the more popular among their preachers, can seem to the initiated no better than unintentional burlesque. The absurdity of such descriptions and the evident good faith of those who make them restrain us from branding them as false. Amused, therefore, we must laugh; but when our laughter is exhausted we are not the more propitiated towards the parvenus who by pretended merits, which they could not have acquired, misled the simple-hearted folk who trusted them, and aspiring to the dignity of literati lost both that and the worthier dignity of faithful pastors of their flocks.

But when speaking of the timid spirit characteristic of so many of our ministers in regard to the influence of general literature, we alluded rather to the pious but, as we think, unworthy apprehensions of many highly estimable men respecting the undevotional influence of such literature on the religious sensibilities. Yet as we think the evangelical dissenters less affected by this fearfulness than any other class of evangelical Christians, and much less, too, than their immediate predecessors, we are not inclined to spend much effort in endeavouring to dispel it. Sufficient means are evidently in action to remove the evil. That which has already made us superior to others will in time make us superior to ourselves. We are no more wishful than our friends are to see 'Paul' dishonoured for the sake of 'Punch,' or 'The Comic History of England' substituted for a steadier guide. Give us fact, too, without fiction, rather than fiction without fact. God's own assertions in the bible, if the bible must be winnowed, we shall prefer to any of the devil's there recorded. For what is the chaff to the wheat? and what is falsehood to the truth? But we are not

naed to give testimony in the cause of Revelation *versus* literature. We know of no such cause. Revelation is the of literature. 'The recorded utterances of Spirit' is our ion of literature. We eschew an Index Expurgatorius, precate all secret purposes of total abstinence from any kind nature, however fiery, and to whatever mountains of its slain y be pointed. From pledged teetotalism, in all its forms, ively turn. We use not alcohol as food for sucklings or for 'Punch' is no favourite beverage of ours, though there ily is worse. We have often grieved to discover 'Chapman's ations' where we have discovered them. We have often e 'Christian Witness' out of sight. Our own 'Eclectic' has ed no better fate. Yet we would not assume the respon- r, if we possessed the power, of *destroying* all that Parker, s, or Fichté ever wrote. We could burn men's living just as soon, and hinder thus the heretics from writing

Unbidden, to extinguish in eternal darkness lights, of ver colour or portentous form, radiated from undying spirits, offered by the all-wise, forbearing, and all-controlling o approximate us, is a task we dare not touch. He who made all things, even the wicked, for himself will do it some day; haply, never. We find no commission from o attempt it now. Evil books, then, evil deeds, and all evil are for use. 'And here is the mind that hath wis-

The who, the where, the when, the how, the how much, e how long; all these are trying questions. We do what a to answer them. Let him who can aid us make the essay. d him 'God speed.' We wish him good success in the name : Lord. Only when undertaking to show us how to use rld, let him not pronounce it too bad to be used at all.

ected with this topic is the all-important one of minis- education. Inquiries into the nature of the general edu- of which the youth of our religious families are subjects l then follow. Specific means might be suggested, too, spelling what insensibility exists among our ranks in n to the claims of literature, and for preserving able s who arise among us from their own friends' unjust ion and attacks. But from these and kindred themes the of space compels us for the present to refrain. We ide: the religion and the literature of England are its t glory; may both be yet more honoured in the persons ngelical dissenters.

ART. II.—*Travels in the Great Desert of Sahara, in the years of 1845 and 1846 ; containing a Narrative of Personal Adventures, during a Tour of Nine Months through the Desert, amongst the Touaricks; and other tribes of Saharan people ; including a Description of the Oases and Cities of Ghat, Ghadames, and Mourzuk.* By James Richardson. In two volumes. 8vo. London: Richard Bentley.

WE have been greatly interested in the perusal of these volumes. They are altogether different from the productions of ordinary tourists, and bear the marks of intimate acquaintance with the facts recorded, and of sincerity and earnestness of purpose. Our countrymen have been satiated, of late, with publications which purport to be the reports of well-informed travellers, but are, in truth, the mere promptings of vanity, or the mode adopted by prudence or selfishness to reimburse the journeying expences incurred. The world would be just as wise, if many of these volumes had never been written, and their authors would be quite as likely, in such case, to be known to the men of the coming generation. It is not so with Mr. Richardson. He felt a noble inspiration, and saw things worthy of record. Throughout his two volumes, in its few exceptionable paragraphs as well as in its general strain, there is abundant evidence of his truth in stating, that ‘to be useful, or to attempt to be useful, in my day and generation, was the predominant motive which led me into the Desert, and sustained me there, alone and unprotected, during a long and perilous journey.’ His principal view was to trace the course of the Saharan slave-trade, and to ascertain its extent. On these points he has reported to the Government, and has, therefore, wisely avoided going over the same ground in the volumes before us, any further than the topics in question come up incidentally in the course of his personal narrative. The work is composed of extracts from a journal kept at the time, and furnishes a much more ‘truthful and faithful picture of the Saharan tribes, their ideas, thoughts, words, and actions,’ than we previously possessed. In many cases, the natives are allowed to speak and act for themselves. We see them in their every-day life, and receive an impression of their social habits, occupations, and modes of thought, vastly more clear and definite than is conveyed by ordinary travellers.

The author wrote at the time, and amidst the circumstances which he describes. What occurred is noted at the instant, without the aid of memory, and, much less, that of imagination.

There is, consequently, a distinctness in his coloring, a life-like accuracy in his sketches, for which we vainly look in the pages of most of his brethren. He records what he saw, or heard, or felt, in the language which occurred at the moment; and if we sometimes dissent from his conclusions, or doubt the soundness of his views, we never question the truth of his narrative, or suspect the honor of his word. There is, evidently, no concealment, no suppression of the truth. We never feel that we have to do with a reluctant witness. The whole case is told without hesitation, and there is, therefore, no scope, as there is no need, for the skill of a cross-examiner. If it be possible, Mr. Richardson goes to another extreme. Above all meanness, and fearless of giving offence, he discloses the whole truth, careless whom he may offend, or what may be the injury done to his personal interests. He is, in this respect, a perfect Ishmaelite, dealing his blows with equal John-Bullism against free-traders, Free Kirk men, political radicals, and, in a less degree, the Anti-Slavery Society. All share his castigation, and there is sometimes a want of good temper and sound judgment in his censure, which we regret. We could readily dispense with the greater part of his *Introduction*. We wish it had not been written, and refer to it thus specifically, to guard our readers against estimating the author by it. We fear it may induce some to throw the work aside. Should any do so, they will wrong Mr. Richardson, and deprive themselves of no little instruction and pleasure. His work is vastly better—no common thing—than the *Introduction* promises; and even the defects here exhibited are failings which lean to virtue's side. In his warm-hearted and earnest advocacy of human liberty, we find a ready excuse for the blows dealt out to those whose procedure he deems exceptionable and injurious. On the whole, our confidence in his narrative is strengthened, by the utter absence thus indicated of all personal considerations. He seeks no man's favor, be he high or low, religious or secular, the advocate of colonial claims, or the long-tried friend of the negro.

Mr. Richardson commences his narrative with his departure, on the 7th of May, 1845, from the island of Jerbah to Tripoli. The latter place, viewed from the sea, looks very bold, massive, and imposing,—its lime-washed towers and graceful minarets contrasting strongly with the dark blue waters of the Mediterranean. 'Such,' says our traveller, 'is the delusion of all these sea-coast Barbary towns; at a distance and without, beauty and brilliancy, but near and within, filth and wretchedness.' The British consul at Tripoli, Colonel Warrington, received Mr. Richardson very cordially; and when apprized of his intention, observed, with a frankness for which his employers will

scarcely thank him, 'I don't believe our government cares one straw about the suppression of the slave-trade, but, Richardson, I believe in you, so let's be off to my garden.' Tripoli is under the dominion of the Turks, and its aspect is said to be the most miserable of all the towns seen in North Africa. The governor, whose tenure of office is very insecure, and rarely extends beyond four or five years, has 'little or no interest in the permanent prosperity of the country,' which is daily becoming worse and worse. Mr. Richardson found no sympathy at Tripoli with his anti-slavery views, and the Turkish authorities were strongly averse to his going into the interior. It was given out, that he was to be appointed British consul at Ghadames, and the pasha feared that such an appointment would interfere with his extorting money from the people. He, therefore, opposed our countryman's journey, 'and endeavoured to delay it until he could get a *counter* order from Constantinople.' But Mr. Richardson was not to be deterred, and Colonel Warrington having formally applied for a passport, the necessary order was at length most reluctantly given. Accompanied by his servant Said, a negro who had escaped from slavery in Jerbah, our traveller left Tripoli on the 2nd of August. His departure at last was most hurried, as the caravan he accompanied left earlier than had been expected. 'I found myself,' he says, 'on the way to Ghadames, before I was conscious of having left Tripoli. . . . When I could breathe freely, as I rode on my unknown way, with a boundless prospect before me, I felt my heart rebound with joy, and commended myself humbly to the care of a good God, not knowing what was to happen to me. I had consumed three months of most suffering patience in Tripoli before I could start on this journey, and was otherwise schooled for what was about to take place.'

The following sketch of our author's equipment will prepare our readers for some of the privations and difficulties he encountered. This desert travelling is a vastly different thing from our railroads and steamboats, and we would have those who are discontented with the latter, try their hand at the former.

'I had two camels on hire, for which I paid twelve dollars. I was to ride one continually. We had panniers on it, in which I stowed away about two months' provisions. A little fresh provision we were to purchase *en route*. Upon these panniers a mattress was placed, forming with them a comfortable platform. As a luxury, I had a Moorish pillow for leaning on, given me by Mr. Frederick Warrington. The camel was neither led nor reined, but followed the group. I myself was dressed in light European clothes, and furnished with an umbrella for keeping off the sun. This latter was all my arms of offence and defence. The

other camel carried a trunk and some small boxes, cooking utensils, and matting, and a very light tent for keeping off sun and heat. We had two gurbahs, or 'skin-bags for water,' and another we were to buy in the mountains, so each having a skin of water to himself. Said was to ride this camel, and now and then give a ride to Mohammed the camel-driver, to whom the camels belonged. We were roused before daylight. I made coffee with my spirit apparatus (*spiriterio*). In half an hour after the dawn, we were all on the move, and soon started. The ghafalah presented an interminable line of camels, as it wound its slow way through narrow sandy lanes, hedged on each side with the cactus or prickly pear. We progressed very irregularly, and the camels kept throwing off their burdens. The Moors and Arabs, who manage almost everything badly, even hardly know how to manage their camels, after ages of experience. It is, however, very difficult to drive the camels past a prickly-pear hedge, they being voraciously fond of the huge succulent leaves of this plant, and crop them with the most savage greediness, regardless of the continual blows, accompanied with loud shouts, which they receive from the vociferous drivers to get them forward. I wore my cloak for two hours after dawn, and felt chilly, and yet at noonday the thermometer was at least 130° Fah. in the sun.'—Vol. i. p. 28.

A less resolute man would have been deterred from such a journey by the state of his health. Mr. Richardson was suffering severely from an attack of ophthalmia, and 'my left arm,' he informs us 'is still very weak, from the accident of falling into a dry well a little before I started. I can't mount the camel without assistance.' The desert at first presented nothing but long coarse grass and undulating ground, and considerable difficulty was experienced in keeping the caravan together. The fatalism which is so widely prevalent amongst the natives showed itself thus early:—

'*En route*,' says Mr. Richardson, 'the chief of the escort had great trouble to keep the caravan together; he made the advanced parties wait till the others came up, so as all to be ready in case of attack. One would think the merchants, for their own sakes, would keep together; but no, it's all *maktoub* with them; 'if they are to be robbed and murdered, they must be robbed and murdered, and the bashaw and all his troops can't prevent it.' This they reiterated to me whilst the commandant bullied them; and yet these same men had each of them a matchlock and pistols besides. The Sheikh Makouran had no less than four guns on his camel. I asked him what they were for. He coolly replied, 'I don't know: God knows.' The camels browse or crop herbage all the way along, daintily picking and choosing the herbage and shrubs which they like best. My chief occupation in riding is watching them browse, and observing the epicurean fancies of these reflective, sober-thinking brutes of The Desert. I observe, also, as a happy trait in the Arab, that nothing delights him more than watching his own faithful camel graze. The ordinary drivers sometimes allow

them to graze, and wait till they have cropped their favourite herbage and shrubs, and at other times push them forward according to their caprice.'—*Ib.*, p. 34.

The Atlas chain of mountains was soon in sight, and the desert began to show more signs of cultivation. 'Indeed,' says our author, 'a great portion of this so-called desert is only land uncultivated, but capable of the highest degree of cultivation;—all which might be effected by supplying any scarcity of rain by irrigation.' The heat of the sun was most oppressive, and the want of water was severely felt. As they ascended the mountain, however, the atmosphere became cooler, and on the summit they fell in with a military fortification of the Turks. Mr. Richardson was stared at most unmercifully, being as he says probably, 'the first European Christian who had visited the spot.' The garrison of Yefran contains some two or three hundred Turkish soldiers besides Arab troops. The Arabs of the district are entirely subdued under the iron rule of their conquerors, whose course is marked by depopulation and poverty. Our traveller here left his companions for a few days, and attended only by Said and his camel-driver, departed to the native village of the latter. 'I must say,' he remarks, 'I felt rather queer knocking about in the mountains, almost alone.' Besides the human inhabitants, he met with very little in the shape of animal life throughout these mountain regions. A few sheep, a camel or two, and some asses, were all the living things he saw. The most abject poverty everywhere prevailed, and the grinding oppression of the Turks demands even the last particle of subsistence.

'Notwithstanding,' says Mr. Richardson, 'this abject poverty, a bullying taxgatherer, with half a dozen louting soldiers, have been up here prowling about, and wresting with violence the means of supporting life from these miserable beings. The scenes which I witness are heart-rending, beyond all I have heard of Irish misery and rent-distraining bullies. One man had his camel seized, the only support of his family; another his bullock; another a few bushels of barley: the houses were entered, searched, and ransacked; people were dragged by the throat through the villages, and beaten with sticks; and all because the poor wretches had no money to meet the demands of these voracious bailiffs. Poverty is, indeed, here a crime. One poor old woman had a few bad unripe figs seized, and came to me and a group of wretched villagers, crying out bitterly. One or two men, who were imagined to have something, though they had nothing, were held by the throat until they were nearly suffocated. I cursed over and over again in my heart the Turks. I was not prepared for such scenes of cruelty in these remote mountains. We shall find, that amongst the so-called barbarians of The Desert there was nothing equal in atrocity to

this. What wonder that the Arab prefers, if he can, to pasture his flocks on savage and remote wastes to being subjected to these regular governments—of extortion! And yet we, in our ignorance of what is here going on, are surprised at their preference. If the people are not ready with their money, the little barley, their winter's store, is seized, and they must pay afterwards their usual quotas of money. Several bags of barley are illegally gotten in this way. The amount of tax or tribute for the whole district of Rujban is five or six hundred mahboubes, which is paid in three instalments, three times a year; but which, though nothing in amount, is more than all the people are worth together, for riches and poverty are relative possessions, if the latter can be possessed. If they can't pay in money, they pay in kind.—Ib., p. 48.

Our traveller was lodged in the house of his camel-driver, and was an object of intense curiosity to the women and children, who had never seen an European before. They were, however, very civil to him, and the former he describes as 'fine-looking, with aquiline noses, and rolling about their large, black, gazelle-like eyes.' The social morals of the people are represented as generally good, though it is evident from some of the facts recorded, that the nicer feelings of feminine modesty are unknown. This is no marvel. Indeed, we wonder the case is not much worse. Theft, arising from the danger of starvation, is very prevalent. This we are informed with obvious truth, 'is the alternative of Arab life in many parts of these mountains.' On leaving the village most of the natives tendered their services to accompany our author, being actuated by the universal desire of obtaining something on which to subsist. Having rejoined the ghafalah, or caravan, he proceeded on the route to Ghadames, and experienced his full share of the luxuries of Desert travelling.

'As to myself,' he says, 'in this part of the route, I have suffered most from want of sleep. In the day time it was too hot to sleep, and in the night I was on the back of the camel, where, of course, for the present, I could not be expected to sleep, though many of the Arabs, nay, merchants slept. I should say all slept on the camel as soundly as in a bed. So that what I saved of suffering from the heat of day travelling, I lost in want of sleep by night travelling. Poor human brute! I thought of the fable of the ass and his winter and summer advantages and disadvantages. The hottest day was yesterday, last of the four, when we encamped in a dry bed of a river. I shall never forget that day, forget what I may else! I was first on the point of being suffocated, and seemed at my last gasp. I began to think that the predictions of my *friends* in Tripoli were about to be verified. I was to succumb to make them prophets! In addition to this my deep distress, I felt the wound of pride. I got some tea made, I can't tell how, and poured some brandy into it. This I drank, and from a fever of delirium found myself conscious again, and swimming in a bath of perspi-

ration. The crisis was now passed, and I was to see Ghadames and Ghat, and return to my fatherland. So fate—rather Providence—would have it. Every day, until I reached Ghadames, there was a sort of point of halting between life and suffocation or death in my poor frame, when the European nature struggled boldly and successfully with the African sun, and all his accumulated force darting down fires and flames upon my devoted head. After this point or crisis was passed, I always found myself much better.'—*Ib.*, p. 70.

The route of the caravan lay south-west and south, and as they approached Ghadames, the country bore 'still more marked features of sterility, of unconquerable barrenness.' Boundless ridges and groups of sand were seen stretching to the south-west, and intervening plains of chalk and salt were visible. At length they were met by the friends and relatives of the merchants, who had come out from Ghadames to welcome their arrival, and an amusing scene of confusion ensued. These visitors were mounted on camels of the Maharee species, between which and the coast-camel there appears to be a hereditary feud. 'As soon,' says Mr. Richardson, 'as the two parties met, there was a simultaneous scamper off of our camels, and some of theirs got very unmanageable. I was very nearly thrown off, and it required Mohammed and Said to hold my camel until the alarm had subsided I asked Mohammed what was the matter He cried very angrily, 'The camels are drunk, are mad—God made them so.''

Mr. Richardson's entrance into the city was characteristic, and strikingly indicative of the novelty of his appearance. Only one European, Major Laing, had preceded him, and he never returned to report what he saw. Troops of boys ran after our author's camel, the men stared with open mouths, and 'the women started up eagerly to the tops of the houses of the Arab suburb, clapping their hands and *loolooing*.' Mr. Richardson was completely exhausted by the journey, and could scarcely notice anything which occurred. On the morrow, however, his attention was rivetted by many things. The appearance of the Touaricks especially engaged his notice. He now met them for the first time. They were in the city for trading purposes, and their astonishment was evidently equal to that of our author. 'They expressed,' he says, 'as much astonishment at seeing me as I them; some exclaiming, 'God! God! how could the infidel come here?' The appearance of the city is superior to that of Tripoli; no poor were seen begging, and the people, as was their custom, had put on their best clothes in commemoration of the arrival of the caravan. Twenty-three days had been consumed in the journey from Tripoli, a third of which, however, had been lost by delay in the

mountains. The shortest time in which the distance can be completed is nine days, but the travellers of this region are no believers in the celerity of European locomotion. The troops of Ghadames are all Arabs, and the inhabitants are engaged in extensive mercantile transactions. The city is 'Marabout' or holy, and a punctilious regard to the ceremonial of Moham-medanism is one of its most distinguishing characteristics. The following passage illustrates a singular feature of North African Society, and will serve to explain what otherwise must be unintelligible to English readers.

'Had a visit from the Sheikh of the slaves. In most countries of North Africa there is a chief appointed by government for any particular race, not the same as the ruling dynasty, domestic as well as foreign, which may be resident in the towns and cities. So the Jews of Barbary have their chiefs, and the slaves theirs. In Tunis a number of free coloured people, called *Waraghleeah*, emigrants from the Algerian oasis of Warklah, have also their chief or headsman. This chief has rather large and even discretionary powers, and can order his subjects to be imprisoned by the officers of the sovereign government of the country. But, of course, this *imperium in imperio* is subject to the supervision of the supreme government. The object is apparently to relieve the government, but whilst it relieves the higher authorities, it inflicts irreparable injuries upon poor people, and is full of the most gigantic abuses. It is often complained of by the Levant correspondents of newspapers, under the character of the various spiritual tribunals of Eastern Christians inflicting fines, torture, and imprisonment on refractory or heretic members of those churches. The Jewish synods of Africa and the East exercise the same arbitrary powers, under the sanction of the supreme Mahometan authorities. Lately, however, the European ambassadors have done something to check these abuses in the dominions of the Porte.

'After some conversation, I asked the Sheikh of the Ghadames slaves what were his duties. Drawing himself up into a posture of authority, he replied:—'Be it known, Oh Christian! I am the Sheikh of the slaves, my name is Ahmed. I am from Timbuctoo. The people of Bambara are the finest in the world. They are brave—they fear none. Now, hear me: I know all the names of the slaves in Ghadames. I watch over all their conduct, to punish them when they behave badly, to praise them when they do well. They all fear me. For my trouble I receive nothing. I am a slave myself. I rarely punish the slaves. We have always here more than two hundred. If you wait, plenty of slaves will soon come from Soudan!'—*Ib.* p. 101.

The oasis in which the city is situated is about five miles in circumference, and the environs present one continuous scene of hideous desolation. The houses of Ghadames vary in height from one to five stories, and are ordinarily built in the Moorish style.

'The streets are all covered in and dark (a peculiarity prevailing in many Saharan cities), with here and there open spaces or little squares, of which there are several to let in the light of heaven. They are small and narrow, and winding, not more than a couple of camels can pass abreast, the ceiling however being high enough to admit the entrance of the tall Maharee camel. A camel of this species entered to-day: it amazed me by its stupendous height; a person of average size might have walked under its belly. The principal streets and squares are lined with stone benches, on which the people loungingly recline or stretch themselves. Both houses and streets are admirably adapted for the climate, protecting the inhabitants alike from the fiery glare of the summer's sun, and the keen blasts of the winter's cold.'—*Ib.* p. 127.

The population of the city is conjectured by our traveller to be about three thousand, and consists of various races. 'Some are from Arabs of the plains, others from Arabs of the mountains, others from Berber tribes, others from Moors of the coast, and not a few from Negress mothers, of every description of Negro race found in the interior.' A strong prejudice, at first, was entertained against Mr. Richardson, and even personal violence was threatened, but a better understanding gradually sprung up, which was doubtless accelerated by the aid he rendered in some ophthalmic cases, which abound in The Desert. In a few instances he met with a liberality of feeling for which, certainly, we were not prepared. Thus, on one occasion, he records the visit of two young men, who exhorted him to take courage, saying, 'That God was the maker of Christians as well as Mohammedans, that in this city no one could do me harm, but I was not to expose myself to the ignorant.' The existence of such sentiments in the midst of the Saharan desert may well awaken surprise, and leads us to augur well for the future. Ghadames like most English towns has its rival factions, in which, with some exaggeration, we may discover a family resemblance to what occurs nearer home. Mr. Richardson says,—

'I had to-day some talk about the two great political factions, the *Ben-Wezeet* and the *Ben-Weled*, the Whigs and Tories of Ghadames, but pushed to such extremities of party spirit, as almost to be without the limits of humanity. Notwithstanding the assumed sanctity of this holy and *Marabout* City of Ghadames, and its actually leaving its walls to crumble away, and its gates open to every robber of the highways of The Desert—trusting to its prayers for its defence and to its God for vengeance—it has nourished for centuries upon centuries the most unnatural and fratricidal feuds within its own bosom, dividing itself into two powerful rival factions, and which factions, to this day, have not any *bond fide* social intercourse with one another. Occasionally one or two of the rival factions privately visit each other, but these are excep-

tions, and the Rais has the chiefs of the two parties together in Divan on important business being brought before him. In the market-place there is likewise ground of a common and neutral rendezvous. Abroad they also travel together, and unite against the common enemy and the foreigner. The native governor, or *Nūther*, and the *Kady*, are besides chosen from one or other party, and have authority over all the inhabitants of Ghadames. But here close their mutual transactions. It is a long settled time-out-of-mind, nay, sacred rule, with them as a whole, 'Not to intermarry, and not to visit each other's quarters, if it can possibly be avoided.' The Rais and myself reside without the boundaries of their respective quarters, so that we can be visited by both parties, who often meet together accidentally in our houses. The Arab suburb is also neutral ground. Most of the poor strangers take up their residence here. The *Ben-Wezeet* have four streets, and the *Ben-Weleed* three. These streets have likewise their subdivisions and chiefs, but live amicably with one another, so far as I could judge. The people generally are very shy of conversing with strangers about their ancient immemorial feuds. I could only learn from the young men that in times past the two factions fought together with arms, and 'some dreadful deeds were done.' My taleb only wrote the following when I asked him to give some historical information respecting these factions:—'The Ben-Weleed and the Ben-Wezeet are people of Ghadames, who have quarrelled from time immemorial: it was the will of God they should be divided, and who shall resist his will? Yākob, be content to know this!'—*Ib.*, p. 191.

Respectable women never appear in the streets, or even walk in the gardens around their houses. Their flat roofs are their eternal promenade, 'and their whole world is comprehended within two or three miserable rooms.' In his capacity of 'quack doctor' our author visited a few of them, and reports that 'none were fair or beautiful, but some pleasing in their manners, and of elegant shape; they are brunettes, one and all, with occasionally large rolling, if not fiery, black eyes. They are gentle in their manners, and were very friendly to the Christian. Many of them, in spite of their seclusion, showed extreme intelligence; they are also very industrious. . . . The morals of The Desert,' it is affirmed, 'are mostly pure and continent as compared to those of our great European cities.' While thus employed in observing the habits of the people, Mr. Richardson was intensely solicitous to prosecute his journey farther into The Desert. For this purpose he sought information respecting the different routes to Soudan, and, as is common in such cases, received the most contradictory reports. Some affirmed the routes to be impassable on account of numerous banditti, others represented the country as destructive of European life, while a few encouraged his project in the hope of becoming his guides. Altogether his position was most perplex-

ing. He was in a region unknown to Europeans, and amongst a people who were broken up into several tribes, engaged in hostilities against one another. He knew not on whom to rely, or whose word to credit, and was frequently exposed to great personal danger. At length, however, he resolved to proceed to Ghat, and set out on the journey on the 25th of November. The caravan he accompanied consisted of about eighty persons, and two hundred laden camels. Nearly all were armed in apprehension of an attack from the Shânbah, and their route, which had never previously been travelled by an European, was easterly, skirting the oasian districts of Fezzan. The wind was intensely cold, and the white bones of camels spread along the road, told of the sufferings which had been experienced on former journeys. Tombs of stones, marking where distinguished personages had been interred, were also occasionally seen, and 'one vast, solitary, lifeless, treeless expanse of desert' presented itself to view on every hand. The travellers experienced great dearth of water, and the monotony of their journey was only interrupted by the alarm of banditti. We transcribe the following account of one of these interruptions, not simply as showing the nature of Desert life, but as illustrating the character of the Saharan slave-trade.

' Whilst we were encamped, two hours before sunset, we were suddenly alarmed by the cries of banditti and Shânbah, and all were called upon to arm. At the same time people were sent off to bring up the camels which were grazing and straying at a distance. I was amusing myself with cooking the supper, and started up, not knowing what to make of it; I couldn't, however, help laughing at the queer predicament in which the supper looked, and thought I had been making it for the Shânbah. Running forward to see the cause of the alarm, I saw in the south, dimly at a distance, a small caravan approaching us. There were three or four camels, and several persons on foot. I then thought I must look about for a weapon of some sort. A man gave me a huge horse-pistol, and with this I sallied forth to take part in the common defence. Seeing an Arab far in advance, and alone, I went after him, who turned out to be one of the Souafah, whose acquaintance I had already made. This Arab certainly showed considerable bravery, and took up a reconnoitring position on a rising ground, looking with a steady and determined eye upon the approaching caravan. He turned to me and said bluffly, 'It must be a Touarick ghafalah.' Meanwhile, about forty people all armed, assembled *pêle-mêle* on the opposite side of the route, on a hill behind, uttering wild cries, and throwing up their matchlocks into the air. The cries now ceased, and were succeeded by a most anxious silence, all waiting a closer observation. At length, the experienced eye of our people discovered what was considered a troop of bandits on foot, to be a caravan of slaves. And immediately a number of the people ran off violently to meet the slave-caravan, which was ca-

by our own Touaricks, the slaves being the property of our
 Our surprise was the greater when we found Haj-el-Besheer,
 companion the Touarick, returning with the caravan, which had
 letters for all the people. So the bandits turned out to be our
 and neighbours; and so burst this bubble of alarm. I observed
 persons with long staffs lagging behind, and imagined them old men
 lagging along the route. What was my astonishment to find, as they
 moved, these old men gradually transformed into poor little children
 slaves—crawling over the ground, scarcely able to move. Oh,
 curse is slavery! how full of hard-heartedness and cruelty! As
 the poor slaves arrived, they set to work and made a fire. Some
 were laden with wood when they came up. The fire was their
 protection from the cold, the raw bitter cold of the night; for they
 were nearly naked. I require as much as three ordinary great coats, be-
 lieve me the usual clothing of the day, to keep me warm in the night; these
 things, the chilly children of the tropics, have only a rag to cover
 and a bit of fire to warm them. I shall never forget the sparkling
 delight of one of the poor little boys, as he sat down and looked
 at the crackling, glaring fire of desert scrub. In the evening I noticed
 amount of the food which was given as the one daily meal to these
 creatures, ten in number. Said usually eats more than the
 of it for his supper. The food was barley-meal mixed with water.
 slaves were children and youths, all males. They had been already
 many days *en route* from Ghat, and would be eight more before they
 reached Ghadames. By that time, like the last slaves which arrived
 I was there, they would be simply 'living skeletons.' The
 is, these slaves are conducted not by their masters, but slave-
 drivers, at so much per head, and consequently the conductors feed the
 slaves as little as possible, to make the most of their bargain with
 their masters.—*Ib.*, pp. 398—400.

The caravan arrived at Ghat on the 15th of December, having
 nineteen days in performing the journey from Ghadames.
 The traveller had a narrow escape in the environs from Ouweek,
 a Barghee chief, or sheikh, whose Mohammedan prejudices
 were aroused by the appearance of a Christian, and who hoped,
 vainly, to possess himself of the wealth with which Euro-
 peans are supposed to travel. He was restrained, however, by
 his relatives, and Mr. Richardson escaped into the city. His
 reception was by no means encouraging. Not a single person
 in the caravan offered any assistance, while the inhabitants
 gathered round him with a rude and noisy curiosity. On
 being asked the people he wanted to see the governor, they stared
 with unintelligent countenances, neither knowing his language,
 nor comprehending his object. At length a young Tripoline
 volunteered his services as interpreter, and the governor
 pointed out, by whose son, a 'polite young gentleman, as
 good as a Parisian dandy,' our traveller was conducted, with
 apologies, to a dilapidated hovel, in which, however, he

the inhabitants of which do all in their power to prevent communication with Tripoli. Algerian politics are also dangerous and the most absurd reports are current respecting the relations of the French. On the whole, Mr. Richard had no reason to complain of his treatment, and was soon enabled to administer a practical rebuke to his fellow-travellers for their incivility and cowardice. 'I have *cut*,' he says, 'in a certain way my old friends of the Ghadamsee ghafalah. They have done them good, for they now begin to return to me, and are more polite. Before, they were all so frightened at the Touaricks that I knew if I did not cut them, they would cut me. Now, when seeing the Touaricks are friendly, they are also friendly. Such is the world of Sahara, as well as the world of London. When a man has few friends he gets less, when he has many he gets more.'

His greatest trouble arose from the rabble, who ran after and hooted him. But for this he might have walked about with perfect safety; and the incidents recorded serve to diminish rather than otherwise our estimate of the danger of travelling. One thing, however, is apparent. He owed his safety to the consummate prudence with which he uniformly acted. The slightest mistake would, on more occasions than one, have insured his destruction. He knew how to temper firmness with discretion, and was enabled, consequently, to repress rage while he conciliated authority. Soon after his arrival he received a visit which must have sorely taxed his self-possession and adroitness, and which amusingly illustrates the customs and habits of the people:—

'Had a' ' he told us. ' from so score of Touarick women

tier than Christian women—and, lastly, I should see whether I would marry one of them when I came from Soudan.' These answers were perfectly satisfactory. But then came a puzzler. They asked me, 'Which was the prettiest amongst them?' I looked at one, and then at another, with great seriousness, assuming very ungallant airs (the women the meanwhile giggling and coquetting, and some throwing back their barracans, shawls I may call them, farther from their shoulders, baring their bosoms in true ball-room style), and, at last, falling back, and shutting my eyes, placing my left hand to my forehead, as if in profound reflection, I exclaimed languidly, and with a forced sigh, 'Ah, I can't tell, you are all so pretty!' This created an explosion of mirth, some of the more knowing ones intimating by their looks, 'It's lucky for you that you have got out of the scrape.' But an old lady, close by me, was very angry with me:—'You fool, Christian, take one of the young ones; here's my daughter. It is necessary to explain, that the woman of the Touaricks is not the woman of the Moors and Mussulmans generally. She has here great liberty, walks about unveiled, and takes an active part in all affairs and transactions of life.—Vol. ii. p. 14.

At Ghat, our traveller had numerous opportunities of observing the character and habits of the Touaricks. He had seen a few of them at Ghadames, and his first impression was unfavorable, but closer observation diminished his repugnance, and induced a much more friendly estimate. 'I begin,' he says, 'to feel at home in Ghat, amidst the redoubtable Touaricks. I find them neither monsters nor men-eaters.' They are probably descended from the ancient Numidian tribes, and occupy an extent of territory embracing many thousand miles. They have some large cities and agricultural districts, besides numerous villages, and are amongst the most advanced and warlike inhabitants of the Sahara. An effort at civilization should have special respect to this people, whose characteristics it is therefore important to notice. The inhabitants of each oasis are distinguished by some peculiarity arising out of their location or occupations. Mr. Richardson says,—

'The Touaricks of Timbuctoo are the more faithless and sanguinary in their disposition, and less addicted to commerce or a regular mode of life. Those of Ghat represent the Touarghee character in its most original type, these tribes being a brave and hardy people, reserved and using few words in speech, of a noble chivalric disposition, and carrying on some commerce. Those of Touat, I imagine, are the same style of people, from what few of them I saw at Ghadames; but those of Aheer are more effeminate and milder in their manners, and are a good deal mixed with the Negro nations of Soudan. The Touaricks of Aheer bear an excellent character as traders, and companions of travel, always assisting the stranger first at the well, before their own camels are watered. They seem, besides, mostly addicted to the peaceful pursuits of commerce, if we except their occasionally joining in the Razzias

for slaves. A full third of the traffic of the South-eastern Sahara is in their hands, or under their control.'—*Ib.*, p. 141.

Their government is an assemblage of chieftains, much in the fashion of our Highland clans. The inferior orders of chiefs or sheikhs, are very numerous, but all are subordinate to a chief or sheikh-kebir. In their several districts 'each greater sheikh exercises a sovereign, if not independent, authority.' In national emergencies they unite, and according to the account of our author, are free from 'those odious and effeminate customs which so darkly stain the Mahometans of the North (or the Negro countries of Negroland.' Their sultan, however, is frequently unable to restrain the excesses of his subordinates, and the traveller consequently finds it necessary to purchase the protection of the inferior sheikhs. During Mr. Richardson's residence at Ghat, the city was visited by the reigning sultan, Mohammed Shafou Ben Seed. His approach was announced by the firing of musketry, and our countryman went out to meet him. His highness was found sitting down on the sand, with his attendants keeping at a respectful distance. He was an old man, 'and there sat upon his aged countenance a most venerable expression of dignity.'

'As soon,' says Mr. Richardson, 'as His Highness saw us approaching him, he bade us welcome by signs and salutations in the style of the Touaricks, slowly raising his right arm as high as his shoulder, turning the palm of the outspread hand to us. Haj Ibrahim was introduced, but the Sultan could not keep off his eyes from him. At last the Sultan made a sign to Essnousee to speak on our behalf. Essnousee explained very deliberately and minutely everything respecting me, where and when he saw me at Tripoli, how I went to Ghadames, came here from that place, and what were my intentions in proposing to go to Soudan. The Sultan then turned to me, and said, 'Go, Christian, wherever you please: in my country fear nothing, where everybody else goes.' After this I presented my little back to His Highness, consisting of a small carpet-rug to sit or recline upon, a zamailah or turban, and a shumlah or sash, large and full, and similar to the Spaniards wear. On giving the servant of His Highness the present (which was covered, and not exposed before His Highness in a matter of delicacy), I said, through Essnousee, 'This present is from me, and not from my Sultan, nor the Consul at Tripoli, nor any person in my country; it is extremely small, and scarcely worth accepting. But, probably, if your Highness should protect Englishmen in your country, and allow English merchants to come and traffic in your country, a greater and richer present will be sent to you hereafter.' His Highness replied, 'Thank you; I'm an old man now, and want but little, I have a little bread and milk of the nagah (she-camel), and for which I praise God. Don't fear our people—no one shall hurt you.' Indeed, I saw the old gentleman was thankful for any trifle. My little back

was, perhaps, of the value of ten dollars, and was the largest present I had yet made. I then asked His Highness whether he would write a letter for me to the Sultan of Aheer, and one to the Queen of England, stating that he would give protection to all British subjects passing through the Touarghee Desert? The Sultan replied, 'All that you want I will do for you, please God.'—*Ib.*, pp. 57—59.

Our author subsequently received a visit from the sultan, and the conversation which ensued affords an amusing instance of royal ignorance. Having pointed out to his visitor the insecurity of Desert travelling, and asked, if something could not be done for the protection of Christians, his curiosity was excited by Shafou rejoining, 'I have a secret to tell you.' 'What is that?' said our countryman anxiously, when the sultan of The Desert mildly and deliberately replied, 'Up to now, all the world has paid us tribute. The merchants who come from the east or west, north or south, all pay us tribute. But the English do not pay us tribute. How's this? You must tell your sultana to pay us tribute, and speak to her yourself.' This is sufficiently ridiculous, yet who will say it is not equalled by the pretensions of many European princes? There may be less simplicity, but there is more crime, in our Eastern wars, in the African and South Sea depredations of the French, and in the boundless ambition which is propelling the North American States on the territories of Mexico, than in the child-like ignorance and egregious folly of this child of The Desert.

The commerce of Ghat is considerable. The number of merchants and camel drivers who repaired thither to the souk, or market, held during our author's stay, was about 500. The slaves imported were about 1,000, and provision caravans were constantly arriving from Fezzan. The main articles of commerce are slaves, elephants' teeth, and senna, the united value of which at the market he attended is estimated at £60,000. The slave-trade forms unhappily a large item in this account, and it is not easy to over-rate the miseries it inflicts. Mr. Richardson mentions a few instances that came under his notice, and which want of space only prevents our quoting. From the inquiries he made, he does not think the trade a profitable one, and conjectures that, for little more than 500 dollars per annum, the services of the Touaricks might be secured 'to intercept the slave-caravans, and so discourage the traffic.' Unless, however, as he elsewhere remarks, the slave markets of Constantinople and Tripoli were closed, it would be impracticable to stop the Saharan slave trade.

The trade of the district is free from any impost or tax, save presents which the merchants make to the chiefs by whom they are protected, and which at the annual market of Ghat do not, in

the judgment of Mr. Richardson, exceed 250 or 300 dollars. 'The souk flourishes,' he says, 'with its free-trade marts, and excites the jealousies of the merchants of Mourzuk, and their masters the Turks, because some of the merchants pass from here direct to Algeria and Tunis, not touching the Tripoline territory, and in this way the Turks lose their much-coveted *gomerick*, or customs' duty.'

We must reluctantly close with the following brief extract, which will probably surprise our readers, as we frankly acknowledge it did us. We have heard so much lately of education as the mark of advanced civilization, that we were not prepared to meet with 'a night school' in the heart of the Saharan desert. But our author shall recount what he saw. He tells us,—

'In the streets, I pass nearly every evening a night-school, where there is a crowd of children all cooped up together in a small room, humming, spouting, and screaming simultaneously their lessons of the Koran, in the manner of some of our infant schools. This mode of simultaneously repeating a lesson has prevailed from time immemorial in the schools of North Africa, and I imagine, in the East likewise, and though it may be new in England or Europe, it is old in Asia and Africa. But I never saw before a night school in Barbary, and look upon this Saharan specimen of scholastic discipline as a novelty. It is probable, in this way every male child of Ghat, as in Ghadames, is taught to read and write. The pride of the Ghadamseeah is, that all their children read and write. The whole population can read and write the Koran. This Saharan fact of the barbarians of The Desert suggests painful reflections to honest-minded Englishmen. We may boast of our liberties, our Magna Charta, our independence of character, our commerce, our wealth, the extent of the world which Providence (too good to us) has committed to our care. But after all we cannot boast of what the barbarians of The Desert boast. We cannot, dare not, assert, that every male child of our population can read the book which we call the Revelation of God!'—*Ib.*, p. 63.

Having abandoned his design of proceeding to Soudan, Mr. Richardson, after a residence of fifty days in Ghat, returned by way of Mourzuk, Sockna, and Misratah to Tripoli, after an absence of eight months and a half. Eighty days had been spent in actual journeying, and the distance travelled is estimated at 1,600 miles. His whole expenses, including servant, camels, provisions, lodgings, Moorish clothes, etc., did not exceed £50, 'and nearly half of this was given away in presents to the people and the various chieftains.'

We could dwell much longer on the various incidents of this journey, but our space is occupied. We close the volumes with regret. Our extracts are only a fraction of what we had marked, and must be regarded as merely indicating the nature

and value of the materials furnished. We strongly recommend the work to our readers, with the fullest confidence that such of them as take our advice, will not regret the money expended in its purchase, or the time required for its perusal. We hope that circumstances may permit Mr. Richardson again to visit the cities of The Desert, and to explore yet further the regions which have hitherto been so effectually sealed against our countrymen.

ART. III.—*Histoire des Girondins*. Par A. de Lamartine. 8 vol. Paris. 1847.

It is but a few weeks ago that the French newspapers announced the death of a nonagerian, the last surviving member of that appalling assembly, LA CONVENTION NATIONALE, whose deeds have shaken the whole world, and will, for ages, continue to strike it with an awful admiration. It is reported, that, after reading the work of M. de Lamartine, the unflinching and remorseless Montagnard raised towards heaven his withered forehead, and ejaculated the prayer, '*Nunc dimitte servum tuum, Domine ; quia viderunt oculi mei salutarem meum.*'

Alas ! this dawn of the tardy justice of posterity, which appeared to the last of the *conventionels* as the liberation of his memory from the execration of all future generations ; how many of his colleagues vainly prayed for it, and sank into the grave, with the consciousness of having courageously done their duty to their country, and to the human race ; yet, tortured by the idea of the everlasting ingratitude of mankind ! Have we not seen, fifteen years ago, the pattern of religious patriots, the foremost among European philanthropists, the confederate of Clarkson, in his long and arduous struggle for the abolition of slavery,—the venerable *Grégoire*, on his death-bed, still an object of persecution, at the very moment when the summons of the Eternal Judge, written on the emaciated and pallid face of the victim, ought to have silenced and disarmed human injustice ? And when, to comfort our illustrious friend in this last trial, we told him, '*Le jour de la justice viendra,*' the prelate answered, '*Oui ! mais, pour nous, il ne luiira jamais que là haut : il me tarde de pendre ma volée.*' And, soon afterwards, he had *taken wing*, as most of his colleagues had done before him ; and as the few, whom he

was leaving behind, have done since—the last of whom, alone, could receive and convey, to them all, the glorious tidings of their approaching vindication.

The reader must not infer, from these reflections, that, during more than half a century, not a voice has been raised in defence of men to whom (whatever may be the opinion with regard to the means they employed) France is indebted for her safety, and, probably, for her national existence; that M. Lamartine is the first French writer who attempts to reverse the condemnatory sentence which has so long branded the Convention and its most influential members; to expose the justice of their cause, the morality of their principles, and the patriotism of their views; and, if not to justify, at least to represent all their measures in their true character, and claim admiration for their genius and their courage, gratitude for their unparalleled services, and indulgence for their errors, and their stern disregard for life, at a time when ‘To be, or not to be,’ was an every-day question for all; and, to all, almost an indifferent question. During the Directorial government, many of the surviving actors in these tragical scenes published the justification of their conduct—a justification which, mainly resting on incriminations and recriminations, could not but be rejected by all parties, whose faults and passions were so justly brought forth as the cause of, and the apology for the rigorous measures which had been recurred to, for the safety of the Republic. Besides that, in France, as in all other countries, and more than in any other country, a fallen power never obtains justice or indulgence, until re-action and revenge have stained the triumph of the rival party. Under the Consulate and the Empire, a rigid censorship did not allow any of the conventionals to repel the accusations daily reproduced against them. To the reproach of having usurped the crown, NAPOLEON and his courtiers answered, ‘*C’est l’anarchie que nous avons détrônée.*’ And, therefore, to make good their title, it was necessary to brand with the qualification of anarchists, not merely the legislative assembly, and the CONVENTION, but also the DIRECTOIRE and the two CONSEIL LEGISLATIFS, without permitting any one to utter a word to the contrary. The Restoration could not but view with still greater horror, the remnants of the undaunted legislators and rulers who had beheaded a king, and shaken all the thrones on the European continent. No one can wonder, then, that, from 1815 till 1830, the historians of the Revolution should have judged the Convention with a severity inconsistent with honesty and justice. The reproduction, by Messrs. Berville and Barriere, (two most honourable men), of the memoirs and works published by the principal actors during

or after the struggle,* was the first attempt made to redress public opinion, with regard to the principal events of the Revolution, and to pave the way for an impartial history of that epoch. Yet this interesting collection is incomplete, and principally filled with the productions of the Girondins. The history of Thiers is but a hasty and irreflected compilation, whose liberalism does not extend beyond some timid apology for a few men, and equally timid sarcasms against the royalist party. Mignet's work, though shorter, goes much farther,—as far as it was possible safely to go, under the reign of a Bourbon; but there is nothing like a fair and impartial appreciation of the character of the leaders of the Convention, and of the internal policy of that assembly. After the Revolution of July, when the government which had proclaimed itself *la meilleure des Républiques*, had begun to prove itself what it is now universally acknowledged to be—the worst of monarchies—the king, (an ex-Jacobin) his ministers, his court, and half a million of officials, in imitation of the imperial and legitimist rulers, renewed the outcry against the conventional anarchy, and the crimes of the Revolution; and accused their political adversaries of wishing for a return of the reign of republican terror, and of being as many Robespierres and Marats. At first, every oppositionist indignantly repelled the charge, but without silencing their accusers, whose continued attacks, at length, compelled some republicans, in their own defence, publicly to discuss the question, whether the Convention, even the Montagne, had not fulfilled, in the most praiseworthy manner, the severe duties imposed upon them by the extraordinary circumstances in which they were placed. A young man, Laponneraie, was the first to maintain the affirmative, in a new history of the Revolution, published in numbers, for the popular classes; and afterwards, in a life of Robespierre, founded on documents left to him by the sister of the high priest of the Montagne, at her death, in 1834. Many writers followed his example, at the risk of the same reward—a prison; among them, Cabet, an ex-member of the House of Deputies. Two professors of the first literary institution in France, Messrs. Michelet† and Quinet, in their public lectures; and, when prohibited by the government (as they are at the present moment) to ascend their professorial chairs, in their

* Collection des mémoires relatifs à la Révolution Française. Paris. Bandouin.

† We procured the first two volumes of his History of the French Revolution, with the intention of reviewing them, but abandoned our design after reading them. The bombastic emptiness and the ravings of a madman are beneath our notice.

printed works ; have endeavoured and are still endeavouring to rectify the opinion of their fellow-citizens, with regard to the events and to the men of that momentous epoch. Their efforts, however, if not altogether unsuccessful, never obtained, from the public at large, the attention and deference, without which the most eloquent advocate of the best cause labours in vain. In this instance, the advocates of the Convention, whom we have named, are known to be ardent republicans, and with even greater abilities than they actually possess, they would still be as they are, distrusted and unheeded.

M. de Lamartine's work, therefore, is the first which is calculated to produce an extraordinary effect, and exercise an immense influence on all classes and parties in France. It is not merely the incontestable superiority of his talents ; it is not the renown of his literary success during the last twenty years and more ; it is not the possession of an ample fortune, and a high social and political position, which give the author such an advantage, over his predecessors, in the career he has entered. It is the fact, that, by his birth, by his education, by his social relations, by his advancement to literary eminence, by his introduction into political life ; in short, by his affections, his principles, his previous productions, his speeches and his actions, M. de Lamartine is identified with the party of the victims of the Revolution, of the champions of legitimacy. But to the prejudices, the antipathies and the interests of a party, he prefers the light of truth. The right of a people to freedom and national independence, are held, by him, as paramount to the right of a dynasty to absolute power ; and whilst some of the legitimists, faithful to their obsolete creed and to their honourable affections, still proclaim their allegiance to their exiled prince ; whilst others transfer to a perfidious usurper of the regal and popular rights their mercenary subserviency, M. de Lamartine progresses in another direction, and becomes the champion of the people, and of those men so long reviled for having sacrificed all in defence of the cause of the people.

No one can impugn his motives. No one can attribute to him selfish and interested views. It is evident to all who know anything of his position and associations, that, far from being beneficial to his interests, his commendable, his courageous impartiality will be bitterly resented by most of his former friends ; and, still more, perhaps by the government and its partisans. He has no commensurate compensation to expect from the people for the severance of the many friendly ties to which he has exposed himself, and the persecutions of all sorts

which will certainly be heaped upon him.* A Revolution cannot much improve his fortune or increase his influence, while it may be the ruin of both. It is clear, then, that nothing but a consciousness of the justice of the cause, and of the importance, for his country, to form at last an accurate opinion of the rival parties in the Convention, and of their views, could induce him to write his history. It is clear, also, that a work written from such motives, under such circumstances, and by such a man, commands the confidence of the public; and we cannot wonder at the sensation which its publication has produced in France, and which it certainly will produce in this country, when a translation, worthy of the original, is presented to the English public.

To review such a work, so as to give a complete idea of it, is absolutely impossible. For the last six months, these volumes (French edition) have been constantly read, meditated by us, compared with all the publications on the French Revolution in our collection, and controled by our own reminiscences, with a view to condense, in a single article, the analysis of the work, our admiration for the talents of the author, our approbation of his object, our qualified praise of his performance, and the criticism of some errors of judgment, with regard to facts and to individuals, which sometimes contrast with the impartiality generally shown by M. de Lamartine. After many attempts to accomplish our object, we found it beyond our power; and reluctantly resolved to divide the matter,—to give, in a first article, all that concerns the national and legislative assemblies, and to reserve, for a second, that part of the work which is devoted to the Convention. This course is unusual with us; but the publication of such a work is much more unusual, and we have no other means of doing justice to the matter, to the author, and to our readers.

The title does not give a true idea of the work. It is not merely the history of the Girondins: it is as much the history of the Montagnards, of the Revolution of France, and of Europe, during the Legislative Assembly and the Convention, or rather, from May, 1791, to the fall of Robespierre, in July, 1794. Nay, even more; the first five books are entirely devoted to the Constituent Assembly and to its leading members,—to the object and the principles of the Revolution, with a few occasional observations as to its causes. The causes, M. de Lamartine declares to be, ‘the faults, the vices, the crimes of an absolute and oppressive government, which, supported by a

* Count de Montalambert, a bigoted legitimist and a jesuit, has just began the attack in the House of Peers.

state-church, participating in its scandalous immorality, in its exactions, and in its tyranny, and asserting its Divine right of doing wrong, had, during three centuries, enslaved and crushed the people.' So high is his estimate, that he tells us,—

'The object and the principles of the Revolution were the object and the principles of Christianity. It was Christianity which, at the fall of the Roman empire, finding men degraded and kept in bondage every where in the world, first proclaimed the three words, which, eighteen hundred years afterwards, were re-echoed by the French philosophers and legislators, *liberty, equality, fraternity* among men. The adoption of these words as principles, implied the emancipation of individuals, of castes, of races, of nations,—the sovereignty of right over might—the sovereignty of intelligence over ignorance and prejudices—the sovereignty of the people over their governments.'—vol. i. pp. 16—26.

The realization of these principles was the mission, the task of the Constituent assembly, the object of the fierce denunciations of Burke, in 1791; and now, in 1848, of the mischievous misrepresentations of Mr. Alison. Let us hear M. de Lamartine :—

'This assembly was the most imposing re-union of men that ever represented—not France—but mankind. It was, in fact, the Œcumenic council of modern reason and philosophy. Nature seemed to have purposely created, and the various classes of society to have spared for the work, the geniuses, the temper, the virtues, and even the vices best calculated to give to this focus of all the intelligence of the age, the grandeur, the brightness and the power of a conflagration designed for consuming the ruins of a decrepit society, and to throw its light on another. The sole characteristic of this assembly was its passion for an *ideal* which it felt itself irresistibly urged on to realize—a perpetual profession of its faith in reason and justice—a holy eagerness for all that is right, which made it wholly to devote itself to the undertaking. Thus it is, that the revolution which it effected is not merely an event in the history of a people, but an era in the march of the intelligence of mankind. The men of the Constituent Assembly were not French only, they were Cosmopolites. We mistake, and lessen them, by seeing in them merely aristocrats, priests, plebeians, royalists, rebels and demagogues. They were (and they were conscious of being) something better than all that—the workmen of God, called by him to restore the social laws of mankind, and to re-settle right and justice all over the world. The declaration of the rights of men, the political decalogue of the human race, proves that none confined his views within the limits of France. All of them proclaimed the principle of peace between all the nations. Mirabeau, Lafayette, Robespierre himself, would not admit war in the symbol which they offered to their fellow-citizens; and the first resolution proposed, was to forbid all conquests. They wished for no other triumph than that of reason, for no other influence than that of their example.'—vol. i. *passim*, pp. 432—437.

The death of Mirabeau is the starting point of M. de Lamartine. After a review of the private and public life of the tribune, the first book is devoted to an exposition of the condition in which this event left the king, the court, and the Constituent Assembly; and to the delineation of the characters of the men who were considered as the heads of the different parties which divided the assembly, as well as of Louis xvi., and Marie Antoinette. There is nothing new in the description given by the author, of the physical, intellectual, and moral organization of the unfortunate monarch. All parties have long concurred in the opinion, that Louis xvi. was a good-hearted man, but deficient in intelligence and moral energy; that, with the very best intentions, his weakness made him the tool of those who surrounded him, for the worst purposes; and that these faults, and the ascendancy of his courtiers, and particularly of his queen, whom he never could resist, cost him his crown and life. M. de Lamartine fully confirms this judgment in his portrait of Marie Antoinette. 'The queen,' says he, 'inebriated by the adulators who surrounded her, urged the king to take back, to-day, what he had granted the day before. Her hand was found in all the hostile jerks of the government; her apartments were the focus of a perpetual conspiracy.' (vol. i. p. 37). And further on: 'She did the greatest harm to the king. As she was more intelligent, more spirited, more energetic than her husband, her superiority induced him to adopt with confidence her fatal advices. She was altogether the charm of his misfortunes, and the spell of his ruin; she led him, step by step, to the scaffold, but she ascended it with him.' (p. 40). On another subject, the love-intrigues of the queen, M. de Lamartine does not venture to defend her. He merely mentions the accusations, and concludes, after some attenuating sentences, in these terms: '*L'histoire a sa pudeur; nous ne la violerons pas.*'' (p. 38.)

But history has its duties as well as its pudicity; and, when we consider the causes of revolutions, we cannot, with justice, divert our attention from, or throw an indulgent veil over the immoral passions which have prepared the destruction of thrones by their degradation. M. de Lamartine, like all the conscientious historians who preceded him, ascribes to the depravity of Louis xv., the ruin of the royal authority, and the growth of the revolutionary spirit, which burst out in 1791, and engulfed his successor. We concur in this opinion; but we do not admit that Louis xvi. was irrevocably doomed to expiate the vices and the crimes of his grandfather; on the contrary, we think that the monarch was the fittest man for restoring the royal authority, by founding it on justice, and on the respect

and affection of the people ; and that a wife as virtuous and as popular as he himself was, would have secured the attainment of this desired object. But her conduct—what M. de Lamartine calls her *faiblesses*—exposed him to the contempt and bantering of the courtiers, whilst her pride, her prodigality, and extravagance, which he could not restrain, drew upon him the hatred of the nation. Let history pity her fate, but not palliate her faults.

As we stated before, the work begins at the death of Mirabeau. This extraordinary man, whose first words in the *Etats généraux*, had fallen, like a thunderbolt, on a monarchy fourteen centuries old, and scattered to the winds its authority, its principles, and the remnants of its prestige—this very Mirabeau was, at the sudden close of his earthly career, the firmest, but not the disinterested champion of the royal authority. The king, the queen, and the court had bought his powerful voice, and, fancying that they had, in the bargain, the eloquence and popularity which belonged more to the cause than to the man, they relied upon him for restoring, with a few modifications, the monarchy which he had destroyed. His loss was as severely felt by the monarch as by the nation ; and the people, unaware of the betrayal, entombed in the Pantheon, with the remains of their idol, the last hopes of royalty. From that moment, all idea of confining the struggle within France and the assembly, was abandoned by the court ; and all the efforts of the king and his advisers were directed towards the hastening of the march of foreign armies on the frontiers of France, and the preparations for the royal escape.

In the second book (first volume), M. de Lamartine gives a detailed account of the negotiations of the court and of the emigrant princes, with foreign governments to secure this double object, of the flight of the monarch, and of his arrest at Varennes. After the many accounts already published of this event, we did not expect to find much novelty in the narrative ; yet we must say, that there are many circumstances which are entirely new to us, and which will deeply interest the reader. We cannot, however, share in the opinion of M. de Lamartine, that Louis xvi. never intended to leave France, and that his only object was to place himself at the head of the army commanded by the Marquis of Bouillé, (pp. 89, 90.) M. de Bouillé, in the Memoirs which he published, avows the intention of placing the king in the middle of his faithful nobility, assembled in arms at Coblenz, as a better place of security than his own army. Another inaccuracy which follows, in the succeeding page (91), requires a fuller confutation. M. de Lamartine says, that the secret of the projected escape

of the king had been religiously kept by all parties concerned in it. It is certain, on the contrary, that not only the intended flight, but also the itinerary to be adopted, was known at Coblenz, where the king was expected, three weeks before he left Paris. A letter from Frankfort, addressed to some gentleman in Paris, and revealing all the plot, was published in the 'Moniteur' of the 31st of May, and obtained the more credit, that the avowed object of the gathering of the émigrants on the frontier had long been stated to be the resolution of the king to place himself at their head. The effect of the publication of the letter on the public and on the assembly was such, that the minister for foreign affairs, M. de Montmorin, wrote to the president of the Constituent Assembly a letter on the subject, which was publicly read. 'I attest, on my responsibility, on my head, on my honour,' says the minister, 'that the *mad* project attributed to the king in that letter, never existed. Oh! if all knew, in all its extent, the object of the solicitude and vigilance of his majesty, they would see how different it is.' 'It is time, now, to consider as public enemies, those who, never ceasing to deceive the people, to irritate them, create among us real dangers, by announcing imaginary ones.' In a postscript to his letter, M. de Montmorin adds: 'I have just placed this letter under the eyes of the king, and his majesty has not merely permitted, but ordered me to have the honour of sending it to you, to be communicated to the National Assembly.' (*Moniteur*, June 3, 1791.)

A burst of universal applause followed the reading of the ministerial epistle; after which, it was proposed to call the publisher of the 'Moniteur' to the bar of the assembly, and to put him on his trial; which would have been done, had not the king been frightened at the probable consequences of a severe investigation of the matter. The Memoirs of M. de Bouillé, a competent authority, since he was a principal actor in the plot, affirm, that the publication of the letter from Coblenz prevented the departure of the king that very night; and it was only three weeks after the solemn denial of the project assigned to him, that the king left his capital in execution of that very project.

There are many inaccuracies of the same kind and of equal importance, in M. de Lamartine's work. We regret to be obliged to acknowledge it; and if we expose them, it is not to impugn his integrity as a historian, or to gratify our vanity by displaying a more complete knowledge of the French Revolution. We disclaim such intentions. Our sole object is to elucidate the truth; and we think that the omission or suppression of the facts just mentioned, breaks the concate-

nation of causes and effects existing in the moral as in the physical world; and leaves unexplained, or, at least, without satisfactory explanation, the subsequent events of the Revolution. After attempting the execution of the project, which, by his order, his minister had denied, on his responsibility, on his head, on his honour, and had declared to be an act of madness, Louis XVI. had no longer any claim to the confidence and respect of the assembly and of the nation. However excusable his flight might have been, before the solemn declaration of M. de Montmorin, it could not, after that declaration, but be considered as a violation of the first principles of honour and honesty. But this is not all; on leaving Paris, the king confided to one of his ministers, to be delivered to the President of the Assembly, a declaration in which he protested against all the decrees of the Assembly, those even which he had sanctioned, and announced his intention of resuming the full exercise of his sovereignty. And when he was brought back to Paris, the Marquis de Bouillé wrote also, from his retreat, to the President of the Assembly, a most impudent letter, in which, after claiming the authorship of the project of evasion, and boasting of his concert with foreign powers, he threatened to return to Paris, at the head of their armies, to avenge the king; and declared, that he would not leave one stone standing in the city.

These facts, though not mentioned by M. de Lamartine, are indispensable to an accurate idea of the respective situation of the king, of the assembly, and of the people, after the journey to Varennes; but particularly of the conduct of the assembly in these difficult circumstances. The deposing of the king seemed, to the generality of the nation, the necessary and inevitable consequence of his evasion, and of his meditated violation, or rather abrogation, of the constitution. It was demanded by almost all the electoral assemblies of the departments, which, at the very time of the evasion, were summoned to elect, according to the new constitution, their representatives in the Legislative Assembly, (another important circumstance omitted by M. de Lamartine). It was demanded by the clubs in almost every city, and by nearly all the newspapers. At last the population of Paris assembled in the Champ-de-Mars, for the purpose of signing and presenting to the National Assembly, a petition for the abolition of royalty and the establishment of a republic. The meeting was dispersed by Bailly, the mayor of Paris, and Lafayette, with the national guard, in execution of the decrees of the Assembly.

The third and fourth books are devoted to all these transactions, and to the deliberations and legislative measures of the

CONSTITUANTE. The Assembly, after the return of the king, had prolonged his suspension from royal authority, which they had decreed, on being informed of his escape, until after the revision of the constitution and its acceptance by the monarch. Although the members of the *côté droit*, the pure royalists, had refused to take part in the debates, since the suspension of the king, the Assembly pursued its task, in the same spirit of justice and moderation that they had evinced two years before. They disregarded all the petitions and demonstrations for the *dechéance*; they proclaimed the inviolability of the king; and, after a last, and as they thought successful, effort to reconcile the king with his new condition, and with his people, they dissolved, and left the working of the constitution to the care of the Legislative Assembly.

Before entering into the narrative of the acts of this new assembly, M. de Lamartine devotes a book, the fifth, to the picture of the state of Europe at that moment. The sum of it is, that all the sovereigns of Europe regarded the alterations made in the old constitutions of the French monarchy, as encroachments on the legitimate authority of kings and emperors, and had seen them, at first, with displeasure, and afterwards with deep anxiety. The entreaties of the emigrant princes, and of their agents in all the courts—of Marie Antoinette, and of Louis XVI. himself—had, at last, induced them to combine and resolve on a common movement to subdue revolutionary France. All the nobles who had emigrated since July, 1789, were in arms on the banks of the Rhine, ready to lead the foreign soldiers to the heart of their country, which, as they said, with a disorganised army almost without officers, and without a single general of any reputation, would let them promenade from the frontier to Paris, without firing a shot. In one word, Europe was preparing for a war against France.

As we have stated, the Legislative Assembly had been elected under the influence of a general feeling of distrust, and, perhaps, hatred, against the monarch, who had certainly done much to justify such feelings, in which the great majority of the Assembly shared. The prospect of a foreign invasion, headed by the brothers, the cousins of the king, and the favourites of the queen, was not calculated to allay those feelings, and to inspire the new legislative body with the kind and respectful forbearance which had uniformly been manifested by the National Assembly, elected under very different circumstances, and at a time when the whole of France considered the king as the best of her citizens. It was not only a moral change that took place in the hall of the assembly, from the 29th of September, when the *constituents* vacated their seats to the 1st of

October, when the *legislateurs* took their places. 'The aspect of the assembly was completely altered,' says M. de Lamartine. 'All the white-haired heads had disappeared, it seemed as if France had grown younger in a single night. . . . More than sixty of the representatives had not completed their twenty-sixth year.' (Vol. i. p. 356.)

But the most remarkable feature, in this assembly, was the representation of the department of Gironde. On the first appearance of the men who composed it, at the first speeches pronounced by their principal organs, Vergniaud, Guadet, and Gensonné, the assembly acknowledged their superiority and submitted to their leadership. Their virtues, their disinterestedness, their courage equalled their eloquence, their talents, and their ardent patriotism. All of them devoted to the cause of freedom and the Revolution, were equally devoted to the cause of order; and to the constitution, which they would have saved, with the throne and its unfortunate possessor, if the pride, the treachery, and the blind passions of the courtiers had not constantly placed them under the necessity of sacrificing either the king or the country. The notices, the biographies of every one of them, and of those who, afterwards, rallied round them, and formed the party of the *Girondins*, are many monuments erected to the honour of those upright, and ill-fated citizens. All the talent, as a writer, all the sensibility, all the poetry which M. de Lamartine had evinced in his previous productions, are lavished in the admirable pages consecrated to reproduce the physiognomies, the habits, the characters, the feelings, the personal abnegation and the aspirations of those great men. And, yet, throughout the course of his narrative, he almost constantly finds fault with their measures; and, after all his praises, declares that they were not statesmen; and seems to take pleasure in humbling them before the superiority of Robespierre and of the *Montagnards*. This inconsistency is easily accounted for. M. de Lamartine is a poet: his imagination and the impressions of the moment guide his pen and dictate his judgments, which, therefore, frequently contrast, though they bear upon the same things and the same men. Circumstances, particularly those which deeply excite his sensibility, or strike his attention, make him forget, in the heat and hastiness of composition, what he has said before. His work is a work of inspiration,—a sublime inspiration no doubt,—a sort of descriptive poem, not a history. History requires a long and patient investigation of facts and events and of their causes, as well as of the characters of men, and we regret to say, M. de Lamartine has neglected the first part. Hence the opposition of his description of the actors to his appreciation of their acts.

Thus, we cannot reconcile the idea which his eloquent pages give of the *Girondins* with the determination which he attributes to them when they took their seats in the assembly, of abolishing royalty and establishing a republic. They did so it is true; but the second and third volumes of M. de Lamartine show how they were gradually brought to that necessity; not by their own acts, but by the coalition of the king and the court with the foreign sovereigns, for the invasion of France, and the insurrection of an indignant people. Let us follow our author in his relation.

The very first intercourse of the king with the Legislative Assembly was a sort of insult to the national representation, a repetition of the disregard shown to the *Tiers Etat* at the opening of the *Etats Généraux*, which produced the same results.

After electing its president and other officers, the Assembly appointed a deputation to announce to the king the final constitution of the legislative body, and to request his majesty to open the session as soon as possible. When the president and the deputation arrived at the Tuileries, and demanded to be introduced, they were told that the king could not receive them before one o'clock of the following day. The deputies, dissatisfied with the delay, which nothing justified, insisted on being admitted, and they were informed that his majesty would receive the deputation at nine o'clock in the evening. At the audience given, at the appointed hour, after hearing the communication of the president, the king told him:—‘I cannot see you before next Friday.’ (book vi. p. 362.) These puerile incidents were, unfortunately, rendered significant by their accessories; and the assembly, when acquainted with them, considering them as an insulting assumption of superiority over the national representation, instantly resented it by decreeing that the words *SIRE* and *YOUR MAJESTY* should no longer be used, when addressing the king, and that, in his presence, the members should stand uncovered, or sit down and put their hats on, just as he chose to do. On the following day, however, the decree was revoked on the motion of Vosgien, supported by Vergniaud, Hérault de Sechelles, and the president of the deputation, who succeeded in quieting the susceptibility of their colleagues.

The royal sitting, for the opening of the session, took place on the 7th of October. Unanimous and enthusiastic cheers saluted the king on his entering the hall. His speech was calculated to give satisfaction to all, and this was expressed with a warmth which drew tears from the eyes of Louis XVI. Once more royalty and the constitution, the king and the

people seemed permanently reconciled; once more ‘Hope told her flattering tale;’ but a few weeks had hardly elapsed, before new and bitterer dissensions had taken the place of concord.

M. de Lamartine examining the causes and origin of these dissensions says, (vol. i. pp. 271, 172.) — ‘The assembly was ashamed at its own moderation, and wanted to throw new causes of distrust between the throne and the nation. A numerous party . . . of which Brissot was the publicist, Pétion the popularity, Vergniaud the genius, and the Girondins the trunk, advanced with the audacity and unity of a conspiracy. It was the *bourgeoisie*,* triumphant, envious, stirring, eloquent, the aristocracy of talent, determined to conquer and to manage alone, liberty, power, and people.’ We deny the truth of this statement, which is not supported by a single fact; and we do so on the authority of M. de Lamartine himself, whose second volume is almost exclusively filled with accounts of the machinations of the adversaries of the Revolution, against which the Legislative Assembly, like the Constituent Assembly, had to contend every day. This struggle deserves the attention of all men in the actual state of England and Europe; we must, therefore, represent it as it was; and offer it as a warning to lay and clerical oligarchies, and as an example to nations.

The task imposed upon the Legislative Assembly was to assist in carrying on the government, in strict conformity with the constitutional laws established by their predecessors. The very first thing which struck the legislators, at the beginning of their labours, was the unwillingness of the king to submit to the constitution, and the dangers of all kinds which threatened its existence. They knew that Louis XVI. had sent to Vienna a protest against his *acceptation* of the constitution; and that his brothers had also protested against both the constitution and its *acceptation*, on the principle, that *royal power is a trust which the possessor is bound to leave to his successors in the same condition he received it from his predecessors*. They knew that those protests, and community of interest, in maintaining the omnipotence of kings, had determined the foreign powers to meet in congress at Pilnitz, where they concerted the compulsory and aggressive measures to be immediately carried into execution for the restoration of the French king to his former authority. They saw foreign armies assembling; and, on the frontier, twenty thousand nobles in arms, headed by the French princes, proclaiming that they would soon march on

* *Bourgeoisie*, literally *town population*, now means the middle class.

Paris, followed by all the military forces of Europe, to rescue their captive sovereign. They were aware that, in all parts of France, the adversaries of the Revolution and of the constitution who had not emigrated, were preparing, in concert with the others, to second their invasion by local insurrections. And lastly, they saw a great majority of the clergy openly refusing to submit to the constitution, setting at defiance the civil and legislative authority, and exciting the population against the clergymen who had acknowledged the constitution. All this is fully exposed in the second volume of M. de Lamartine, and generally appreciated with commendable impartiality, though, sometimes, with more than indulgence.

The Legislative Assembly very properly thought that its first duty was to avert the external danger which threatened the constitution and the country, certain as they were that they would have no insurrectionary movements in the interior, when the royalist agitators were convinced that they could not rely on foreign assistance. They requested the king, and the minister for foreign affairs, to remonstrate against the military gatherings and warlike preparatives which disquieted and irritated the French people; and to demand that an army of French emigrants might not be allowed to remain assembled on the frontiers in a menacing attitude. They, moreover, begged the king to write to his brothers and cousins to request them to return—to command, if necessary; and to issue a proclamation ordering all the emigrants to disband and come back to France. The desires of the assembly were complied with ostensibly; but secret dispatches counteracted the effect which the public and official ones might have produced. Besides this, the French ambassadors at the foreign courts were all hostile to the Revolution, and, of course, little disposed to act upon their public instructions.

The next measure of the assembly was a decree, ordering every clergyman who had not done so to present himself within eight days at his municipality, and to swear allegiance to the civil and constitutional laws of the country. Deprivation of their offices, salaries, and pensions, were the penalty of non-compliance with the decree: and, as serious riots occasioned by the clerical resistance had already taken place in many localities, the recusants were to be removed at a distance from their residences. The decree was presented for the sanction of the king.

After waiting the time requisite to ascertain the effects of the letters of the king to his brothers and his cousins, and of the addresses of the ministers to the emigrants; the Assembly, seeing that the princes and their adherents persevered in their

hostile demonstrations, and that the forbearance of the national representation was mistaken for weakness, and even represented at Coblenz and in the royalist newspaper in Paris as the effect of fear, resolved to resort to more stringent measures than those hitherto adopted, and decreed, that the Frenchmen assembled beyond the frontiers of France were suspected of conspiracy against France, and that, if they did not return before the 1st of January, 1792, they would be declared conspirators, and, as such, should incur the penalty of death; that the brothers of the king and the other French princes would incur the same penalty and be treated like the common emigrants, and that from the date of the decree their income should be sequestered:—lastly, that all the officers of the army and of the navy abandoning their commands without leave, would be assimilated to deserters and sentenced to death.

According to the constitution, the king by his veto could annul this decree, as well as the precedent. He did not choose openly to exercise his prerogative, from fear of the irritation which such a resolution would cause; but, at the same time, he would not give his sanction to such severe laws against persons who had acted, and were still acting, if not according to his orders, at the least with his secret approbation. These decrees were but the enforcement of pre-existing laws enacted in every country for the same offences. They were but comminatory measures; the effect of which would, most probably, have been not only to prevent the increase of emigration, but also to bring back most of those who had already emigrated; and thus, by depriving the princes of a great number of their adherents, these misguided personages would at last be compelled to yield. By his irresolution, neither opposing his veto and yet refusing his sanction, the king equally displeased the royalists and the *constitutionnels*; the first accusing his want of energy, whilst the legislators, and the people at large, saw in the refusal a proof of his alliance with the emigrants and the clergy against the liberties and independence of the nation.

The legislators, however, did not urge the immediate sanction of their decrees, and directed their attention towards the movements of the foreign courts. They appointed a committee for foreign affairs, to watch over the conduct, more than suspected, of the minister M. de Lessart, and a committee of war to assist the minister of that department, M. de Narbonne, in preparing for the defence of the country against the threatened invasion. M. de Narbonne, true to his king and to his country, was indefatigable in his labours as a minister in these critical circumstances. His talents and his undoubted patriotism soon gained for him, although a noble, the entire confidence of the

ably ; and it was to the implicit reliance of the legislators on his word, and on his assurances of the sincerity of the king, that the unfortunate monarch was indebted for the moderation of the Assembly. But he was the only one of the ministers who fully understood and fulfilled his duties. His colleagues envied and opposed him in all his plans. The double dealings of M. de Lessart, were not the only difficulties he had to contend with. Another of his colleagues, M. Bertrand de Mottet, incessantly committed him by his mischievous intrigues. An unprincipled man says in his *Memoirs*, published by him in England and in English during his emigration, how, to save the monarchy, he employed a great portion of the twenty-five millions of francs of the civil list, in paying newspaper writers and pamphleteers to attack and slander the members of the legislative body ; national guards to insult them on their passes ; crowds to fill the galleries of the hall, or the assembly of the Jacobins, and applaud or hiss, and clamour down speakers ; others to make incendiary motions, so as to induce disgust or terror. He had even in his pay some of the agitators, and exerted all his influence, and that of the royal treasury, to strengthen the rivals of the Jacobins, the Feuillants, through them, to shackle, criticise, and render abortive, the efforts and the labours of the legislators. M. de Narbonne could not condemn all the corrupt practices of his colleague, and his opposition was repaid by his dismissal. The assembly was ignorant, and could no longer doubt the duplicity of Louis XVI., the anti-national plot of his ministers, when the only man in the council who professed sound constitutional principles, and acted in conformity with them, was superseded in the ministry, at a time when the foreign governments were becoming more insulting and more threatening in their communications. The deaths of Leopold of Austria, and of Gustavus of Sweden, related at great length and with the admirable details of our author, retarded, for a few days, the explosion of the national discontent and irritation. In almost every part of France serious riots and insurrections were raised by the ignorant clergy, or by the royalists ; at times to disgrace the government of the Revolution by scenes of horror, and, at other times, to encourage foreign invasion by a show of resistance to the constitutional government. Thus the massacres at Avignon and the south of France were their work. We remember that in 1793 a man, named Froment, sued the Count d'Artois, afterwards Charles X., before the Royal Court of Paris, for repayment of the sums expended by order of that prince to excite and kindle dreadful conflicts which had hitherto been ascribed to the revolutionists. M. de Lamartine confirms our opinion. ' From

the first day of the Revolution to the last,' he says, 'the royalist party had no other instinct. They have carried even to perversity their hatred of the Revolution. If they had not their hands in the crimes of the Revolution, they had their hearts and their wishes.' (p. 422.)

The legislators could no longer resist the impulse given by public indignation against their domestic and foreign foes. They ordered the production of the diplomatic correspondence with foreign governments, and the result of the examination of those papers was a decree of accusation against M. de Lessart, and a complete change of ministry. General Dumouriez was the successor to M. de Lessart. He was accepted not chosen by the Girondins, as M. de Lamartine says, like the other ministers; he was not unknown. The Marshal-general de Logis of the army of Corsica, the minister of France at the Polish confederation, the major-general, founder and governor of the Port of Cherbourg, where he received Louis XVI. at his table, needed no such introduction as our author represents. After many other inaccuracies in the biographical sketch of the minister, M. de Lamartine speaks of his genius and of all his acts, as a minister, in the highest terms. He began by changing all the ambassadors at the foreign courts, and choosing men who had given pledges of patriotism, and at the same time of affection for the king. His instructions to them, and his official communications with the ambassadors of the continental sovereigns, were conciliatory, but dignified and firm, as became the minister of a country like France. He did not wish for war as our author asserts: on the contrary, he did his utmost to preserve peace; but when he saw that the foreign sovereigns would not receive the new ambassadors, when the cabinet of Vienna dared to assume to him the arrogant tone which his predecessor had tolerated, and to dictate terms which France could not submit to without disgrace, he had no other alternative but to resign, which would have exposed the king and the queen to the accusation of inciting Austria against France, or to propose a declaration of war, which would at once dispel all suspicions, and prove that the monarch was anxious to defend the liberties and the honour of the country. The king did not hesitate, he declared war.

At the same time Roland, minister of the interior, was urging the king to sanction the two decrees against the recusant clergy and the emigrants; and, in his arguments, frequently wounded the feelings of the king, who, besides that, was hurt by the disregard shown to him by the minister. A letter, which Madame Roland boasted of having written, was dressed by Roland to the fallen monarch. This letter was

couched in such terms that the king resolved to get rid of Roland. He complained to Dumouriez, and requested him to recompose the ministry. After a long discussion on the dangers likely to ensue from the dismissal of the favourite of the Assembly, and, notwithstanding his manners, an honest man, Dumouriez yielded to the entreaties of Louis xvi., but on condition that, to give satisfaction to the assembly and to the nation, he would sanction the two decrees. When Dumouriez, after the dismissal of Roland, claimed the fulfilment of the promise made, the king refused, and Dumouriez resigned.

The beginning of the hostilities had been disastrous. After invading the enemy's territory on different points, all the Generals were compelled to retire, and some of the retreats had been marked by incidents which made the soldiers suspect treachery. All the Generals belonged to the party of the Feuillants. The most active persons, in that party, had persuaded Louis xvi. that if he confided in them, being masters of the army by its chiefs, they would reform the constitution, enlarge the royal authority, restore the nobility by the establishment of a house of peers, and revoke the decree against the recusant clergy and the emigrants. The king, allured by their promises, chose all his ministers among them. The assembly expressed its dissatisfaction, and its want of confidence in the new administration; the king, however, maintained them. The Jacobins and the whole population of Paris, indignant at this obstinacy and at the reverses experienced by the armies, began to consider these facts as the result of a conspiracy to open the country to the foreign armies. The reconciliation of the court with the Feuillants, who were all aristocrats, and their installation in the ministry, whilst the generals of that party were retreating before the enemy, seemed to leave no doubt of the determination of the king to betray the nation; and, under the influence of this conviction, the people rose in arms to obtain the dismissal of the new ministers, or the deposition of the king. They repaired to the Assembly to demand the suspension of the king. Had the Girondins and the Assembly entertained the designs attributed to them, they would have seized this opportunity for suspending or deposing Louis xvi. On the contrary, they rejected with firmness the demand of the insurgents, and when they knew that the infuriated multitude was marching on the Tuileries, they immediately sent a deputation of twenty members as a safeguard for the king. Vergniaud was among them—the most zealous of all in fulfilling his mission. 'From the top of the grand staircase of the palace invaded by the multitude, surrounded by the crowd, he addressed them, and recalled them

to their duties, to order, to legality, to the constitution.' (p. 405.)

M. de Lamartine observes that the preceding insurrections, since 1789, had been spontaneous risings of the people, but that the attack of the 20th of June, 1792, was the result of a conspiracy, and of a plan concerted at a nocturnal meeting, in an isolated house at Charenton, near Paris. He gives the names and characters of the conspirators, and their object; which was to present a petition to the Assembly and to the king for the dismissal of the ministers, and for the sanction of the decrees concerning the clergy and the emigrants; and another for the formation of a camp of twenty thousand men for the defence of the capital in case of invasion. None of the members of the assembly assisted at the meeting in which the insurrection is alleged to have been decided upon. Our author affirms that Pétion, the Mayor of Paris, though not present at the re-union, was an accomplice; and yet it was Pétion who, when Vergniaud had failed in his efforts, succeeded, after many attempts, in inducing the multitude to evacuate the palace at the very time that he had the royal family at his disposal, and had only to say a word to annihilate them all.

The popular movement of the 20th of June was but a demonstration of public opinion, intended, no doubt, to intimidate both the legislative assembly and the king, to stir up the moderation of the first, and subdue the obstinacy of the second, in refusing to sanction the decrees of the assembly, and in retaining his unpopular ministers. The result was not such as was anticipated, with regard to the king; and, probably, the legislators would have persisted in their considerate forbearance, had not the ministers and their party, the Feuillants, by their vindictive policy, immediately after the event, compelled the leaders of the assembly, if not to justify the insurrection, at least to assign to it its real causes—the incapacity, unconstitutionality, and treachery, of the government. All the means at the disposal of the administration and of the court were employed in provoking a re-action against the demonstration of the 20th. Addresses were prepared protesting against the insurrectionary movement, lamenting the insults offered to the king, and demanding that the authors of the troubles should be discovered and punished. To this the Assembly had no objection and would have readily assented; but when the principal members found themselves designated as the originators and promoters of the troubles; when Pétion was suspended as an abettor; when menaces were openly uttered against not only the Jacobins but also the Girondins, by the court, the ministers,

and their followers, in the assembly, in the national guard, and in the newspapers, the question assumed a different character. It became a challenge of one party to another; and the challenge was accepted when Lafayette, deceived by the *Lameths*, leaving his camp, came to Paris, and presenting himself at the bar of the Legislative Assembly, spoke in the name of his army, and in furtherance of the object of the Feuillants.

The presence of the General was unexpected by the majority of the assembly. 'He had secretly arrived in Paris on the preceding evening; and, during the night,' says M. de Lamartine, 'M. de la Rochefoucauld, his friend, had informed the royalist members and the principal officers of the national guard of his object; and had even taken the necessary measures to secure applause in the public galleries of the assembly.' (vol. iii. p. 9.) The speech of Lafayette could not but obtain the expected cheers; but the indignation of a considerable number of legislators soon silenced them. Guadet, Ducos, Isnard, Vergniaud, and others, protested against the interference of the chief of an army with the deliberations of the legislature; declared that it was an attempt against their freedom as much as the insurrection of the 20th; reproached the general with having left his army in presence of the enemy; and, finally, a motion was made to compel him to explain why he had quitted his army without leave of absence. The precautions taken by M. de la Rochefoucauld gave a small majority against the motion. On the following morning Lafayette went back to his army; and, after his arrival, wrote to the assembly a letter as mischievous as his speech.

The consequences of this step of Lafayette were, that the king, the queen, and the ministers, relying upon the support of the army, resisted more obstinately all the measures of the assembly; and that the foreign powers and the emigrants, already encouraged by the first reverses of the French armies, were now certain of an easy triumph over the Revolution, when the generals themselves pronounced against its excesses. The queen and her agents incessantly urged them to hasten their advance, assuring them that they would experience no resistance. But, on the other side, the people saw in the conduct of Lafayette the corroboration of the accusation of treason against all the generals, and the justification of the massacre of some of them by their soldiers, at the first defeats they sustained. They connected the retreat of the armies, their being nearer Paris, with the project of a second escape of the king, attributed to Lafayette, and avowed by M. de Lamartine; or to a design of turning the army against their representatives, and of restoring the king to his former authority. The Jacobins, who had

hitherto quarrelled with the Girondins, whom they charged with being too indulgent or too timid, forgot their differences to unite in a common effort against a common danger. It was not only in Paris, but in all the departments of France that this reconciliation took place, and that, at popular meetings held in public gardens, or squares, addresses were voted to the assembly, and brought to Paris by deputations, demanding that exemplary justice should be done on Lafayette, and all the traitors in the palace, in the ministry, and in the armies. The ministers, alarmed at these violent manifestations, presented a law forbidding all public meetings. The legislators rejected it. They could not do otherwise; they would have drawn on themselves the indignation of the people if they had passed such a law. They were already too strongly suspected. ‘The universal cry was, ‘Death to the assembly! Death to the constitution! Death to liberty if justice is not done with Lafayette!’’ (vol. iii. p. 27.)

Six weeks elapsed between the demonstration of the 20th of June and the 10th of August. The greater part of the third volume is devoted to the discussions and transactions which took place during that short but momentous period. For those who pretend that the Legislative Assembly was intent upon overthrowing Louis xvi., let us mention another circumstance, which proves that, even after the attempt of Lafayette, and, in spite of the general irritation, the legislature was still desirous of maintaining the king on his throne. In the middle of the angry discussions, accusations, and recriminations, which then convulsed the Assembly, a good priest, Lamourette, ascends the tribune, and, after some observations on the dreadful state of the country, showing that the main causes were their divisions, and the mutual suspicions which they entertained against one another, he implored them to save the country by a general reconciliation, and concluded in these terms—‘Let us smother our dissensions in a patriotic embrace, with an unanimous oath, vowing to a common execration the republic and the two chambers.’ Such was the impression produced by his speech, that the legislators rushed into the arms of one another. In one instant parties the most averse had buried their hatred in oblivion. A deputation was sent to the king, inviting his majesty to come and enjoy the spectacle of their concord. He went and was welcomed by the acclamations of all. Moved to tears by all that he heard and saw, he pronounced these few words, ‘I make but one with you. Our union shall save France.’ On going back to his palace he was attended by the
 ags of the people, (pp. 61, 62.) and in the following
 (63.) M. de Lamartine says, ‘All the hopes of the royal

family rested on the foreign armies, which promised to rescue them in one month. They reckoned, march by march, the arrival of the Duke of Brunswick in Paris. The day of delivery was, in anticipation, marked by the queen's finger on her alendar.'

The advance of the Prussian army towards the frontier was soon generally known in Paris and the rest of France; and yet the assembly resisting the popular irritation did not betray the least animosity against the monarch, in any of the decrees issued, even when the insolent manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick, on entering the French territory, was received in Paris on the 1st of August, and maddened the population. In this manifesto the duke admitted, in terms as plain as possible, that he came at the call of the king, to re-establish him in the fulness of his previous authority, and to punish the factious who had inflicted upon him so many insults and degradations. Before the 3rd of August numerous petitions had already been presented to the assembly, demanding the suspension of the king till the conclusion of the war. On that day Pétion presented a petition of the forty-eight sections of Paris, claiming the *dechéance* of Louis XVI., and the assembly delayed the taking of it into consideration till the 8th, when a further delay was obtained. On the 9th it rejected, by a large majority the proposed decree of high treason against Lafayette. It then appeared evident to all that the legislators were determined not to suspend or unthrone the king. The sections of Paris immediately assembled, and resolved that if, in the night of the 9th of August, at twelve o'clock, the assembly had not decreed the *dechéance*, 'the alarm bell would be rung, the drums would call the citizens to arms, and they would immediately march against the assembly and the Tuileries.' The legislators not having complied with those resolutions, the insurrection took place. The king, at the beginning of the attack on his palace, repaired to the hall of the assembly. Vergniaud was the president. To the last he resisted the imperious demand of an infuriated multitude, and protected the unfortunate monarch and his family. To the last the assembly endeavoured to maintain the constitution, with the royal power which it established. In the hope that the popular fury would soon be exhausted, and that better feelings would prevail, when the invasion was repulsed, Vergniaud, in the name of a committee appointed to report upon the demand of a triumphant multitude, proposed the suspension and not the *dechéance* of the king, and the convocation of a national convention. The Assembly immediately adopted the decree.

Thus the Legislative Assembly was faithful to the oath

which all its members had taken at the beginning of their session. No threats, no perils, however imminent, could make them violate the constitution they had sworn to observe and to defend; they only continued in the exercise of their legislative functions until the meeting of the Convention, which was appointed for the 20th of September. Their hopes, however, of seeing the people return to moderation were disappointed. While adhesion to, and complete approbation of the results of the 10th of August were sent from all parts of France, a protest of Lafayette in the name of his army, kept up the violent passions that had been excited. His failure, his flight from his army, the rapid advance of the Prussians, the surrender of Longwy, and afterwards of Verdun, carried the rage of the people to the highest point; and the massacres of the royalists and the recusant priests, who had been imprisoned, were the consequences. The three last books of the third volume are devoted to the narration of those deplorable atrocities.

We have performed the first part of our task, honestly, conscientiously, fearlessly; with no other object than to enable our readers to assign all the calamities of the French Revolution to their real causes; and we shall continue in the same spirit. After showing how a proud and selfish aristocracy, and an equally selfish and intolerant state-church caused the crushing of a dynasty under the ruins of a throne, we will show, in our next Number, how the brightest talents, the most exalted patriotism, and the purest intentions failed in the twofold attempt to secure the independence and the welfare of the country, against the coalition of all the European state-churches and aristocratic monarchies.

ART. IV.—1. *Ulphilæ partium ineditarum in Ambrosianis palimpsestis Angelo Majo repertarum specimen conjunctis curis ejusdem Maji et C. Oct. Castilionaei editum, Mediolani, 1819.*

——— *etc. Epist. d. Pauli ad Corinth. sec.—ed. C. O. Castilionaeus, Ibid. 1829;*

Epist. d. Pauli ad Romanos, ad Corinthios primæ, ad Ephesios quæ supersunt, Ibid. 1834;

Epist. ad Galatas, ad Philippenses, ad Colossenses, ad Thessalonicenses, primæ quæ supersunt, Ibid. 1835;

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2. *Geo. Waitz, über das Leben und die Lehre des Ulfila—(i. e. On the Life and Doctrine of Ulfila) Hannover, 1840.*

3. *Ulfilas. Veteris et Novi Testamenti versionis Gothicæ fragmenta, quæ supersunt, ad fidem codd. castigata, latinitate donata, adnotatione critica instructa cum Glossario et grammatica linguæ Gothicæ, conjunctis curis ediderunt H. C. de Gabelentz et Z. Loebe. Lipsiae, 1836—1847.*

THE degree of civilization which the ancient Germans had attained among the pagan nations of antiquity, is in every respect as far as science and wit is concerned, inferior to that of the Greeks and Romans. And, yet, they were possessed of very superior mental and moral qualifications, so that they cannot, by any means, be called rude and uncivilized. Indeed, in a moral point of view, they were not only not inferior, but most decidedly superior to many, even the most refined nations of antiquity, a fact which is amply proved by the circumstance of Tacitus recommending them to his nation as a model.

The source of their spiritual and moral culture was their religion, their simple manners and good habits. They loved honour and freedom, and showed themselves brave, faithful, chaste, and hospitable—virtues that are praised in them by Tacitus, Cæsar, and other ancient writers; and even when they became more closely connected with the Romans, they even then preserved the pristine purity of their national character, and kept aloof from the vices of Roman effeminacy. In the fidelity with which the German was attached to the leader he had chosen (Tac. Germ. 13. 14.), in the veneration which the women experienced in private and public life (Ibid. 18. 19.), and in the characteristic features above alluded to, we find the

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first germs of that chivalrous life and disposition of mind which fully developed themselves in subsequent ages throughout the whole of the west; while in the basis of their religion, the regard men had for divine and moral laws, and the administration of justice, we see the true elements of a Christian character.

Their whole worship of gods, as for example, of Hertha, Tuisco, Mann, etc., and of the innumerable god and ghostlike beings, from the water, mountain and familiar spirits, down to the giants and dwarfs, or elves; in fact, their whole system of polytheism was based upon a deep and sincere feeling, because their whole being was penetrated by the most sublime ideas of supreme beings, and a continuation, or state of life after death. They, therefore, worshipped not their gods in the shape of images, idols, or symbols, as was the custom with many other ancient nations, but they revered them as invisible spirits; and although temples were by no means unknown to them, yet the free and open Nature, or their so-called sacred groves, were their most favourite places for worshipping them (Tac. Germ. 9.). Hence, we find among them no despotic priestly cast, (much as the priesthood was esteemed by the people,) who dare to encroach upon, or to interfere with, the freedom and privileges of their private life, nor were the minds of men kept in that constant state of terror, exercised by an hierarchical system, as was the case with the Celts and other rude nations of antiquity. It was Nature only, which was, so to speak, the sole object upon which the German conferred the greatest honour and reverence, and a sort of religious shyness, if not the most decided fear.

That such a nation should be most fit for the reception of the Divine truths taught by our blessed Redeemer, is obvious. Nor was it long ere the Divine light broke in upon it. For, about the beginning of the fourth century, the Western Goths, or Wisigoths, were the first of the Teutonic race who embraced Christianity, a step to which they are said to have been induced by the Christian prisoners which they had made. From them Christianity, ere long, proceeded to the Eastern Goths, or Austrogoths, from whom it came to the Vandals and Gepidi, nations that were closely related to them by language and manners; so that we find, even in the very first quarter of the same century (about 325.), among the bishops who annexed their signatures to the decrees of the Nicene councils, a Gothic bishop, Theophilus, by name.

But were the operations commenced in the good cause by holy men, to be confined to only a few branches of the vast Teutonic race? And if so, what security had these men that their labours would not be spent in vain, and that the nations which

had converted, would not relapse into their former, though modified, state of paganism? Hence, 'it must have been evident to the converters, even at the very commencement,' says Gervinus, a German writer of great repute, 'that it would be more fit for an inculcation of Christianity than the diffusion of Christian writings, composed in the vulgar tongue, and that, in order to divert the ever busy spirit of the Goths from their former pagan recollections, nothing would be so good as to afford it a new and different occupation. With this intention, perhaps, was made the precious *Gothic Version of the Bible* by Bishop Ulphila, who carefully omitted the Book of Kings, in order not to lead his warlike nation into tempta-

The church, it is true, did not like to see the vulgar tongue used for spiritual purposes; yet, the ministers among Germans and Anglo-Saxons, who had intercourse with the Goths, perceived the more vividly the necessity which existed to use the vulgar tongue, and they, who had for the most part received a wholly Latin education, shunned not the greatest efforts in order to make themselves acquainted with it.'

Immortal praise, therefore, is due to this *Ulphila*, or *Ulphilas*, whose name derived from the Gothic *Wulfs*, signifying a wolf, because it is spelled by some writers, as, for example, *Hugobertus*, *Wulphila*, and by the more modern ones *Ulfila*), for the time and labour which he spent on this version, for his exertions for the propagation and confirmation of Christianity among the Goths, as also for the care which he bestowed on their civilisation and general moral improvement. A word or two concerning this illustrious personage, may here find a place.

Little is known respecting this pious and learned Gothic prelate; and even for this little we are indebted to a treatise of Isidore of Seville, a disciple of Ulphila, and bishop of Silistria, contained in a manuscript belonging probably to the fourth century, which has been very recently discovered at Paris by Geo. Waitz, a German savant. Accordingly, this great man, whose parents were of Cappadocian extraction, was born about the year 318, among the Goths that inhabited the other side of the *Danube*. As the latter were thus near, and almost within the borders of the Greek empire, and carried on, moreover, a lively intercourse with the Greeks of Constantinople; hence he was sent to the latter place, where he received a Greek education, and ultimately converted to Christianity. Here he entered the ecclesiastical orders, and was consecrated bishop in the year 348. On his return to his countrymen, he commenced a further propagation of Christianity, for which purpose he made use of his version of the Bible, a circumstance, which sufficiently proves that the Goths must have had attained already a high degree of

mental culture, inasmuch as he was able to acquaint them with the teachings of Jesus Christ, by means of a book.

In consequence of the oppression which the new converts were subject to, and his own banishment by a pagan prince of his people, Ulphila emigrated about the year 355 to the Roman empire, whither he was followed by large numbers of western Goths, partly on account of the persecution which they, as Christians, suffered, and partly in consequence of the crowding of the Huns. The emperor Constantine, therefore, permitted them to settle in Lower Moesia, the present Bulgaria, at the foot of the Haimus. Another emigration, ere long, followed; and as the Arian confession was then dominant throughout the Roman empire, hence the greater part of the new comers, Ulphila himself included, now adopted this confession. In the year 360, likewise he attended the Arian synod held at Constantinople, whither he betook himself in the year 388, in order to defend the Arian doctrine; but he there died soon after, at the age of seventy.

Ulphila was highly esteemed by his nation and contemporaries for his piety and great learning. He is said to have preached and composed in the Greek, Latin, and Gothic languages, particular mention of which is made by Auxentius, the divine already alluded to. Great credit is due to him for having been the first Goth who undertook the application of the Gothic language to great and important scriptural compositions, and for having imparted to it a more solid character, and, so to speak, a firm keeping. But the greatest merit of his life is his translation of the sacred Scriptures (in the translation of the Old Testament, he has probably followed the Septuagint), from the Greek into Gothic, a language, which, although it cannot be regarded as the mother of the Germanic primitive language, may be considered, nevertheless, as the main branch of it, which, with the exception of the higher and lower German, was at that time the most finished idiom. But inasmuch as it was very poor, and quite unfit for elaborate composition, both written and oral; hence he was compelled to create new words, or rather, he had to borrow them from the Greek, with which the German language has, most probably, a common origin, in order to be able to express those ideas which were, as yet, unknown to the Goths. Similar difficulties he had to overcome in point of the letters or characters of the Gothic alphabet. Some Greek ecclesiastical writers, as, for example, *Philostorg.*, 2, 5; *Socrat.*, 4, 33; *Sozomen.*, 6, 37; and, at a later period, some Latin ones, ascribe to him the invention of Gothic letters. This is a mistake; what these writers mean to say, or ought to have said, is, that Ulphilas fixed upon an alphabet, which was in use

ing the Goths at a later period, and for which the Greek and Latin characters served as a model. It is, however, more probable, nay, it is almost certain, that he made the Gothic alphabet, as it then existed, the foundation of the new one, (if so it may be called!) by borrowing a Greek letter whenever he perceived in his own tongue a sound, for which the alphabet in use, had no corresponding letter. This, and nothing more is meant, whenever Ulphilas is spoken of as the inventor of the Gothic alphabet. Besides, who would have been able to read or understand him, had he invented an entirely new and unknown alphabet? He, then, might as well have spared himself the trouble of making a translation of the Bible. Indeed, we need only glance at the characters which he used in his translation, and we shall soon perceive in many of them a most striking similarity with the Greek characters. ; he made use of some Runic characters belonging to the Scandinavian, has already been seen; but this he did, as has been proved by *Lund* in his *Diss. de Zamolxi primo Getarum interprete*, in order to render them more useful and accessible to the Goths.

That it may be well to inquire into the character of Ulphilas's version of the Bible, and to dwell on the records or manuscripts, of which there are, as yet, considerable and numerous specimens in existence. And since this translation is the most precious memorial of German antiquity, and the primeval source of all German etymological research, these records fully deserve minute examination.

If the statement made by Philostorgius concerning this version be at all correct, (Philostorg. 2, 5), the books of the Pentateuch are the only portion of the Old Testament which Ulphilas did not translate, or the translation of which he designedly omitted, in order not to rouse, as already stated, the warlike spirit of his nation on reading the Jewish war-history. Of his translation, which is literal and most faithful, and which adheres to the original text with much ease, and without the least degree of constraint, there exist, as has already been said, considerable fragments which are invaluable as the main records of the Gothic dialect for the history of the Teutonic language. Even so early as the middle of the seventeenth century, as many as *two* Codices were already known, namely, the *Codex Argenteus*, or Silver Manuscript, which is preserved at Upsala, in Sweden, and the *Codex Carolinus*, kept at the Imperial Library of Wolfenbüttel, both of which have been lately completed in more modern days. But of this hereafter. ; us, for the present, inquire into the character and history of each manuscript separately, beginning, first of all, with the

Codex Argenteus, which was the first that was discovered in the *Benedictine monastery* at *Werden*, in the county of Mark, in *Westphalia*. How this interesting memorial got there is quite unknown. However, from thence it came, according to *Johann Ihre*, a learned Swedish writer, (more of whom hereafter,) at the time of the thirty years' war, together with other treasures of this monastery, to Prague, in order to be secured there. But on this town being forcibly taken by *Count Königsmark*, a Swedish general, after the happy termination of the battle fought near this place in the year 1648, all these treasures, the Codex included, fell into the hands of the victorious general, by whom the booty was sent to his sovereign *Christina*, Queen of Sweden, who presented the manuscript to the Royal Library of Stockholm. However, it remained not long in this place; for, in the year 1655, *Isaac Vossius*, then the keeper of the Royal Library, left Stockholm, and took the manuscript with him to Holland. Here a certain *Franz Junius* obtained the loan of it, and having studied it thoroughly, he carefully copied the whole, and published it for the first time. But this Codex was, even at that time, in a bad condition, as may be seen from the dedicatory letter of *Junius* to the Swedish Count *De la Gardie*; indeed, it was this very *Junius* who brought it into that order in which we now find it. When this nobleman heard that the Codex was in the possession of *Vossius*, he bought it of him for the sum of four hundred dollars, (according to some, it was considerably more), had it bound all over in silver, with the likeness of Bishop *Ulfila* engraved upon it, in which state he presented it to the University of *Upsala*, in Sweden. Some say,—and we confess that we are at a loss to know upon what authority,—that it was King *Charles XII.* who purchased it back again, and presented it to the said University.

In this place it is still, but in such a bad condition as almost to be unserviceable. It is kept under lock and key, in a glass box, which is open to no person, however high his rank or station might be. The whole is in quarto, written in *uncial* letters on very thin and smoothly-polished parchment, which is, for the greater part, of a purple colour, and consists of only one hundred and eighty-eight pages, whereas there are said to have been formerly, three hundred and twenty of them. In its present state, this manuscript only contains the four gospels, and these, too, are not without considerable blanks or gaps. Some of the letters, especially those with which the chapters commence, are larger than the rest, and are covered with gold and silver plate, which is a characteristic feature in some Asiatic writings, and in the Canticles, missals, etc., of the Middle Ages, such as are

yet frequently met with, and in a state, too, of great preservation, in monasteries and other public institutions. The verb 'argenteus,' therefore, as connected in the foregoing with the term *Codex*, is wholly owing to this circumstance.

The *Codex Carolinus*, which is preserved at the Ducal Library Wolfenbüttel, was discovered in that city, in the year 1756, by *Franz Anton Knittel*, archdeacon and counsellor of the consistory of Wolfenbüttel. There is in this library, an ancient copy of the *Originum Isidori Hispalensis*, made in Spain during the eighth or ninth century, part of which is written on parchment leaves. On these leaves had formerly been written in Gothic letters, Ulphila's Translation of the Bible to the Romans, with a Latin version of it, which was by the side of it. This, then, had been expunged, and the '*Originum Isidori Hispalensis*' placed there instead of it. The ink of the new composition, however, had faded much sooner than that of the more ancient one, a circumstance enabling *Knittel* to make out and decipher the text, which, as has already been observed, contains some remnants of the epistle to the Romans, written in characters similar to those of the *Codex argenteus*, only they are not so beautiful, whilst the whole of it, generally speaking, is of less importance than the silver manuscript.

Both these Codices have been greatly enriched by means of some considerable fragments of the manuscripts that were discovered by *Majo*, in the Palimpsests of the Ambrosiana (Ambrosian Library), at Milan, in the year 1818, and at subsequent periods. These fragments contain the Epistles of St. Paul, integrations of the gospels, and the Old Testament books of *Nehemiah*, *Ezra*, etc., and were published from time to time by *Majo* and Count *Castiglioni*, under the respective titles which we have placed at the head of this article. As the translation of Ulphila at present exists, it embraces large portions of the four gospels, the Epistles of St. Paul, and some smaller ones from a Psalm, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, and the Maccabees.

This naturally leads us to an inquiry into the printed editions of the translations which have been published since the latter end of the seventeenth century up to the present day. Omitting, therefore, the full title of each edition, we here mention the following, together with the editor's name, briefly noticing, at the same time, their merits and demerits, as occasion may require.

1. By *Franciscus Junius*, Dortrecht, 1665, 2 vols. 4to., and Amsterdam, 1684. This edition is printed with Gothic characters, and contains, moreover, an Anglo-Saxon Translation of it from the pen of *Thomas Marsschal* and a

Glossary by *Junius*. It is highly useful, and in every respect very correct.

2. By *G. Stiernhielm*, (the name of the editor is not mentioned in the title-page,) Stockholm, 1671, 4to. This edition contains the Gothic text printed with Roman characters, and has by the side of it the Islandic and Swedish Text, as also the Vulgate. Abounding in errata, this edition is not very useful and commendable.
3. By *Edward Lye*, Oxford, 1756, small folio, with a literal Latin Translation by *Benzel*, and numerous Annotations by him and the Editor. It also contains a Grammar from the pen of the latter. This is altogether a very splendid and very correctly printed edition, but one which is at present very scarce.
4. The Fragments from St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, according to the *Codex Carolinus*, arranged by *F.A. Knittel*, Brunswick, 1761, large 4to. It contains the Gothic Text in *Ulfilanic* characters which were cast for that purpose, together with *Knittel's* readings and Translation. On every opposite page is given the ancient Latin Version as contained in the Codex; underneath it is the Vulgate, and under this again, the Greek Text. There is, moreover, a full critical Commentary, the whole of which has been carefully revised by *Johann Ihre*. It is a magnificent edition, and displays superior skill and great diligence in the management of this truly difficult subject.
5. By *Johann Ihre*, Upsala, 1763. This is a more correct and far superior edition of the Text discovered by the Archdeacon of Wolfenbüttel, printed with Latin types, and contains a Latin Version made by the Editor. It is invaluable on account of *Ihre's* Emendations and Annotations. These fragments have been repeatedly reprinted. Especial mention is due to the excellent edition of *A. F. Büsching*, Berlin, 1773, 4to.
6. By *Johann Christian Zahn*, who has instituted an edition of both Codices, Weissenfels, 1805, large 4to. It is from *Ihre's* text, and contains a literal Latin interlinear Translation, a Grammar and Glossary by *Fulda*, with *Ihre's* Latin Version by the side of the Text; a critical Review, explanatory Notes, and a historico-critical Introduction by the Editor.
7. The editions of *Majo* and Count *Castiglioni* have already been alluded to.
8. The latest and most finished as well as complete edition of Ulfila's Version, the one which surpasses all the rest in point of profound learning, correctness, and scholar-like

treatment, is that of *H. C. von Gabelentz* and *Dr. J. Loebe*. It consists of two large volumes in 4to., and comprises, besides a Latin Version, a Gothic Grammar and Dictionary. The Editors have chosen for this elegant work the Roman type as being most suitable for a typographical presentation of the original text. The title of this admirable publication is given in full at the head of this article.

ART. V.—*A Treatise on the Succession to Property vacant by Death; including Inquiries into the influence of Primogeniture, Entail, Compulsory Partition, Foundations, etc., over the Public Interests.* By *J. R. M'Culloch, Esq., Member of the Institute of France.* 8vo. London: Longmans. 1848.

THIS book treats unquestionably of the most important subject that can be legitimately included in the domain of politics. 'The laws of inheritance,' says *M. de Tocqueville*, as quoted by *Mr. M'Culloch*, 'ought to be placed at the head of all political institutions: 'they exercise an extraordinary influence over the social state of a nation. Man acquires through their means a kind of preternatural power over the destiny of unborn generations. When the legislator has established the laws of succession, he may rest from his labours. The machine, once set in motion, will go on for ages.' What *M. de Tocqueville* means by *preternatural* power is obviously the influence which one generation, by its habits, its opinions, its acts, whether embodied into laws or not, very naturally exercises over its immediate and all its following successors; but this correction of his language, rather than his views, only adds force to the rest of his observations. It brings home to this generation—by the ordinary laws of nature—by the moral connection of fathers with their children to the third and fourth generation—the full and entire responsibility, not only of any rules of succession to property they may enact or allow to be enacted, but of any such rules, which having been in past times enacted, they maintain. The preternatural power being only the influence of parents over offspring, every existing race should be especially careful in enforcing or assenting to laws of succession fraught through ages with evil or with good. On all hands it is admitted that the extreme poverty and wretchedness which prevail in every part

of Europe are closely connected with the succession to property ; and the calendars of every nation inform us that nine-tenths of all the crimes committed in society have a similar origin. As each individual's possessions are well defined and held sacred by all other men, so will be the worldly rewards of honest industry, the due stimulus to enterprise and exertion, and so will be the morality, the mutual respect, the brotherly harmony and love of the whole society. The moral and economical effects of the laws regulating succession to property make this subject of unsurpassed importance.

That Mr. M'Culloch has fully comprehended and embraced all these consequences, we cannot say. He treats historically the laws and regulations relating to wills and intestate property in Judæa, Athens, Rome, and England ; he describes the rise, and estimates the influence of primogeniture ; he refers to the origin of entails, and their effects on society ; he is elaborate on compulsory partition, particularly in France ; he notices the different rules affecting the succession to leases in England, Ireland, and Scotland ; he discourses on foundations, death-bed settlements, on community of goods and agrarian laws ; but he does not say a word about the right of property, which must be understood before the rules for the descent of property can be adequately and fairly examined. He only incidentally notices a very few of the moral effects of the existing right, and treats the most important of them superficially and erroneously. The best parts of his book are the historical chapter and his account of the compulsory partition of the soil in France. As long as he has statutes to deal with, or confines his attention to the four corners of some book before him, and can quote chapter and verse for every statement, no man is more to be relied on. His descriptions of what was done in times heretofore, and of the laws that were enacted and abrogated, or of what has been written of countries afar off, are always instructive ; but he seems deficient in comprehensive imagination 'to predict the present,' as Turgot expresses it, and accordingly he fails whenever he attempts to realize the effects of existing institutions. Passing by all that he says of Judæa, Athens, and Rome, we shall confine our attention to that part of the book which, treating of the appropriation and division of the soil in France, is the best executed, and has an intense interest for the present generation.

Mr. M'Culloch wrote an article in the 'Edinburgh Review' in July, 1824, of which the present treatise is an amended and enlarged edition, impugning the French law of equal succession. His views have found many antagonists in France and some in England, and the subject has latterly occasioned much discussion. In the present work he supports his opinions of 1824 by

much additional information, and contends earnestly for primogeniture, entails, and keeping the land in few hands and in large masses. He is a determined opponent of equality and democracy. From the present condition of landed property in France he derives most of the facts favourable to his views, and as they are at once curious and little known, we shall give a fair abridgment of this part of his book, letting him speak for himself in our quotations:—

‘According to the law of France, a person with one child may dispose, at pleasure, of a moiety of his property, the child inheriting the other moiety as *legitim* or matter of right; a person having two children can only dispose of a third part of his property; and those having more than two, must divide three-fourths of their property equally amongst them, one fourth part being all that is then left at their disposal. When a father dies intestate, his property is equally divided amongst his children without respect to sex or seniority.’—p. 80.

‘The law of compulsory succession in France (originally enacted in 1791) was not dictated by any large or comprehensive views of public expediency, but by a spirit of hostility to the aristocracy: and it is not to be wondered at that such a spirit should have been manifested.—p. 81.

‘The official returns published by order of government, supply authentic information in regard to the subdivision of property in France, and its growing extent. In 1815, for example, the land tax, or *contribution foncière*, was assessed upon 10,083,751 distinct properties; whereas in 1835, it was assessed upon 10,893,528, and in 1842, upon 11,511,841 such properties; being an increase in the course of the twenty-seven years ending with 1842, of no fewer than 1,428,090 properties, great and small! that is, we believe, of more than double the number of all the separate properties now to be found in Great Britain!

‘But it is proper to observe that these returns comprise all house properties separately rated to the *contribution foncière*, as well as all landed properties; and the increase of the former accounts, no doubt, in some degree, for the total increase in the number of properties, which is also in part explained by the division of commons, and the extension of cultivation over heaths, wastes, etc., since 1815.’—p. 94.

‘It is necessary farther to observe, that the number of properties in the returns now referred to, and the number of proprietors, are by no means identical; a good many of the latter possessing property in different *arrondissements*, and being assessed to the land-tax in each. So much so is this the case, that the best authorities seem to concur in thinking that the total number of proprietors of all descriptions may be estimated at from 5,000,000 to 5,500,000; and that of these not fewer than from 4,000,000 to 4,500,000 are proprietors of land! Hence, taking the latter at 4,250,000, and their families at an average of five persons each, it will be found that of the entire population of France, amounting in 1846 to 35,400,486,—21,250,000, or nearly two-thirds of the whole, belonged to the class of proprietors!’—p. 95.

‘The extreme subdivision of the territory of France is, if possible, still more clearly evinced by the returns of the assessments on the dif-

ferent properties. The *contribution foncière*, though there are great inequalities in its pressure, amounts, at an average, to about a fifth or a sixth part of the rent of the land; and the official returns show that it was assessed in 1835 and 1842 as follows, viz.:—

	1835.	1842.
Properties assessed at less than 5 fr. a year .	5,205,411	5,440,580
— from 5 fr. to 10 fr.	1,751,994	1,818,474
— 10 — 20	1,514,251	1,614,897
— 20 — 30	739,206	791,711
— 30 — 50	684,165	744,911
— 50 — 100	553,230	607,956
— 100 — 500	398,714	440,104
— 500 — 1000	33,196	36,862
— 1000 and upwards	13,361	16,346
	<hr/> 10,893,528	<hr/> 11,511,841

‘It appears from this table, that of the whole number of properties in France, nearly a half are assessed at less than 5 fr. a year; so that, taking the assessment, not at one-fifth or one-sixth, but only at one-tenth part of the rent, it follows that about half the properties in France are not worth more than 50 fr., or 40s. a year. And as such house properties as are separately assessed usually exceed this amount, the necessary inference is, that the greater portion of these small properties consist of parcels of land, with or without cottages. It farther appears, that of the whole properties of France in 1842, amounting to 11,511,841, no fewer than 11,018,532 were assessed at less than 100 fr. a year; whence, taking as above the assessment at only a tenth part of the rent, it follows that eleven out of every eleven and a half properties are worth less than £40 a year! And it also appears that there are only 53,208 properties in France assessed at upwards of 500 fr., or which are worth more than £200 a year!’—pp. 96, 97.

Mr. M'Culloch also quotes the case of Argenteuil to shew a still further subdivision of the soil, that commune contains 3,830½ acres, distributed into the extraordinary number of 36,883 separate parcels. We must now quote his description of the effects of thus grinding the land, as M. de Tocqueville says, into the impalpable powder of democracy:—

‘The anxiety to get possession of parcels of land now alluded to, has been noticed by most of those who have turned their attention to this subject. ‘*L'amour*,’ says M. de Tocqueville, ‘*de la propriété immobilière ne se retrouve plus habituellement que chez le pauvre. Le petit propriétaire foncier, qui a moins de lumières, moins d'imagination, et moins de passions rue le grand, n'est en général préoccupé que du désir d'augmenter son domaine.*’ (i. 82). Garnier, the well-informed translator of the *Wealth of Nations*, and an admirer of the law of compulsory succession,

states that while there is a very keen demand in France for small plots of land, there is comparatively little demand for moderate-sized farms. He exemplifies this by stating that a farm which would bring 4,000 frs. or 5,000 frs. a year of rent (£160 or £200), will not sell as a whole for more than five-and-twenty years' purchase, whereas, if it be divided into a number of small lots, it will most probably sell for forty years' purchase. Hence, when estates of a good size are brought to market, they are usually sub-divided; and hence, also, the unavoidable conclusion that small patches of land are sought for in France, as they are sought for in Ireland, as a means of subsistence, and not in the view of realising a profit by their cultivation.'—p. 104.

As a natural consequence of this excessive eagerness to get hold of land, the peasant proprietary give for it a great deal more than it is worth, and are overwhelmed with difficulties and debts:—

. : . 'A large portion of land owners are barely able, with all their proverbial parsimony, to discharge the interest of the sums secured upon the land; and are wholly without the means of attempting any improvement, or even of recovering from an accidental calamity, such as a hail-storm or an inundation. In 1832 the debts secured by mortgage in France amounted to the prodigious sum of 11,233,000,000 fr.; in 1840 they had increased to 12,544,000,000 fr.; and they may at present (1847) be moderately estimated at 14,000,000,000 fr. At 5 per cent. the interest on this principal would amount to 700,000,000 fr. or twenty-eight millions sterling; but it is affirmed that the rate of interest varies from six to eight and ten per cent.; and supposing it to average seven per cent., its gross amount would exceed *thirty-nine* millions sterling!'—p. 106.

. . . 'In truth a large proportion of the so-called proprietors are little better than the slaves of creditors, to whom and to government they have very generally to pay all that their plots of land yield over their own scanty subsistence. And when the reader is further informed that great numbers of small properties are annually sold for behoof of the creditors, it will be apparent that the boasted security of the peasant proprietors is nearly as imaginary as their favourable position in other respects.'—p. 106.

Miserable as this represents the bulk of the population of France to be, Michelet gives in his work 'The People' a far darker picture of a French peasant, which makes us believe that they are the dismal prey of harpies:—

'Watch him before daylight; you will find him at work with all his family; and even his wife, scarcely out of her confinement, creeping along the dung earth. At noon, when rocks split with the heat, when the planter's negro takes repose, the volunteer negro gets none. Behold his food—the artisan feeds better every day than the peasant on Sunday. . . . The land brings him in two per cent., and usury de-

mands eight; that is to say, usury is fighting against him like five men against one. Every year's interest wipes away four years' work. Are you now surprised that this Frenchman, this merry singer of former days, no longer smiles? Are you surprised, if meeting him on that land which devours him, you find him so gloomy? In passing you salute him cordially; he will not see you, but slouches his hat. Do not ask him the way, if he answers he may perhaps make you turn your back on the place you are going to. Thus the peasant becomes more and more bitter and retiring. His heart is too much oppressed to open it to any sentiment of benevolence. He hates the rich, his neighbour, and the world. Alone in this miserable property as in a desert island, he becomes a savage. It is insociability proceeding from the feeling of his misery renders it irremediable; it prevents him from being on a kindly footing with those who ought to be his helpmates and natural friends. The other peasants, he would sooner die than advance one step towards them. On the other hand, the townsman has no desire to approach that fierce-looking man, he is almost afraid of him. 'The peasant is malicious, spiteful, and capable of any enormity. It is not safe to be his neighbour.'

If that be the fruit of compulsory succession it has indeed much to answer for; but this is not all. The peasant toils amazingly, but with comparatively trifling success. The Revolution, by abolishing the seignoral rights of the nobility, restoring freedom to internal commerce, and by sweeping away tithes and corvees, did much to promote and improve agriculture in France. 'But the law of compulsory succession has gone far,' says Mr. M'Culloch, 'to countervail these extraordinary advantages;' and he gives us this account of cultivation in France:—

. . . 'Cultivation has, no doubt, been greatly extended; but its extension may be accompanied by a deterioration as well as by an improvement of agriculture; and the former, we fear, rather than the latter, has been generally the case in France. Most part of the parks, chases, and other widely-extended demesnes of the old nobility and gentry have been parcelled out and subjected to tillage; and the extent of pasture and meadow land, and the supply of stock, have also been greatly diminished. These circumstances, combined with the extension of tillage over commons and wastes, sufficiently account for the increased production of corn and potatoes, without laying any stress on the improvement of agriculture. Except, indeed, in a few particulars, especially those relating to the culture of silk, vines, and garden plants, in which a minute system of husbandry has some advantages over that which is conducted upon a larger scale, there has been little or no improvement in French husbandry. In some respects it has retrograded, especially in the quality and quantity of stock. The law of equal succession has been strong enough to nullify all or by far the greater portion of the advantages conferred on agriculture by the Revolution, and by the advances made in other departments of industry during the present century. It

is difficult to say whether it be most efficient as an anti-aristocratical or an anti-agricultural engine.'—pp. 108, 109.

The result is thus summed up in a comparison between the productiveness of French and English agriculture. We quote this paragraph with the more pleasure, because it brings distinctly before us, that the great and prime object in the appropriation and division of the land, is the production of subsistence—a principle that ought never to be lost sight of in examining Mr. M'Culloch's views and the views of those who regard property in land as the means of establishing or maintaining either an aristocracy or a democracy:—

‘The average produce per acre of the crops of wheat in England and Wales, in good years, has been carefully estimated at thirty-two bushels an acre, and it is certainly not under thirty bushels. But in France the produce of wheat, even in the richest and best cultivated departments, is little more, according to the official returns and the best private authorities, than twenty bushels an acre; and at an average of the entire kingdom, it hardly amounts in a good year to fourteen bushels! This result is completely decisive. It shows that *one* acre of land in England yields, from its being better farmed, considerably more wheat than *two* acres in France: and if we took barley, or oats, turnips, beef, or wool for a standard, the difference in our favour would be seen to be still greater.*

‘The state of the agricultural population is, according to the best native authorities, but too much in harmony with the state of agriculture. ‘*Si en effet,*’ says M. Lafitte, ‘*le manufacturier des nos grandes villes est aussi avisé, aussi adroit que l’homme doit être aujourd’hui, notre agriculteur est aussi ignorant, aussi pauvre que dans les siècles de la féodalité; et nous avons l’indigente France du quatorzième siècle, pour consommer les produits de l’ingénieuse et riche France de dix-neuvième siècle. Une partie considérable de la population ne mange ni pain ni viande, ne se nourrit que de quelques grossiers légumes, et se couvre à peine de quelques misérables haillons.*’—pp. 117, 118.

‘The population of France amounts at present (1847) to above 35,400,000, of which the proportion belonging to the different departments of husbandry has been variously estimated at from twenty-six to twenty-eight millions. And we shall certainly be far within the mark if we suppose the agricultural population to amount to two-thirds of the entire population of the kingdom. On this hypothesis it follows (laying foreign importations for the moment out of view), that every individual belonging to the agricultural class in France produces food for one and a half individuals, or that two agriculturists supply food for three persons; that is, for themselves and for an individual belonging to one of the other

• If labour were taken for a standard, instead of land, the result would be still more in our favour. One man and one horse in England, produce more corn and other agricultural produce than three men and three horses in France. Labour in the latter is misapplied and wasted.

classes. Such a state of things contrasts strangely with that which obtains in this country. In Great Britain the agricultural class does not amount to a third part of the whole population. But taking it at that amount, it is plain that every member of the agricultural class of England must, at an average, supply food for three individuals, or for two besides himself. Hence, while two husbandmen in France furnish a surplus of food, above their own consumption, adequate for *one* individual, the same number of English husbandmen furnish a surplus for no fewer than *four* individuals; showing, that as measured by its capacity of providing for the other classes of the population, English is to French agriculture as *four* to *one*!—pp. 120, 121.

Mr. M'Culloch likewise shows that horses have greatly degenerated, notwithstanding the efforts of government to improve the breed, and that France for the supply of her cavalry is obliged to import annually from 25,000 to 30,000 horses. Breeding and fattening of cattle are rarely attempted, and the consumption of butchers' meat has fallen off from 13·13 kilog. per head in 1791 to 11 kilog. per head in 1840, only six per cent. of the decrease having taken place to 1830, and eight per cent. between 1830 and 1840. Without an abundance of cattle there is no good agriculture, and thus the short production already noticed, and the deficiency of cattle, throw light on one another. Timber, also, is not preserved by the peasant proprietors living from hand to mouth; and even in mountainous districts, where trees are necessary both for shelter and to prevent the soil being washed away, they have been destroyed in a most reckless manner.

We have now given a summary of Mr. M'Culloch's proofs that the law of compulsory succession in France has deteriorated the condition of the proprietor, and the cultivator, has deteriorated, too, the agriculture of France, and has altogether had a most sinister influence over the condition of her people. We are by no means advocates of compulsory succession to a man's property, whether it be given to one child, or equally divided amongst his children. We can conceive no more effectual means of weakening the parental authority, and lessening the incentives to virtue, than to make children, contrary to the course of nature, independent of parents. Whatever may be the behaviour of the child, the law in France confers on him a full share of his parents' possessions. An illustration of this point was afforded only a day or two ago, by the will of the late venerable Archbishop of York. After describing the peculiar attention he had received from his 'dear son Egerton, with whom the infirmities, at the close of a protracted life, had connected him more intimately than the other members of his family,' the archbishop, from these praiseworthy and all-suffi-

cient motives, constituted that gentleman his residuary legatee. In France he could have bestowed no such reward on his kindest friend, and he might have been left to die surrounded only by impatient and quarrelling heirs, sure of equally dividing amongst them the bulk of his possessions. As if to mark the principle which ought to have been followed, the law would allow him to dispose freely of a fourth part of *his property*, but the rest, as if it were not his, is inexorably appropriated by the law. With a due right of property such a law is inconsistent. It takes from the owner that full and complete mastery, which is the very essence of property. Like a man's limbs, it is his own. He may do what he likes with it; and, for his own advantage, will be as sure to preserve it as he is to preserve his body. Political society, all government and law, are established to preserve, not to create, the right of property; and for the law thus to take away from a man his right over any part of his property, is unjust, and a direct violation of the duty of the lawgiver. We mark this, to show distinctly that we do not object to Mr. M'Culloch's doctrines on account of their hostility to *compulsory* partition, — we are enemies to that; but we object to Mr. M'Culloch, that he has overrated the effects of the law of 1791; that many of the circumstances to which he refers are not the consequences of that law, but of the law of entail and primogeniture, and that his advocacy of a compulsory agglomeration of the soil for the maintenance of an aristocracy, is as erroneous as the compulsory distribution of the land by law, to extinguish or prevent one.

First, then, as to his having overrated the effects of the law of 1791. Mr. M'Culloch ascribes the whole of the backwardness of French agriculture, in comparison to that of England, and the deterioration of cattle in France, to the law of compulsory succession. That appears to us hardly honest, or very dull. For a similar statement quoted by him, was made by Arthur Young, who travelled in France before the law of compulsory succession was passed, and while the aristocracy, though staggering under repeated blows, were yet in possession of their property and power. Mr. M'Culloch inducts us into error, therefore, when he ascribes the whole of the present backwardness to that law. He tells us, 'It is customary at this moment in several of the southern departments of France, as it was three thousand years ago, to thrash corn by treading it with horses and oxen; and in some parts, the ploughs now in use are fac-similes of those described by Virgil.' That only convinces us that democracy has made no more progress in improving agriculture in France, in half a century, than aristocracy made in eighteen centuries. The blame is obviously

more due to the aristocracy which existed in splendour for many ages, and left its own thoughts and habits impressed on succeeding generations, than to the democracy it had educated and influenced, and which has been in possession of the land only half a century. There is no more detestable and unimprovable system of cultivation than that carried on by Metayers, and that system long existed in France (it still exists) in conjunction with primogeniture and entails. Admitting, therefore, that Mr. M'Culloch's description of the present condition of agriculture in France is correct, he is incorrect in ascribing its backwardness entirely to the law of 1791.

There is abundant evidence in his book, that equality is as M. Rossi, quoted by him, expresses it, 'in the manners of the French, being agreeable both to the democratic spirit and the sentiment of justice.' But equality did not arise in a day. Small farms, and a pretty equal distribution of very small means, distinguished the bulk of the French rural population, exclusive of the nobility before the Revolution. Arthur Young makes the observations quoted by Mr. M'Culloch, relative to the state of agriculture, to prove the injuriousness in France of small farms and a peasant proprietary. They existed, then, prior to the law of 1791.

'Small properties,' says Michelet, in his work already quoted, 'are nothing new in France. People have erroneously imagined that they were constituted at the last crisis, and at once; that they are accidents of the Revolution—a mistake. The Revolution found this movement far advanced, and itself sprung from it.' It is clear, therefore, that dividing the land into small patches, accompanied by a detestable system of cultivation, was common in France, in conjunction with entails and primogeniture, for many years, not to say ages, before the law of compulsory succession was heard of. That practice was living in the hearts and habits of the people before the Revolution. Nor is it found incompatible with entails and primogeniture in other countries.

Only a blind attachment to a foregone conclusion could, we think, have prevented Mr. M'Culloch from seeing that all the evils which he ascribes in France to the law of compulsory partition, exist, in an exaggerated form, in Ireland, in conjunction with the laws of entail and primogeniture. However much the want of other employment may have driven tenants to subdivide the farms, the bulk of the landed property in Ireland is entailed, and devolves on the eldest son. The owners of entailed estates, without regard to the proper size for farm, in order to preserve or augment their political influence, which is wholly the offspring of entail and primogeniture, in many

cases divided the land into numerous small holdings, so that entail and primogeniture, instead of securing the appropriation of the land into large farms, were really the causes of the land of Ireland being split into small portions. One of the remedies, in fact, the chief remedy which has been suggested for Ireland, not from theory, but from actual facts, and brought forward in parliament by ministers, is the sale of encumbered estates. The law is actually required to step in, and break entails in Ireland, to set aside the right of primogeniture, to divide the land, and send it freely into the market, in order to its more profitable and convenient use.

‘The master evil of the agricultural system of Ireland,’ says a writer, in the ‘Edinburgh Review,’ ‘is the law of entail, and the encumbrances which seldom fail to accumulate upon entailed estates.’ ‘Proprietors of estates,’ observes the author of an excellent pamphlet which has recently appeared on this subject, ‘are too often but mere nominal holders, without influence or power over the persons holding under them. Their real condition is often pitiable; nor is it possible, in the great majority of cases, to retrieve the estates. The burden of debt, or the evils of improvident leases, are fastened upon the land in such a manner as to convert the owner into a mere annuitant, often glad to obtain from a good estate a mere annuity (often payment of the encumbrances thereon, and the public burdens) for his *own subsistence*. Proprietor and tenant are equally powerless for good; and the whole kingdom suffers from the disorders which have resulted from *this state of real property* in Ireland.’

Similar facts to those found in France and in Ireland, are observed in Scotland. In the Highlands, the estates are mostly entailed, primogeniture prevails, and the bulk of the people occupying small portions of land are generally in a state of destitution, and lately, like the Irish, were in a state of starvation. The Earl of Devon, in a pamphlet recently published,* speaking of the obstacles in the way of agricultural improvement in Ireland, says: ‘I recently visited a part of Scotland, which presents many points of similarity to some districts in the west and south-west of Ireland, but exhibits in its present appearance a strong contrast to any thing we can witness in that country. The most striking instances of successful exertion in agricultural improvement with which I am acquainted, is to be seen on the Gordon estates, in the counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray, now in the possession of the Duke of Richmond, who succeeded to it in the year 1836, upon the death of his uncle, the late Duke of Gordon.’ Then the

* Letter from an Irish proprietor to the ministers of religion of the district.

noble earl goes on to describe the wretched condition of the cottier tenants on the Gordon estates, and the exertions of the Duke of Richmond to effect improvement. His Grace deserves credit for his exertions to consolidate the farms, but the necessity for that demonstrates that the very worst division of the land amongst the most miserable of peasantries, is met with in Scotland on large and strictly-entailed properties, as well as in Ireland. It is perfectly plain, therefore, that Mr. M'Culloch has not only overrated the effects of compulsory succession, but has ascribed effects to that which, existing in conjunction with entails and primogenitures, are at least as likely to be caused by them as by the opposite enactment.

The great defect of the book, of all Mr. M'Culloch's reasoning, of the modern system of political economy, of which Mr. M'Culloch is one of the pillars, resting entirely on different foundations, from Adam Smith's system; and, indeed, the great defect of all politicians and all political systems, is to ascribe too much influence to legislation, and too little to the natural and contemporaneous circumstances which govern the actions of mankind. The law of Gavelkind, or equal succession, has been in existence for ages in Kent, and some other parts of England, without leading to that minute subdivision of the occupied land which has taken place in France, both before and since the law of compulsory succession, and which has taken place in Ireland and in the Highlands of Scotland, where there is no such law. A law similar to that of Gavelkind has prevailed, too, for ages in the republics or *lands*, as they are technically called, about the mouth of the Elbe, in Friezland, and in some of the other states of the United Provinces, without ever leading to an inconvenient diminution of the size of farms. If such a diminution have taken place in Belgium, it seems rather to have been the consequence of the decay or annihilation of trade, and other collateral circumstances, than of the similar law of succession that prevailed both in Belgium and Holland.

'In Flanders,' says M. Passy, 'such was the rise of rent which small cultivators offered for the land, that the great farmers shrank from the competition; and in a short time, in nearly the whole of the districts which provision Ghent, Bruges, and Antwerp, and all the other towns which gave so much eclat to the middle ages, very small possessions were only to be seen.' *

This points distinctly to the cause of the division of the soil in Flanders, though M. Passy has overlooked it. The towns which gave great eclat to the middle ages, from circumstances

* On Large and Small Farms, by H. Passy, translated, with Notes. London. 1848.

which we do not now need to inquire into, except to say they were not connected with succession to property, fell into decay ; their trade passed away, and there ceased to be a great and growing demand, by the continual extension of manufactures and commerce in Belgium, for other than agricultural labour, and there were no other means extending with the growth of population of procuring substance and wealth. Population, though checked, still increased ; and as it increased, manufactures and commerce being still more checked, competition for subsistence was directed more and more, exclusively to the land. Profit in all business declined ; the amount of profit necessary to enable a large farmer to carry on his operations could not be obtained, and he gave way to the little cultivator, who, for the sake of a mere subsistence submitted to drudgery foreign to the habits of the opulent farmer, formed to some extent on the increasing wealth of the towns. The important fact, therefore, which elucidates the whole subject is, that the land was divided into small farms in Belgium, and large farms were put an end to, because the people lost those other extending means of subsistence besides the land which they had when the towns mentioned flourished.

The case is not dissimilar in Ireland. England, by her laws, put down and extinguished the manufactures of Ireland. By confining trade to corporate towns, which were exclusively Protestant, she repressed, if she did not annihilate, trade in Ireland. The Irish had no colonies of their own, and they were forbidden to trade with those of England. From whatever causes it may have arisen, it is notorious that the trade and manufactures of Ireland and the town population of Ireland have been, comparatively, amazingly trifling—almost *nil*—and, as a consequence, the increasing population have been driven to find the means of subsistence exclusively from the land, which their necessities drove them to divide and subdivide. Thus it has come about, that the extensive estates of such proprietors as Sir R. O. Donnel, Lord Palmerston, the Earl of Devon, Lord Lucan, all of which are subject to the laws of primogeniture and entail, the same as the estates of those noble lords in England, have been divided into almost innumerable small farms. That, too, was the case with the estate that had descended to the late Major Mahon, and the removal from the land of some of the occupiers with a view to consolidate the farms, was, at least, the remote cause of his murder. In Ireland, then, as in Belgium, the land has been divided into small and inconvenient portions, as farms—not as estates—unprofitable to the cultivators, and injurious to the community, because there have been no other means than the land of providing for a

population which, by the laws of nature, for ever tends to increase.

Is not the same fact characteristic of France? She has lost nearly all her colonies, and has no outlet for her increasing people. Till 1815, war both thinned their numbers and provided them some employment out of France, accounting for the slower progress of division of the land mentioned by Mr. M'Culloch in the earlier, than in the latter part of the period since 1791. Compared to England, France has made comparatively no progress as a manufacturing nation; while scores of great towns have grown up England, swarming with a manufacturing population, the bulk of the French, like the bulk of the Irish, depend exclusively on the land for subsistence. About two-thirds of the English, and only about one-fifth of the French, according to Michelet, live in towns, and are engaged in manufactures.* 'Except in Ireland,' says Mr. M'Culloch, 'there is in no European state so large a portion of the population immediately dependent on the soil. The number of families engaged in agriculture is not very different from the number so engaged in Ireland—638 in 1000, according to Mr. Porter, while the number so engaged in England is only 282 in 1000. Since 1827, the number of vessels belonging to France has decreased to the extent of 643 with a tonnage of 3·839, while those of England, in the same period, have increased 18·121 in number, and in tonnage 1·176·731. The whole trade of France—that is, of vessels entering inwards and departing outwards, of which a very large proportion, nearly two-thirds, were foreign, was measured in 1844, by 3,288,008 tons; the whole trade of England, in the same year, amounted to 10,346,769 tons.† These sums indicate relatively the employments other than those of the land by which the people obtain subsistence. Some allowance should be made for the frontier trade of France, of which England has none. Neglecting that, however, which can scarcely amount to 1,000,000 tons, as the communication between France, Germany, Belgium, and Spain, partly takes place by sea, we may state roughly, that our 26,000,000 people have more than three times as much other employment as a means of gaining subsistence, than the 35,000,000 French. Precisely the same circumstance, therefore, that has operated in past times in Belgium and Ireland, and is now operating so fatally on the latter, shows that the want of other means of subsist-

* The proportions given by Mr. Porter are, in England, 72 of town population in the 100 to 28 engaged in agriculture. In France, the town population is put down by him at 7,000,000, out of 32,000,000.

† Report of the Navigation Committee—Mr. G. R. Porter's evidence. Economist, Jan. 1st.

ence than the land is operating in France, and is the living and acting cause—not the dead piece of parchment or the decree of 1791—of the minute subdivision of the soil. Population will increase, if possible; the people will, if possible, live; and, if possible, they will live by honest means; and having in France little other means than the land, the increasing population is compelled to have recourse almost exclusively to that.

England, and part of Scotland, are placed under different circumstances, and by the different results teach the same lesson. More than the half the land in Scotland is under strict entail; in the highlands, where there has hitherto been little or no manufacturing and commercial employment for the people, and they have not been very ready to emigrate, the land has been divided into small crofts or farms; in the lowlands, where other employment has been accessible, and where the profit made by merchants and manufacturers, and their style of living have been, to some extent, the guides of the capitalists who have employed their capital in land, the farms are all rather large than small; at least, they are of a convenient size, suitable to the circumstances of the population, and the means of the cultivators. So in England, the population, finding in our growing trade and manufactures other means of subsistence than the land, it has not been divided,—notwithstanding Gavelkind, in Kent, Wales, and parts of Middlesex and Lincolnshire,—into minute portions for occupation, as in Ireland, the Highlands, Belgium, and France. The fortunes acquired by town capitalists, influence the capitalists who cultivate the soil; in fact, the savings of the town overflow on the land, and large establishments in manufactures and commerce lead to proportionately large farms. There is, of course, everywhere something like good sense and common sense amongst the people, and the size of farms is settled by their circumstances and the nature of their agriculture. In Ireland, a dire necessity forces the division of the soil; in England, no such necessity is in operation; and, though the law of inheritance and the law regulating the appropriation of the soil be nearly the same in both countries, the results are, in the one case, extreme destitution—in the other, great wealth. The main cause of all the difference is, that the English have for many years had in their increasing trade in their growing manufactures, and in their numerous colonies, other means of subsistence than the soil, which the Irish did not and do not possess. In other words, commerce and manufactures giving subsistence to many, opulence to some, and large fortunes to a few, are the causes why land is not minutely divided for occupation in England, the United States, and the United Provinces, and the

want of them is the cause why land is minutely divided in France and Ireland. At least, it is plain that many other circumstances more powerful than the law, determine the partition of the soil, all of which Mr. M'Culloch has overlooked, from an unwarrantable eagerness, as appears to us, to defend the aristocratic institutions of England.

Not one word does Mr. M'Culloch say against the present government of France; yet its expenditure in peace on its military forces exceeds that of Napoleon in the hour of his greatest victories. 'The whole cost of his army,' says M. Michel, Chevalier in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, 'was 809,000,000 francs, in the three years between the rupture of the peace of Amiens and the battle of Austerlitz, or 270,000,000 francs a year.' The annual expense of the French army at present, under the inglorious Napoleon of peace, is very nearly 400,000,000; in 1846 it was 396,412,918. This exorbitant taxation falling chiefly on the land, while French commerce is notoriously going to decay, accounts for much of the misery of the peasantry; but it is never mentioned by Mr. M'Culloch.

Having thus shewn that the influential circumstance which prevent the land being parcelled out in roods and acres in England, is the comparative abundance of other means of obtaining subsistence than the soil; and that the influential circumstance which leads to its being parcelled out in such small portions in France, Ireland, and Belgium, is the comparative deficiency of other means of obtaining subsistence, it becomes an interesting inquiry, on Mr. M'Culloch's statement—that the agriculture of England, or large farms, produces for the community so much more than the agriculture of France, or small farms—whether the equal division of the soil, or entails and primogeniture, and retaining the land by law, in a few hands be most favourable to the growth of manufactures and commerce, and altogether most favourable to finding other means of subsistence for the people than the land? Not to mince or disguise the matter, the question at issue, on the premises laid down by Mr. M'Culloch is, whether the democratic or the aristocratic appropriation of the soil be most favourable to the development, first, of every other industry than agriculture; and, subsequently, of agriculture itself. That the progress of other arts contributes to its perfection, is certain; and those other arts providing for numerous wants, besides the mere want of subsistence, not to make progress in them—meaning, all the arts connected with or growing from commerce and manufactures—is not to advance in civilization. Thus, the inquiry—Which of the two species of appropriation is most favourable to the development of other industry than agriculture?—is really

an inquiry into the effects of the political appropriation of the soil on the progress of civilization. Though Mr. M'Culloch sneers rather at the United States, and says, 'When America is as densely peopled as France, the practise of compulsory partition, should it exist so long, will be as ruinous in the former as in the latter,' we observe with satisfaction that the inhabitants of the United States are not now exclusively given to agriculture; that commerce and manufactures share their attention, and contribute to their wealth; that factories and foundries are mingled with cultivated fields; that busy towns are planted on their sea-borders, and their mighty rivers are traversed by monster steam-ships, far surpassing all that France possesses, in size and in numbers; that the greatest improvement in modern times, railroads, has been extensively adopted in the United States;—in short, that their democratic appropriation of the soil is consistent with a rapid progress in varied industry, promising them, when their whole soil is appropriated, and their country as densely peopled as Belgium, a continued and vast extension of all the means, other than the soil by which the most advanced people of the old world now obtain subsistence. That statement augurs well for the democratic appropriation of the soil.

At first sight it would appear, that the superior progress of England, in comparison to France, as stated by Mr. M'Culloch, is an unanswerable argument in favour of his view. Confining ourselves, as he does, to the period since the Revolution, we might become as he is, an advocate of entail and primogeniture. But, remembering that there was, according to the testimony of Arthur Young, a great difference in the relative progress of the two nations before the Revolution, and that the feudal laws relative to land were more relaxed in England than in France, prior to the Revolution, we come to a directly opposite conclusion; and, including in our estimate the period before and since the Revolution, we trace the superior progress of England to the approximation of her laws to the system of democratic appropriation. The habits of nations are not formed in a day; and Mr. M'Culloch's error arises from his attributing to the law of 1791, habits that were previously in existence, the result of the previous appropriation of the soil, and previously-existing laws of succession. The point really at issue is, What appropriation of the soil is favourable to industry? Mr. M'Culloch admits, that the equal division of the land in France has compelled the little proprietors to labour unceasingly; but they labour unskilfully. Arthur Young records, that a French peasant waited a whole day selling a fowl, before the Revolution. At that period as now, the French peasants wanted skill.

Before the Revolution, the court, mainly composed of great landed proprietors, the body of those great proprietors, the whole noblesse connected with them, the superior clergy, the gentlemen of the long robe, all taking their cue from the court, looked down with contempt on industrial occupations. The *bourgeoisie* were a despised class; the peasantry were still more despised. All the talent, all the ingenuity, all the knowledge of the people were misdirected by the great landed proprietors to the attainment of national power, by war, by literature, and the fine arts; and hence to them and to the aristocratic institution of property, which, obtained in France prior to the Revolution, is due the backwardness in the skill of the peasantry, and the deficiency of other means of obtaining subsistence in France, than the land, which prevailed then and prevail to this day.

Though the Revolution abolished many gross oppressions, it could not immediately alter the habits either of the ruled or the ruling classes. The former having had a notion of the importance of the land deeply impressed on them through ages, by the latter seizing the soil as the source of power and wealth, and despising the occupations of the *bourgeoisie*, clung to the land as the only means of support. The aristocracy founded their power on its distribution; the democracy, naturally imitating them, based their newly-acquired power also on its distribution. The revolutionary government founded on the new distribution of the soil, encouraged, as governments are wont to encourage, though not successfully, the cultivation of the soil. Other nations were stigmatized as shopkeepers. Licenses or patents were required to be taken out for the exercise of every employment. Onerous tariffs restricting various kinds of industry, and absolutely preventing and prohibiting other kinds, long were and still are in existence. Labour was not, and is not free. The old habits of anti-revolutionary France, as well as the protracted war, supplied the place of restrictions, or came to their aid, and forced the people to rely altogether on their own soil. The agriculturists, the graziers of France, as well as their nascent cotton and iron manufactures, were protected—that is, stifled by law. To encourage home agriculture was as natural to the landed proprietors of France, before the Revolution, as to those of England; and thus the laws founded on the moral habits or minds of the people, as formed before the Revolution, have, since the Revolution, suppressed and they continue to this day to be unfavourable to numerous arts by which the people might live. To check the progress of other arts and other industries, is to stifle the market for the produce of the agriculturist. The backward state of agriculture in France is the consequence of the backward state of other indus-

rious arts, and the want of manufacturing consumers, both of which were and are caused by the aristocratic appropriation of the soil which obtained before the Revolution.

Mr. M'Culloch supposes that the aristocratic appropriation of the soil which obtains in England, stimulates the love of wealth and enterprize. But there never was, and probably never will be any lack of the love of wealth and enterprise; and both are as conspicuous in the United States as in England. In each of these countries these qualities are much superior to the same qualities in Italy and Spain, where the aristocratic distribution of the soil obtains, and that superiority is plainly not the consequence of aristocratic appropriation. It is avowed, however, that the corn-laws, which checked manufactures and commerce, were maintained to keep up aristocratic practices, and give a preponderance to the land; and it is notorious, that the aristocracy did not succeed in stifling all the industry which defied by foreign supplies, they tried. It is at the same time obvious, that the great market for agricultural produce, and the great stimulus to agricultural activity is supplied by the produce of manufacturing and commercial labour. The rapid extension of this in England, is the cause of the rapid advancement of our agriculture. To check or suppress that is to deprive agriculture of its reward; and thus the desire to aggrandize the aristocracy, embodied into a corn-law, did far more to retard agriculture in England, than all the premiums bestowed by aristocratic agricultural societies did to promote it. Our greater progress in agriculture, than the progress made by the French, is due to our greater progress in manufactures and commerce, and that has taken place, not in consequence, but in spite of, our aristocratic appropriation of the soil. In every form in which it can be looked at, that appropriation retards and has retarded the application of industry to other means of subsistence than the soil, and has been, and is a cause, though in England it is counteracted by the progress of commerce and manufactures—why farms for occupation are small, while estates are large. If this view be correct, our landowners have to thank the free-trade spirit of the age, and have to thank persons wiser than they are for the preservation of their estates. Had not other employment as a means of subsistence been found for the people, they must have all gone upon the land here as in France; and every park in the empire would, before now, have been cut up into potato gardens.

We have now shown, we think, that Mr. M'Culloch has much overrated the effects of the law of 1791, and wrongly attributed to it the consequences of laws of entail and primogeniture. We may strengthen our argument by one other consideration.

Suppose a law of equal and compulsory partition applied to England, it would affect chiefly real not personal property. At present, the latter having regard to the circumstances of each child, which such a law would prevent being taken into consideration, is pretty equally divided, as the rule, at death, amongst the children. The law would affect chiefly those properties that are now subject to entail and primogeniture. It would ensure an equal division amongst the families of the nobility and laudholders. The destruction of titles and rank would not be its necessary consequence here; they accompanied it, indeed, in France, the consequence of a revolution, which even Mr. M'Culloch excuses if not justifies, by the previous conduct of the aristocracy. No revolution taking place, we have to imagine, as an illustration of the effect of a law of compulsory partition, singly, separately, and exclusively considered, what would be the consequences of such a law here?

It would not at once extinguish in all ranks the pride of birth and the love of wealth. They would continue, and be only slowly altered. The younger members of families would be desirous, in many cases, to preserve the rank and honour of their houses. They would bargain and deal with their elder brothers. The elder brothers, aware of the new difficulties thrown in their way, would, in some cases at least, try and provide means to buy their younger brothers' shares, and there would be a prevailing disposition probably even in the family of landlords to avoid, to some extent, a partition that must degrade the family. The law not being enforced here by the proscription of the landowners and the forced sale of their estates, would be miserably defective in causing a division of the soil, as compared to France. If such a partition took place at all, while there are so many careers open to industry and enterprize, it would be by slow degrees; and whatever might be the division of property, there is not the smallest reason to suppose that each youngest son of a landholder would turn farmer, and that farms would be inconveniently divided because property was split. The merchant, the professional man, the manufacturer, the trader, would still desire to accumulate wealth; the means of accumulation would rather be augmented than diminished by the change, large fortunes would still be made, and some of them invested in land; the church would still offer, the law, the army, the navy, the civil service would still offer their prizes to ambition, and only slowly and by imperceptible degrees, would equality of possessions make its way, if at all amongst us. The great mass of our unpropertied population could neither be provided for, nor got rid of. All that they would expect, all that we could hope for would be a permanent improvement

in the rate of wages, and a gradual melioration in their condition. No change in our population approximating its condition to that of the French, could be the consequence of a compulsory law of partition exclusively for many years; and this consideration strengthens our opinion, that Mr. M'Culloch, who traces all the peculiarities of France to the law of 1791, has overrated its effects, to some of which we have referred. Without many aiding causes, that law could not have led to the minute subdivision of the soil which he has described. The spirit of that equal division was in the minds of the French before it was introduced into their laws, and was the result of the grievous oppressions they had long suffered from the owners of large properties.

We had intended to make some observations on a proper law of succession, but we must forbear. We shall only say, that the true principle for the appropriation of the soil is the subsistence of the people. That, and that only, should be our guide. An appropriation of the soil to subserve some political purpose, as is contemplated by M. de Tocqueville and Mr. M'Culloch, as takes place in England to support the aristocracy, and as was made in France to maintain the democracy, is an error—we had almost said a crime,—and should be generally denounced. What practical rule ought to be followed, it is difficult to say: we are inclined to adopt that of Locke, and make an individual's power to reclaim a portion of land, which is not far from the practical rule adopted in the United States, the guide to the appropriation of land. Following such a rule as the foundation of all property, we should say with that, no restriction whatever should be laid on the disposal of property. Property left by intestates might be equally divided amongst their children; but it is the essence of property that a man should be completely master over it; in fact, unless he be, it is not property—it belongs to somebody else; and what is property the law should protect, and lay no restrictions whatever on disposing of it. We feel, however, that this is much too important a subject to be hastily disposed of, and we must defer to another opportunity the task of illustrating these views.

We have already characterised Mr. M'Culloch's book, and we have shewn it is short-coming and incorrect. In fact, like the original article in the 'Edinburgh Review,' it is only an incomplete vindication of our own aristocratic appropriation of land, by an exposure of all the evils which Mr. M'Culloch can lay at the door of the French democratic appropriation. The true and correct appropriation, or the natural principles of appropriation and succession, are nowhere hinted at in his book, but it is assumed throughout that the law creates property and must regu-

late the succession to it. There is no evidence that it has ever entered into Mr. M'Culloch's consideration that a better rule would arise from leaving those who create property to dispose of it, than either the compulsory partition which prevails in France, or the prohibition to divide, which with regard to much of the land, is maintained by the law in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

ART. VI.—1. *So much of the Diary of Lady Willoughby as relates to her Domestic History, and to the eventful Period of the Reign of Charles the First.* London: Longmans. 1844.

2. *Some further Portions of the Diary of Lady Willoughby, which do relate to her Domestic History, and to the stirring Events of the latter years of the Reign of Charles the First, the Protectorate, and the Restoration.* London: Longmans. 1848.

NEARLY four years ago, we recollect looking forward with eager anticipations to the first of the works specified above, hoping to welcome some veritable relic of that period so unparalleled in interest, the parliamentary war;—some genuine diary, which would illustrate the times by many characteristic traits, even if it might not throw further light on their stirring scenes. Its publication, however, speedily put these expectations to flight; indeed, the elaborate masquerade of its spelling, type, paper, even binding, first raised our distrust—for the genuine remain needs no such accessories, and ere we turned over three pages, we felt well convinced that the Lady Willoughby was a fictitious character, and her Diary the production of some living writer.

Still, we read on, well pleased; for, though destitute of interest as a *historical* relic, yet as a work of fiction it is deserving of very high praise. The Lady Willoughby is, indeed, a delightfully *truthful* character; and to those versed in the difficulties of fictitious composition, this phrase will imply the highest commendation. It is easy enough, as every writer of fiction well knows, to draw a 'faultless monster' of a heroine, gifted with superhuman loveliness and superhuman attainments, and to place her amid scenes of 'intensely thrilling interest,' as Messieurs Colburn and Newby's advertisements say: making her, like Lady Georgina Fullerton's heroines, the victim of some extravagant combination of circumstances, which could scarcely have happened in real life; or like

those of the French novels—passing through scenes of revolting crime. Easy enough is all this, compared to the simple, graceful delineation before us of the fair and noble lady of the seventeenth century, recording the varied home-scenes of her secluded life, those—

‘ natural scenes of joy or pain,
That have been, and will be again ;’

but recording them with so much sweetness, so much trustful resignation, so much calm reliance on Providence, that again and again we ask ourselves,—Is it, indeed, altogether fiction?

The first part opens with a pleasant morning scene: the park, and the deer browsing in the bright sunshine; and ‘for the first time since the birth of my little sonne, I opened the casement, and looked forth.’ The succeeding entries tell the same tale of quiet and hopeful enjoyment. ‘Baby grows finely,’ puts a tooth, begins to walk: such are the events chronicled by the young mother with such interest, interspersed, however, by notices of friendly visitants and labours in the still-room, drying rose leaves and camomile flowers, and seeing to the making of conserve of hips. But this pleasant scene is ere long overclouded: baby is ill, feverish, worse! The progress of his illness, and the mother’s anxieties are told with much pathos, by broken sentences in the Diary, and at length. ‘Weeks have passed, and I am childless: yet do I seem as one not awakened from a frightful dream.’

‘Returned through the Park: never saw the chestnuts and beeches more beautiful in their autumn tints, the fallen leaves crushed pleasantly beneath my feet, the sun was setting before I was aware, and the air grew suddenly chill. Taking the nearest way, I entered by the side door, and there, beneath the old mulberry, saw the little cart and whip as they had been left by my poore child the last day he was out, when he looked so tired and I carried him in. I stooped and took up the whip, and hiding it beneath my cloke, went straight up stairs; no hand had touched it since his: the teares I wept over it did me good: it seemed my innocent right to weep over this token of my lost one.’

The place of poor ‘baby’ is, however, shortly after supplied by ‘my daughter Diana,’ and in the passing notice that ‘Mr. Page rode up: he tells us Mr. John Hampden hath refused the demand for ship-money,’ we have a glimpse of the coming conflict. But it is on home scenes that Lady Willoughby loves best to dwell. Here is a beautiful narrative of her mother’s last visit to her favourite haunt:—

‘One forenoone I did prevail with her to let them carry her a considerable distance from the House, to a sheltered sunny spot, whereunto

we did oft resorte formerly to hear the Wood Pigeons which frequented the Firre-Trees herabout. We seated ourselves, and did pass an houre or two very pleasantly: she remarked how mercifully it was ordered, that these pleasures should remain to the last Days of Life; that when the Infirmities of Age make the company of others burthensome to us, and ourselves a burthen to them, the quiet contemplation of the Works of God affords a simple Pleasure, which needeth not aught else than a contented Minde to enjoy: the singing of Birds, even a simple Flower, or a pretty Spot like this, with its Bank of Primroses, and the Brooke running there below, and this warm Sunshine,—how pleasant are they! They take back the Thoughts to our Youth, which Age doth love to look back upon. She then related to me many passages of her early Life, wherein was observable the same love of natural Beauty that doth now minister in so large a measure to her Enjoyment.

‘She asked me if I would repeate the 90th and the 91st *Psalms*, which I did for the most part; she repeated after me the wordes, *Yet is their Strength, Labour, and Sorrow*. Threescore and ten Yeares, have I not seen, and this lengthened Span of Life may not be ordained for me, yet, in the latter Days of my Pilgrimage thus farre towarde the Grave, the *Lord* hath layd upon me no Burthen which His Love hath not made light and easy to be borne. Sight and Hearing remain, and the use of my Limbs so farre as an old Woman needeth. Surely Goodnesse and Mercy have followed me all the Days of my Life, and will, I doubt not to the close, and my Evening Sun, will I humbly hope set in brightness. She took a Rosebud which I had gathered, and sayd, This Bud will never open; but some there are which will unfold in Heaven. She looked earnestly in my face: I perceived her meaning; My precious *child*, mine that is in Heaven, I sayd, and could not refrain from Teares. Calm thyself, my Daughter, I shall soon meet him, if I am found worthy to be where his pure Spirit is: let me feel as a Link between thy Soule and his. Oh! that I may one Day meet there all my deare Children: many have been my Bereavements, but Mercy, tender Mercy was in all my Afflictions.’

The closing scene of the mother's life is told with much simplicity and beauty. Her calling her daughter and Lord Willoughby on the Sabbath night to her bed-side, and the affectionate prayer she pours out;—her slumber, interrupted by ‘the early Sunne that shone in at the casement,’ and her murmured last words, ‘Heaven—no Sunne, the glory of *God* the light thereof.’ Her look ‘on all that were near her,’ and we thought she said ‘Deare Children,’ and her peaceful departure,—altogether form a picture which, for simple and quiet beauty, has rarely been exceeded.

Anxieties soon increase; the parliament war has begun, and Lord Willoughby is on his journey to York to present to the king the declaration of parliament. He goes out to Parham to take a hasty leave of his lady and his three little girls, previously to going onward to Nottingham to Colonel Hutchinson, ‘a steadfast

friend on the side of liberty and justice.' He takes leave of his family the same evening. 'I went to my lonely roome at night,' says Lady Willoughby, 'and for a time was overpowered with the grief of losing him, and thinking of him riding all night in weather so tempestuous, the while I sat by a brightly burning fire, in a comfortable warm house. Yet would I gladly share his hardshippes, and be at his side through all. . . . As I beheld the little Face sleeping beside mee, thought what should betide if wee were driven from our Home: how should wee find shelter for this tender flower, and the other deare ones?'

The dangers of war do not reach to Parham; but the many rumours often alarm the young mother, whose husband is still with the parliament army. Prognostics, signs in the heavens, too, are not wanting to increase her anxieties—'three sunnes in the firmament, and a rainbow with the bend towards the earth.' No wonder that people were full of alarm; 'but that which did most affect *my* mind, was beholding the Bow that had been set in the cloude as a token of the everlasting Covenant now appearing as it were overthrown.' Then follow remarks on public events, and an account of how the children sickened with the measles, from which they slowly recover. Many reviewers have complained of the very commonplace notices of persons and events in this part of the Diary; we cannot, however, agree with them. It is true that the allusions to public affairs are derived from Rushworth and such like, but then, it is but right to bear in mind, that this is just the kind of information which would reach the ears of a lady residing in so secluded a part of the country as Parham. Had the Diary, indeed, purported to be that of Lucy Hutchinson, for instance, or even of some lady resident in London and devoted to 'the good cause,' complaint might justly be made as to the meagreness and inaccuracy of these details. These remarks, however, have only reference to the first part of this Diary, for in the second, some glaring inaccuracies will be found.

Lord Willoughby eventually opposes the growing power of the army, and returns discontented to his family. He again visits London, and is committed to the Tower, whither his faithful wife follows him. His trial being postponed, she takes leave of him. 'The cheerful and composed demeanour he did maintaine, served for a time to lighten my forebodings, and the moment of parting came on a sudden, and I followed the Guard down the stairs and under the Archway as in a Dreame: the Doore closed after me: had I in truth left him, my dearest life in that dark Prisonhouse, there alone to await his Sentence? I knew not how I reached my lodging; some kind friend put mee into a coach, and supported mee to my chamber.' Lord Wil-

loughby, as history has told us, does not, however, come to his trial; he makes his escape: and this first part of the Diary closes, with a very characteristic letter written by him from Dunkirk, thanking his 'deare heart' for the pasty, and wheaten loaf, and comfortable doublet which she had provided, and for all her care, with kisses for the children, and 'a word to Wingfield concerning the gray horse.'

The Second portion of this Diary, now published, opens with the notice that Lord Willoughby had joined the cavalier party abroad, and had been made vice-admiral of the Duke of York's fleet; and we feel sorry—almost as though she were a real character—to find Lady Willoughby leaning somewhat toward that wretched party. Her observations on the execution of Charles are extravagant, and out of keeping, too. The following reflections are, however, very pleasing, but then they are awakened by home scenes and home recollections, and it is in these that the peculiar grace and beauty of both parts of the Diary consist.

'Sixteene yeares ago, I do well remember the morning was like this: the sunne shone brightly, and my sisters did thinke mee happie to be the choice of the brave Lord *Willoughby's*, his comelinesse and youth made him to bee greatly admired by them, as he was by manie others. Since that day how much hath come to passe; Trouble and Difficulties to overcome not a few: then my first Child borne, bringing new hope and a joy unspeakable; but the sweete blossome was early nipped and the cup of joy dashed from my lippes: oh *God* thou knowest what I suffered, that my Faith was tried to the uttermost and for a while failed, but Thy Mercie and Truth failed not: other Children were given to us, lent and graciously spared: My deare and excellent *Mother* tooke her peacefull departure, this a Sorrow, but not a Sorrow without Hope, no bitterness was in it, her Worke was ended and I had no wish to keepe her from her Rest: Precious *Mother*! I humbly hope I have not been insensible of my privileges: I think I may say that under a sense of my owne favoured Lot in this respect, I have alwayes felt much tender solicitude for such as are early deprived of Maternal care, whether knowne or unknown to mee.

'During this long period I have had the Happinesse of seeing my beloved *Husband* zealous and active for the Publicke good, and protected through many dangers; and though very frequent have beene our Separations, and this last the most distant and Perillous, yet have they beene mercifully permitted to his greater Safety.'—p. 16.

Tidings are soon after received that Lord Willoughby has reached Barbadoes, and proclaimed Charles the Second there; and then, 'that Sir George Askew hath set saile to take that island, and others thereabout, from the king's friends.' Eventually Lord Willoughby capitulates, and the welcome news arrives that he is about to return to England.

A severe illness succeeded by a slow recovery, is next recorded. The following reflections are sweet and solemn:—

‘To-day my strength was so farre increased that I was able to walke downe to the Brooke, and sate downe on the warme sunnie banke.

*The Winds were husht, no Leafe so small
At all was seene to stirre,
Whilest turning to the Water's fall
The small Birds sang to her.*

Thought of my deare and honoured *Mother*, and of the last time wee did passe together at this spot; the little Streame of cleere water did now run gurgling on just as it did then, and the Flowers and the Mossie Banke were there, but my *Mother's* voice no more, yet did she seeme neare mee, and nearer in this, that some of her experience had now beene mine, Sorrow and Death had been my teachers, *Ministers of his that do his pleasure*; but he leaveth not his Children comfortlesse: the words of the *Lord Jesus* sustained mee, His Life and His Death were my strength and consolation. How sweet is it, that the memorie of my *Mother* is ever linked with peaceful and holie thoughts. Oh might I so live that my deare *Children* might so thinke of mee, but I am not worthie of this. Oh that the desire may be more present with mee, and put more of Heaven into my love for them.’—p. 41.

Lord Willoughby soon after returns; the family come up to London, and ‘my daughter Diana’ attracts the notice of Lord Winchelsea, to whom she is soon after married. A letter of the young countess to her mother, giving an account among other things, of her ride in the new coach, and being ‘well nigh upset in Drury Lane, by reason of the deep tracks into which the wheels sanke,’ is very characteristic of the times, though scarcely two hundred years ago, when Drury Lane was a veritable country lane, and the Haymarket an open field.

We have soon after, memoranda of visits to Mr. Evelyn with whom the family seem to have become very intimate. This, we think, is a great error. Mr. Evelyn, although a worthy man, was by far too decided a cavalier, to have desired the acquaintance of a nobleman who is represented as having high respect for Colonel Hutchinson, the regicide, and as on terms of warm friendship with Sir Henry Vane. The very interesting diary of Evelyn has, we think, been the cause why he has found favour with so many writers, far removed from him in political opinions; but these would do well to remember, that where church or king were concerned, Evelyn was quite as violent as any Puseyite of the present day, or ultra-royalist of the times of the French Revolution.

We have often been struck with the bitterness expressed by ‘the amiable Evelyn,’ toward his political opponents, and especially with that almost exulting entry in his diary, ‘This night

was buried with great pomp Dorislaus, slaine at the Hague, the villaine who managed the trial against his sacred majesty.' Such is the phraseology used by a good man, overborne by party spirit, in reference to the cold-blooded murder of one who, as ambassador, was by the common law of nations privileged from attack, but who was called from his friends at the supper-table by a pretended message, and stabbed on the staircase by four cavaliers, far better deserving the title of 'villaine' than the unfortunate Dorislaus himself. We regret, therefore, that the Lady Willoughby is introduced into such company, as it appears to us seriously to injure the verisimilitude of the work.

Ere long we find Lord Willoughby drawn into a participation of one of the many plots then in hand; a mournful account of the death of Lady Winchelsea's two infant children follows; and then we find Lord Willoughby committed to the Tower, with Lord Newport and Mr. Seymour. Troubles now thicken; Lord Willoughby falls sick, while Lady Winchelsea requires her mother's attendance; the third infant dies, and the young countess speedily follows it to the grave.

' At 5 o'Clocke yesterday Morning, my beloved Daughter *Diana fell asleepe* in the 21st yeare of her Age, a short Life in which shee had past through a deepe Baptisme; *God's* will be done.

' Looked for the last time on the deare Remaines, truly *I was bowed down heavily as one that Mourneth for his Mother*, yet was I enabled to attaine unto a good degree of composure ere I turned away from the sweete placid countenance. Tooke from between the leaves of my *Bible* a few withered flowers, and gently laid them on her breast: kissed the peaceful Face of my beloved *Child*, and left the chamber. As I softly closed the doore and felt that never more ———

' Take up the Penne, but what can I say? Lord, I beleeeve, helpe thou mine unbelcefe. Father, not my Will, but Thine be done.'—p. 107.

Meanwhile Lord Willoughby is kept close prisoner in the Tower, notwithstanding many efforts of his former friends to obtain his liberation. At length Lady Willoughby determines to request an interview with the Lord Protector to petition for his release. The account of this interview, which is given at great length, is not, however, quite satisfactory, but the conclusion does justice to the noble and generous feeling of that great man. After a long conversation:—

' As he replied not, I further sayd, *If your Highnesse cast your eye backe a few yeares, it would be seene that the Lord Willoughby did show as true concernment for the Libertie of the Nation, as others who were then striving onely to obtaine this Justice for the People; That hee beleeeving that howsoever righteous a Cause might bee, that it would not sanctifie un-righteous Meanes, and foreseeing great Evill and Confusion, did stop*

*he Worke, was no dishonour to him as a Christian or a Gentle-
s to High Treason, it passeth my poore abilitie to comprehend
i make High Treason, seeing it changeth sides with the strongest.
he Crime of the Oppressed resisting the Oppressor. I marvell
ake so-boldly. So I arose and sayd, Since Your Highnesse
t nought my Lord's word, your Highnesse's answer will bee best
ed through your Secretarie, a Wife's lippes repeate not words of
gnitie to her Husband, I beg your Highnesse's leave to withdraw.
urprise he did detain mee, and questioned me on some indiffer-
rifying matters, as it appeared to mee, then of a sudden changed
saying, Who can find a vertuous Woman? her price is far above
he heart of her Husband doth safely trust in her. Madam, we
t my Lord Willoughby's termes, holding his Wife's truth as his
his petition shall be laid before the Councill. So ended the in-
and I hasted to the Tower.'—p. 136.*

Willoughby's liberation consequently follows.

es of the Protector's illness and death succeed; these
have been much better omitted, since they are, when
the commonest kind, always incorrect. It is a strange
pardonable blunder to repeat the often contradicted
nt, that Mrs. Claypole 'did vainely intreate for the life
Hewet,' because 'she had sate under his ministry, and
le him in greate esteeme,' when all contemporary testi-
proves that Cromwell's daughters, especially the two
were as devoted to the cause of puritanism as himself;
oreover, there is no evidence to show that Dr. Hewet
r acquainted with either.

ak in the Diary of almost three years follows the account
Protector's death; and then we have a letter from Lord
ghby addressed to his wife, acquainting her that 'this
on was sent out of the world the honestest and noblest
it; Sir Harry Vane was beheaded on Tower Hill, not-
nding that his majesty had pledged his word to remit
tence should it be given against him.' Well does the
inted writer say, 'there is a curse methinks upon king-
nd the royal word is ever to bee a mockerie.' A minute
ngthened account of the heroic end of this illustrious
llows, and emphatically exhibits the deep mortification
e 'moderate men,' who thought that the restored mo-
night prove a blessing to the country, but who so soon
him a very curse. A few desultory remarks on the cir-
nces attendant on the Restoration, intermixed with short
of her two remaining daughters, now both married,
the latter pages, while the whole fitly concludes with
owing characteristic and beautiful reflections:—

ied this forenoone in ordering some changes in the Household:
on the Linnen and made out a List of some that could bee spared

for my daughter *Brereton*; in the toppe of the Linnen Chest found one or two of my first Babie-cloathes strewed with Lavender, carefully pinned up and put away by poore old Nurse; tooke up the lace cap, the two who had worne it first, my little Sonne my precious *William*, and my beloved Daughter *Diana*, both taken. Can I now say *It is well*? all things visible will passe away, but the unseene will remaine, so if the heart loveth these, its Treasures are safe in Heaven. When evening came I walked forth; the Sunne had gone down behind *Framlingham*, leaving a bright golden edge upon the narrow ridge of darke cloud; the Aire was soft and the Gillo-flowers on the low wall gave out a pleasant perfume as I passed; stopped and pluckt some of the pale yellow Flowers as I thought of the day whereon my three little maidens brought the young plants from the Castle, and planted them here, the while I stood bye looking at their happie faces; now one is not, and the others are farre from mee. As I walked up and down the Terrace saw the Rookes as they slowly winged their way over head to their nests and young broods; how small a thing maketh the full cup to overflow, the tears rose to my eyes, my home was deserted. As it became darker the Starres, which did at first show but dimly, were now bright and sparkling; there was scarce a sound, the Birds were all silent, save the Corn Crake, which uttered its harsh note afarre off; a Bat flitted past, neare to my face, the shapes of things became indistinct, and no shadow marked the houre on the Sunne-Dial: a little gust of wind rose, and stirred the tops of the Trees. The stillnesse of all around was very solemn! a sweete feeling that could not be uttered of lowly Thanksgiving and love spread over my heart. The Lord was very gracious unto mee; it was a season of inward Peace, as of outward Silence and Beauty, and my Heart was stirred *as the Trees of the Wood are moved by the Wind*. Came into the house, and seeing the Sand-glasse that I had turned at Sunne-Sett that it was runne out, the prayer arose that so my life might runne its course, and gently cease.'—pp. 176—178.

Thus ends the Diary of the Lady Willoughby; and seldom have we met with a fiction more like truth. To say that the second part is scarcely equal to the first, is merely to reiterate the general, and in most cases correct, remark respecting continuations; but, as a whole, the work has no common merit. It is, indeed, refreshing in these days of exaggerated fiction-writing, and inundated as we are, with the disgusting extravagancies of the French dramatists and novelists, to meet with a work which derives all its interest from home scenes, and those every-day duties and pleasures which the writer of fiction, as well as the reader, is too apt to overlook, because they lie in his daily pathway; and to contemplate a character so simply graceful, so truthful, so truly English, as that of the sweet Lady Willoughby.

ART. VII.—*Posthumous Works of the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D.* Edited by the Rev. William Hanna, LL.D. Vols. I. and II. Edinburgh. 1847.

Few men have spent a more active life, or attained to greater celebrity, than Dr. Chalmers; and his celebrity was precisely of that character, and founded upon those principles which most secure our approval. It was not mere greatness, but greatness in alliance with goodness; or rather greatness sanctified and ennobled by goodness. He might be truly denominated the luminary of the north, and the light emitted was steady and benign; not the flash of a meteor, but the splendour of a sun; a sun which has now set with regard to our hemisphere, but has left behind the lengthened and far spreading twilight of its moral glory. The example he displayed, and the truth he uttered, must survive. Being dead he yet speaketh.

Consecrated genius is, in our view, the perfection of any kind of humanity. We are not insensible to intellectual grandeur however manifested, nor less susceptible than others of that feeling of admiration which it insures; we can follow with delight the soarings of the poet, the eloquence of the statesman, and the plot of the imaginative historian who holds you fixed in the fine spun web of his facts and fictions; we can accompany with thrilling interest the scientific discoverer who points his telescope to the heavens, or whose researches in pursuit of the laws of matter and motion carry him to the mountain summit and the subterranean depth; but after all, the noble enterprise of investigating the harmonies of truth, unfolding the will of God, instructing the ignorant mind, or devising methods for the moral amelioration of the human race, must be held to be the highest walk of genius, elevating man to the neighbourhood of eternity, and leading him to its glorious revelations.

In making use of science as the means of enhancing our ideas of the character of scriptural truth, Dr. Chalmers has shown the compatibility of the two orders or classes of human knowledge. For surely, though diverse they are not opposed, or in any respects contradictory. The imperfection of our acquaintance either with the one or the other may exhibit to our limited apprehensions some seeming discrepancies; yet is it the fact, that every fresh disclosure, every enlarged degree of acquaintance with them has made it evident that there is a

radical and essential agreement. The contrariety exists rather in our minds than in the things themselves; in the medium of feeble faculties and distorted conceptions through which they are seen, not in their real attributes and being. The book of nature and the book of scripture proceed from the same Author; and as there is science in scripture, there is theology in nature; both are branches of the tree of universal knowledge. That mind, therefore, is in the highest moral position, and acquires the sublimest character of human intelligence, that perceives the links of connection between the one order of knowledge and the other, and teaches men rightly to appreciate their respective claims and dependencies. Such a mind was that of Chalmers, and, notwithstanding our differences of opinion in relation to some points of sentiment and controversy, we cannot withhold from this great man, who has fallen in Israel, our tribute of admiration and love.

It has been often and truly remarked, that whenever the Supreme Ruler has a work to do he will prepare suitable instruments to perform it. The truth of this observation might easily be illustrated both from the political and ecclesiastical records of the world: all history is in reality one great demonstration of it. The Governor of the Universe can be at no loss for agency; and it is most interesting and instructive to see how that agency has been provided—often in an unexpected manner, and consisting of unthought of elements. There is, moreover, to be noticed a providential succession of events, a certain and obvious moving on of occurrences towards some great political or moral change, for the advancement of which the instrumentality in question is adapted, and in the momentous hour is powerful and effective. One cannot help perceiving a striking elucidation of these sentiments in the formation of the Free Church of Scotland, nor fail to connect the name of Chalmers, as all posterity will connect it, with that great event. He has sometimes been represented as dragged on by others into the vortex of that mighty eruption, and subservient rather than self-moved to take a prominent part in the conflict which led to so glorious a victory; but it is evident that he was impelled only by his own convictions, slowly, it may be somewhat reluctantly, formed; but being formed, manifesting all the vigour of an original determination coalescing with, and gathering strength from the fervour of his mental temperament. We hail his progress in association with his distinguished coadjutors to an important advanced position in the warfare of truth with error—a position nobly taken, and we trust well secured;—but still we must maintain only an advanced posi-

a perfect or final conquest obtained over ecclesiastical and worldly interference in the church of Christ, by efforts still purer in principle, and grander in design, going forward, though in a humbler form, will emancipate her from all her bondage and depression. Into this, however, we will not at present further enter, but pronounce to the works before us, constituting part of a posthumous publications of the man, of whom we do not think, without at the same time thinking of the which we have briefly adverted.

We have two volumes in our hands out of the three (the third being yet issued), which are entitled 'Horæ Biblicæ,' 'Daily Scripture Readings.' It appears that the compositions were begun in October, 1841, and continued with regularity till the decease of their author. Notwithstanding the multiplicity of his engagements, and the frequent absence from home, they were carried on every day, by thinking over, and writing upon portions of Holy Scriptures to form something like a continued and brief commentary.

Besides these, each Sabbath had two trains of meditation on the reading of two chapters, one in the Old, and one in the New Testament. Dr. Hanna remarks:—

There is no trace of haste, or of the extreme pressure from without, to which he was so often subjected, is exhibited in the handwriting of these compositions. There are but few words omitted, scarcely any erased. In writing a first and an only copy, written often in the midst of a host of engagements, they look more like the last, and the correct, of one who had few other tasks than that of their preparatory study. This singular correctness was a general characteristic of his compositions. His Lectures on the Epistles to the Romans were written *in currente calamo* in Glasgow, during the most hurried and crowded period of his life. And when, many years afterwards, the manuscript was given out to be copied for the press, scarcely a blot, or an error, or a correction, was to be found in them, and they were printed as they had originally been written.'

It does not appear that Dr. Chalmers observed any secrecy with regard to the 'Daily Readings,' and, had he lived, it is not probable that he might have given them to the public. But the same was the case with the 'Sabbath Readings.' They were more entirely the inward experience of his mind, and the expressions of his soul after God. A question consequently presented itself to his editor, as to the propriety of their publication. Ought his innermost thoughts thus to be exposed to the public gaze, and that veil of concealment which he had

carefully thrown over it to be torn away? In ordinary cases we should give the decided negative to the purpose of such an exposure, and we should do so in reference not only to religious diarists in general, but to the best of their order, upon the principle that this is property to which the man has the exclusive right, upon which no heir can have a claim, which belongs solely to himself and not to posterity, and the moral tendencies of which would be greatly frustrated—nay, even the truth of which would be endangered, if it could be supposed by the writer that the cabinet of his soul would be thus ransacked by others after his decease. If exceptions may be allowed to such a rule, we grant the present case may be fairly pleaded, and we own that we think this development of character calculated to produce the most beneficial results. If our readers at all sympathise with us, and we expect they will, the introductory paragraph to the ‘Sabbath Exercises,’ in the first of these volumes, dated, ‘Craigholm, August 30, 1835,’ cannot be read without profound emotions:

‘In reading the life of Sir Matthew Hale, I find that he employed the pen to aid him in his spiritual meditations. He wrote as he thought; and hitherto my attempts at the sustained contemplation of divine things have been so confused and unsatisfactory, that I am glad to try the same expedient. May the Spirit of God, who worketh not without means, but by them, bless this humble endeavour after a nearer approach to the viewless objects of faith and eternity! Guard me, O heavenly Father, against the illusions of fancy. Suffer me not to walk in sparks of my own kindling. In thy light may I clearly see light; and let me never abandon the guidance and supreme authority of that Word which thou hast exalted above all thy name. Teach me the habit of communion with thyself; and may these imperfect aspirations after thee upon earth open a way for the full enjoyment of thine immediate presence and of thy revealed glory in heaven.’

Who can doubt the fulfilment of such a desire? and what Christian can realize that fulfilment, now that this honoured servant of God has passed through the gate of mortality, without emotions of the most elevated kind, and the indulgence of those holy sympathies with the good man’s thoughts, affections, and happy destiny, which the religion of the cross alone can inspire? But what we especially wish to remark is, the exhibition here afforded, and throughout these exercises still further manifested, of the sublimity of genius in connexion with the prostrations of piety. It is, indeed, a privilege to be enabled thus to look into the interior of a heart so consecrated to religion. The pride of intellect, if, indeed, it existed in any

considerable degree, here disappears, and the man whose mental energy placed him on a pinnacle that attracted universal admiration, now sinks from even his own view or conscious superiority into a willing nothingness in the presence of his Maker. The greatness of true religion in its humility thus appears as far surpassing the greatness of the mere mind of man in its very loftiest powers of reasoning or imagination; and we are taught that the crowning glory of the human faculties is their sanctification.

In further exemplification of these views, we give one or two brief extracts from the 'Sabbath Exercises':—

'October 25. The most clear and satisfying view I can attain of my relationship to God, is that of my dependence—its entireness—its intimacy, and the consequent subordination of the creature to the Creator. I never have such a feeling of closeness to him, as when I reflect that I altogether hold of his will, and that as clay in the hands of the potter, so have I been made and moulded by him whose hands did fashion me at the first, and whose right hand continues to uphold me. Many attempts have I made to obtain more adequate notions than I possess of the Deity, but there is none in which I better succeed than when I aim at an intense recognition of the subject and filial relation in which I stand to him, when simply regarded as my Maker. It is not on the strength of any remote or recondite contemplations that I expect to grow in fruitful acquaintance with him—but by the stepping-stone of such thoughts as might be apprehended by babes—but still which neither babes nor philosophers will apprehend to any practical effect, till the Spirit brings them home. O give me more and more to feel, that all I have and all I am is from Thee, and so as that each gift and each faculty may be consecrated to thee back again.'

'November 15. Let me apprehend the truths of Scripture simply—let me believe them surely; and the mind, when thus occupied, will be rightly set. I am restless and dissatisfied without God. With him, and in the confident and conscious possession of his favour, I should have life and peace. O my Father, accomplish for me this great translation—a translation out of darkness into the marvellous light of the gospel. I feel assured it is a good thing to make a formal dedication of oneself to God, to make all we have and are over into his hands, in full reliance on his promises, and with the full purpose of doing his will. O help me, thou Spirit of all grace—help me to disenthral my affections from the creature, and to fix them with singleness of heart and singleness of eye on the things that are above. Let me henceforward entertain the prospects and embark in the pursuits of an immortal creature. Give me, O Lord, a moral greatness comporting with this high destination. May the Spirit of glory and of God rest upon me; and escaping the corruption that is in the world through lust, may I be made a partaker of the divine nature, and give all diligence to the work of my preparation for eternity!'

'November 29. The great achievement is to bring every special

affection which has the creature for its object, under dominion to the love of God—itself a special affection. And what an emancipation from the thralldom of many cares and degrading anxieties would this bring in its train ! What a noble independence would that man rise to who had transferred his regard and confidence from uncertain riches, to that living God who gives us all things richly to enjoy ! This is the very achievement, O my God, which I long to realize. I would commit all to thy disposal ; and what an exemption—what an elevation of heart would it confer upon me—did I disburden my spirit of all the brooding imaginations and feelings of insecurity which attend a process of thought on the various possibilities of failure, or the exposures of human injustice, or the instabilities of all earthly possessions ! My God, let me hold directly on thyself.'

With regard to the 'Daily Scripture Readings,' which occupy the chief part of these volumes, we propose to defer our remarks upon them to a future opportunity. The present article we would have to be understood as introductory to the series of posthumous works which are promised ; and as they appear in complete portions, it will be our pleasure to introduce them to our readers, with such observations as they may seem to demand. In the meantime, we must express our high sense of the value of this publication, believing it to be much calculated to benefit those who peruse it. The gratification we have already received, even from a cursory glance at its contents, induces us to commend it to others with our warmest recommendation. We are delighted to think into how many circles of society it will penetrate,—which the productions of other men, however excellent, but with an inferior name, cannot be expected to reach,—there to exert a useful and lasting influence. May our anticipations be largely realized !

r. VIII.—1. *A Bill for the Relief of Her Majesty's Subjects professing the Jewish Religion.*

. *A Speech delivered in the House of Commons, December 16th, 1847, on the Jewish Disabilities, by the Right Hon. Lord John Russell.* London : Owen Richards.

. *Substance of a Speech on the Motion of Lord John Russell for a Committee of the whole House, with a view to the removal of the remaining Jewish Disabilities ; delivered in the House of Commons, on Thursday, December 16, 1847 ; together with a Preface, By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.* London : John Murray.

. *Reply to the Arguments advanced against the removal of the remaining Disabilities of the Jews.* By Francis Henry Goldsmid. London : John Murray.

. *The Progress of Jewish Emancipation since 1829.*

. *'The Times.'* February 8th and 12th.

is inexpressibly gratifying,' said the late John Foster, 'on ground of religion, philanthropy, and all views of improvement, to observe the prominent characteristic of our times ; a *bility*, a tendency to alteration, a shaking, and cracking, and making up of the old condition of notions and things ; an abiding of the principle that things are to be maintained *because* they are ancient and established.'* These words of one of the profoundest thinkers of the age, commanded our instantaneous approval, and we have frequently recurred to them as indicating a source of joy specially open to this aged nation. Young England may exult in mediæval times. This is one of their freaks, the mark of an unsound judgment, of partial knowledge, and of misdirected sympathy. It is well, perhaps, they should do so, since it prevents their exerting any extensive or very powerful influence. But for this, the talents of some of their number would give greater currency to the sentiment by which their school is infected. As it is, they are stared at as pieces of 'modern antiquity ;' and the last thing which occurs to any sane man is, to take them as guides. For ourselves, we are free to acknowledge our adhesion to the school of progress. We love to realize the onward tendency of human affairs, and look to the past in vain for any antetype of our desires and hopes. Let us know as much of the past as pos-

* Foster's Life, vol. ii. p. 114.

sible. It cannot be studied too closely, or its latent characteristics be too nicely discriminated. We love the company of the historian and the antiquary, at the same time that we guard against the vicious and absurd prejudices which the studies of the latter, especially, sometimes engender. Let the past be treated with all becoming respect, but let the freedom of our intellect and the improvable character of human society, be sacredly preserved. The spirit of the age is happily opposed to the absurdities involved in a return to the habits and dogmas of our forefathers. It was formerly stationary, and the teachers of mankind had to struggle against it. It is now on the side of progress, and our great duty is to direct it wisely. This is the special feature of our day, and it is full of promise. Our fathers labored, and we have entered into their labors. Theirs was the childhood and youth of our race, and ours is its manhood. From their experience we may gather wisdom, and thus be helped to discharge, with benefit to the commonwealth, the duties which devolve upon us. Arrogance and timidity are alike to be avoided. Self-respect is the virtue we should cherish, and a diligent improvement of the lessons taught by the history of our predecessors, is the duty to be discharged. Observing this happy medium, the past will become a handmaid to the present, and the future be a mirror reflecting whatever is wise, humane, or virtuous, in former times.

Entertaining these views, we regard with complacency the age in which we live. There is much yet to be accomplished, but we are in the right road, and are making progress. In the emphatic language of Holy Writ, 'We have not attained, neither are we already perfect,' but what has been accomplished is the promise of yet greater things, and the impulse under which the nation has been acting is gathering strength daily. The course of our legislation for some years past has been exhilarating, and if occasionally it has paused, or has not proceeded as rapidly as was desired, we are not sure that this is cause of regret. We are acting for a nation composed of various classes, and for generations yet unborn, and should therefore be content to have each change minutely examined, in order that some good earnest may be obtained of its stability. We have no fear of Whigs or Tories, of aristocracism or democracy, of popery or infidelity. They will do their work, each and all, as so many elements combining to one result, and we have confidence enough—call it faith or credulity, as men please—to believe that such result will be friendly to the happiness of our race.

We are now passing through one of the stages of our relative improvement, and it is marvellous to note the rapidity with which we are doing so. Conceal it as we may, the

Jewish Disabilities' Bill, now before parliament, contemplates a more marked and signal invasion of our national prejudices, than any recent act of the legislature. The repeal of the Test and Corporation acts, and Catholic Emancipation, while utterly inconsistent with the theory of our state-church, contemplated an admission into the representative body of classes bearing the Christian name, and so far identical in religious faith with the ruling sect. The governing power was yet nominally Christian, and a house of refuge was thus provided, to which the wordy advocates of 'our protestant establishment' readily betook themselves. But it is not so now. The Christianity of the legislature is to be abandoned, at least, in any such sense as it has hitherto been maintained, and those who deny the obligation of our faith, and deem the Messiah an impostor, are to be admitted to the legislature, and to become framers of our laws. The Premier, indeed, in submitting his measure to the House, contended—and there is truth in his averment—that 'in the same sense in which we say that the nation is a Christian nation, though there may be thirty thousand Jews among them, we might say that the parliament was a Christian parliament, although among the six hundred and fifty-six members of the House of Commons, there might be six members professing the Jewish religion.' We leave the task of reply to the opponents of his lordship's measure. As an *argumentum ad hominem*, his reasoning is unanswerable, but to us it is competent to remark, that it was an evasion of the real point, a mere dexterous use of inaccurate phraseology, in order to turn the point of an enemy's attack. As matter of fact, a nominal adherence to Christianity has hitherto been required from our legislators, and it is now proposed to dispense with this preliminary. This may be right—we believe it to be so—but we are not willing on this account, to conceal from ourselves the extent or real character of the change which is contemplated. The provision to be repealed is not only vicious in principle, but is clearly inoperative. It affords no guarantee for that which it professedly seeks, and has been proved by experience, the best test of theory, to be delusive. The sooner, therefore, it is dispensed with the better, and we rejoice in the present measure as doing away with one, at least, of the *shams* engendered by a state-church. And yet, though the change contemplated is so radical and sweeping, and though no political necessity is even pleaded, the measure has the sanction of men of all parties, and is passing through the legislature without a title of the opposition offered to far less liberal changes. The fact is, that men feel themselves to be committed. The legislative machine is in

a groove along which, for some time past, it has been propelled. Too much has been done to allow our senators to take their stand on the dogmas of an exploded bigotry. The system of penalties for religious opinion has been broken in upon again and again. The public judgment has condemned it. Men have learned to smile at the follies by which they were formerly ruled, and to despise the hollowness and hypocrisy with which a secular priesthood has availed itself of the ignorance and prejudice and bigotry of others, for the accomplishment of its own sinister ends. In what has been done, a basis is laid for the accomplishment of whatever remains. The general case has been nobly argued, and Dissenters, Catholics, and Jews, are alike entitled to benefit by the verdict pronounced. Hence the facility with which the measure is likely to pass. It is a foregone conclusion. The principle has been triumphantly established in former cases, and nothing was needed, save a minister prepared to introduce the measure, and such a combination of circumstances as would keep the Upper House in order. A marvellous change has taken place since the Great Protector—in this as in most other things before his age—convened a conference at Whitehall in 1655, with a view of effecting the naturalization of the Jews. The combined opposition of divines and merchants overruled the generous policy of Cromwell, and made way for one of the most disgraceful passages in English history. What he could not effect was carried through the two houses by the Pelham administration, but awakened such a storm throughout the nation, that the government, apprehensive of its effect in the general election which was then near, degraded itself by proposing on the 15th of November, 1753, the repeal of the measure. This was the age of rampant bigotry, and the peace-offering was accepted, to the disgrace of the nation and of the party by whom it was tendered. A brief review of the recent acts of the legislature will best explain the present position of the question, and enable our readers to judge of the discussions which are taking place.

The statutes of 1828 and 1829 which were passed for the relief of Protestant Dissenters, and of Roman Catholics, awakened the expectation of something being done to remove the political disabilities of the Jews. Their exclusion from parliament and other posts of influence, so far as it was effected by either of these statutes, was evidently accidental. The Declaration substituted by the former act for the sacramental test, was clearly not designed to operate against them. It was framed for the parties whose relief was sought, and was never viewed as a bar to the admission of other persons, either to the senate or to

municipal posts. In practice, however, it so operated, and simple justice, therefore, required that some measure of relief should be promptly devised.

The subject was in consequence early submitted to the legislature, and obtained the support of the leading statesmen of the day. On the 5th of April, 1830, Mr. Robert Grant moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the civil disabilities of the Jews, and the debate which ensued marked the progress of the public mind. Sir Robert Inglis took the lead in opposition to the motion, and nearly one hundred members were found to range themselves under his guidance. 'Those,' remarks Mr. Goldsmid, 'who had opposed to the last the acts of 1828 and 1829, and who, when they were passed, appear to have supposed that disqualifications on account of religion were at an end, were now delighted to find that there were still such disqualifications to be fought for.'

These members were happily only a minority, and on a division the motion was carried by 115 to 97. In the majority are found the names of the present Dukes of Marlborough, Manchester, and Grafton, the present Earl of Harrowby and of Lord Stanley, together with those of Mr. Huskisson, Sir Stratford Canning, and Sir W. Wynn. The present Lord Ashburton, then Mr. Alexander Baring, presented a petition in favor of the bill, signed by 14,000 merchants, bankers, and traders, of London; but the strength of the Duke of Wellington's administration was in the mean time arrayed against it, and the second reading was lost by a majority of 228 to 165, the names of the present Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Derby, and of Lord George Bentinck, being in the minority. On the 14th of the following December, Lord Bexley presented a petition to the Upper House in favor of the removal of these disabilities, and signified his purpose of early inviting their lordships' attention to the subject. This was prevented by the dissolution of the Wellington government, and the introduction of the Reform Bill; but on the 17th of April, 1833, Mr. Grant moved a resolution in the Commons which was agreed to, without a division. The second reading of the bill was carried by a majority of 159 to 52, and on the 22nd of July it was read a third time by a still greater majority, the numbers being 189 to 52. A different result, however, was elicited in the Upper House. To the prejudices and standing bigotry of their order, the Lords added, at this time, a strong inclination to thwart the views of the Commons. They were not unwilling to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded, and, as if in vindication of their hereditary bigotry, they rejected the bill by a majority of 104 to 54. Amongst the supporters of the bill were the Duke of Sussex,

the Marquis of Westminster, Lords Brougham and Melbourne, the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Bishop of Chichester. In the following year a similar result, with a still larger majority in the Lords, was obtained; and in 1836 a bill was introduced to the Commons by Mr. Spring Rice, and carried by overwhelming majorities, but was postponed in the Lords, professedly on account of the lateness of the session.

In the mean time, and notwithstanding these checks, the cause of Jewish emancipation gained ground. Though excluded from the legislature they were admitted to other offices of trust. The act of 1835, which passed both houses without opposition, removed some of their civil disqualifications, and a subsequent 'Bill for the Relief of Persons of the Jewish Religion Elected to Municipal Offices,' passed triumphantly through the Commons, and though ultimately lost, was carried on a second reading in the Lords by a majority of one. The force of public opinion, however, was thus shown to be in operation, and promised speedily to become too powerful for their lordships. It was a hopeless struggle in which they were engaged. The nation had resolved the question, and the more discerning of the Conservatives saw the folly of persisting in their course. The signs of the times were too obvious to escape notice, and they wisely resolved to retire, with the best possible grace, from the position taken up by their party. Hence the decision of Sir Robert Peel, to whose superior judgment, and more liberal views, we assign the honor of the measure of 1845.

'Notwithstanding,' says the author of 'Progress of Jewish Emancipation,' 'this bill was lost in a later stage, opinion had become so favourably disposed towards the emancipation of the British Jews in 1845, that a similar bill was originated in the House of Lords itself and carried without a division. Lord Lyndhurst, then Lord Chancellor, introduced it, and he was warmly supported by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge.

'Sir Robert Peel moved the first reading of the bill in the House of Commons, supported by Lord John Russell. It was opposed by Sir R. Inglis and Mr. Plumptre, who were assisted on the third reading by Colonel Sibthorp. The bill went through all its stages by very decisive majorities, and received the royal assent July 31st, 1845. Municipal offices of every description, including that of recorder, were opened to Englishmen professing the Jewish religion by this statute, which thus placed at the disposal of their fellow-citizens in towns, the services which had been rendered for several years in the capacity of county magistrates, recommended for that honourable trust by the respective lords-lieutenant.

'Within the two years which have elapsed since the passing of this act, several of the most important corporations of the kingdom, those for instance, of London, Birmingham, Bristol, Portsmouth, Southamp-

ton, and other towns, have received into their bodies members of the Jewish faith, elected by the free voice of their fellow-townsmen, among whom they live, and who are the best judges of their fitness for the trust which is reposed in them; while the citizens of London, in confirmation of their votes at the late election, and in testimony of their respect for his character and public conduct, conferred the first aldermanic gown that fell vacant on Mr. David Salomons, who had already filled the office of sheriff of London, as well as that of high sheriff of the county of Kent.'—pp. 9, 10.

One only measure was now needed to complete the political enfranchisement of the Jews. They were entrusted with the franchise, and were competent to all corporate offices and county magistracies. To concede so much, and yet to close the door of St. Stephen's, would be to forfeit all credit for consistency, and to deprive our legislation of every attribute which could insure respect and confidence. It was therefore to be expected that the work would be carried out. The Jews themselves looked for it. Thoughtful men of all classes felt that it was incumbent, and the more active were prepared to lend their influence to statesmen of any party by whom it might be proposed. The recent course of events has precipitated the measure. As is well known, Baron Rothschild was returned by the city of London, at the late general election. The largest and most important commercial city has thus distinctly marked its judgment, and Lord John Russell has in consequence submitted to the legislature a bill, for the removal of those obstructions which prevent the representative of the metropolis from taking his place amongst our senators. We rejoice in this step and in the event which has given occasion to it. Had no such election taken place, his lordship would have been equally committed to the principle of his measure; but it is possible that the multiplicity of his occupations and the perplexities which assail him, would have prevented his giving immediate attention to the matter. As it is, the subject presses. It cannot be deferred. It assumes a practical shape, and is linked with other constitutional questions, which assure it against indifference. The electors of London have deputed a son of Israel to represent them in the British senate; and if any power be found to gainsay their wishes, it will be for Englishmen to determine which shall prevail—the free choice of the people, or the intolerance of an oligarchy? We have no fear of the result, neither are we very solicitous about the immediate course their lordships may pursue. If wise, they will pass the bill which the Commons send up; but if they do otherwise, the hour of submission will only be deferred, and in the meantime the popular voice will gather volume and strength. Let them choose which alternative they

please, and the cause of truth and of rational liberty will be advanced.

The title of the Jew to an equal participation with others in the rights of British subjects, appears to us so obvious, that some difficulty is experienced in arguing it at length. It flows so necessarily from our most cherished convictions, is so direct and inevitable an inference from premises which we admit, and on which we are now happily accustomed to reason as admitted data, that we are at a loss for arguments more obvious than the thing itself. There are, however, those who think otherwise, and we must pay some respect to their reasonings, though we owe none to their judgment. Their position is instructive, and half awakens our compassion. 'They cannot yet bear,' as Mr. Goldsmid remarks, 'to part calmly with the last disability of any importance which they find in the statute-book. They accumulate on this one law the affection which they formerly divided among a goodly family of venal and disabling enactments. Like Niobe in the fable, when she begs the life of the last of her children, they make one sad remonstrance more before their regret shall grow for ever dumb:—

'Spare yet the least, she cried (the rest is past),
Of all I loved, oh! spare the least and last!'

Their pleadings resolve themselves into two counts: the Jews are a separate people, not competent to the duties, and therefore not entitled to the rights, of British subjects; and their admission to the legislature would be destructive of the Christian character of our constitution, and a mark therefore of national infidelity. Such are the arguments advanced, and should any of our readers be incredulous on this point, we refer them to the debates of parliament, and to the speeches of Sir Robert Inglis and of Lord Ashley in particular. To the first of these objections a triumphant reply is furnished by Mr. Goldsmid in his calm, intelligent, and able pamphlet. Indeed, it scarcely merits the labor he has expended on it. Proceeding on an assumption, which no reasoning can justify, it confounds human and doubtful interpretation with the purposes of the Deity, and arrogates a knowledge of the future which has been designedly withheld from the human mind. We protest, as in duty bound, against any interpretation of unfulfilled prophecy being adduced, as a rule of present duty. Nothing can be more precarious or uncertain. The follies and the crimes of past ages have frequently been defended on this ground. The worst acts of intolerance have thus been vindicated. Worldly priests and unprincipled statesmen have gladly availed themselves of this plea; and we should have no hope of the future, should abandon ourselves to

utter despair, if it were permitted our rulers further to avail themselves of it. The designs of omnipotence are known only to God. Glimpses of the future may be conceded, to animate our hopes and inspire our labors, but are never designed to supersede the rules of present conduct. These are found in the immutable laws of rectitude, and are of paramount and daily obligation. To abandon such for the sake of any prophetic interpretation, is to substitute a chimera for a reality, to leave the solid ground of truth and duty, for a region on which imagination has been proverbially accustomed to disport. But allowing all that is contended for respecting the ultimate destination of the Jews, still we contend that no disqualification for the rights of British subjects is proved against them. They are natives of our soil, bear in common with others the burdens of the state, and are equally interested in its wise and righteous administration. 'The Jew,' said Sir Robert Peel in his admirable speech on the second reading, 'is a subject natural-born, and I contend that he has a right to all civil honours, that he has 'a capacity or ability to all benefits whatever,' unless you show a reason to the contrary—a reason not founded upon a mere religious error, but upon some political disqualification.' The charities of life exist and flourish in their breasts. They are, to all intents and purposes, English in their attachments and sympathies; or, if any deduction be admitted, it is attributable solely to our unrighteous and cruel legislation. We have closed against them the door of the constitution, have treated them as an inferior and degraded race, and are therefore in no condition to urge against them a want of patriotism. The marvel is that they should be what they are, considering the treatment they have received. Their ultimate restoration to Judæa, supposing such to be the design of the Deity, is no disqualification for the present discharge of the duties of citizenship. They live and grow up amongst us, interested like ourselves in the weal or woe of our native land, and are equally competent to discharge the duties and appreciate the honours which are open to others. The great changes which may await them are no further disqualification than those which pertain to ourselves; and it is sheer folly, the merest drivelling of an effete bigotry, to adduce them for such a purpose. To all practical intents they are British subjects, and we claim for them an equal share in British rights. To meet our claim by referring to some future destination, is to insult our reason, to belie experience, and to arrogate to ourselves a knowledge and an authority equally opposed to our limited faculties and to the spirit of our holy faith.

Happily, we are not left without the light of experience, and it would be well if our senators subjected their theories to its test.

Other nations have gone before us in this matter. They have taken the initiative, have preceded us in the work of justice, and are now astonished at our tardy and reluctant imitation of their example. It is not to the honor of England that she should have been outstript in such a career. Our achievements in other quarters might have led us to anticipate otherwise, but the combined influence of clerical and aristocratic classes have in this case overborne our more generous impulses, and deferred till the present hour, the consistent application of the great doctrine of religious liberty. In many cases we have set an honorable example to Europe, but in this we have been content to lay ignobly behind other states. Even the Moors of Spain teach us wisdom on this point, while the North American States, France, Holland, and even some of our own colonial dependencies, have preceded us in the work of justice and mercy:—

‘When the Moorish dynasty,’ says Mr. Goldsmid, ‘was established in Spain, the Jews, who were very numerous in that country, and who had previously been reduced to that state of degradation, in which they have usually been found in Christian Europe, were admitted to equal privileges with the Moors themselves. Would you know the consequence? Ask those who desire to represent the Jews as necessarily unfit to promote the welfare of their native land: and you will be told that such a measure, though it might *nominally* alter the situation of the Hebrews, must have left them practically in their ordinary condition, strangers for the most part to elevating pursuits, and entirely strangers to the service of the state. Ask History, and *she* will tell you, that the Jews of Spain employed their talents equally with their fellow-citizens for the advantage of their country, that they rose to high stations in its camps and councils, that more than one sovereign chose ministers from among them, and that they might at the same time boast of names illustrious for acquirements in letters and philosophy. My readers will not, I trust, be reminded without pity and regret, that after the restoration of Christian kings to the sovereignty of Spain (although some of these kings were themselves ably and faithfully served by their Jewish subjects), the lot of a body of men thus worthy of protection, was gradually changed from religious liberty to thralldom, and from thralldom to exile.

‘After noticing the exception which I have just described, to the rule of persecution, we pass through an interval of six centuries, and cross the Atlantic, before we again find a place and a period in which political rights have been conceded to the Jews. But whether in Spain or in North America, in the twelfth or in the eighteenth century, there was no cause to doubt that freedom of conscience would be hailed as a blessing by those who had been before deprived of it, and that Hebrews, like other men, would avail themselves of the advantages which it confers. That this has been eminently the case with the Jews of the United States, who are supposed not to equal in numbers one-third of those of Great Britain, is shown by the many instances where they have embraced the occupations, and have been thought deserving of the trusts, opened to

them by the removal of disabling laws. In that country, Jews have been members of congress and of the legislatures of the different states, magistrates and law-officers employed by the government, leading members of corporations, principal magistrates of cities, and in numerous cases have held commissions in the army and navy. In fact they have been treated, and they have acted, as citizens enjoying and deserving every privilege that the state could confer.'—pp. 28—30.

In Holland, where the Jews are numerous, they are found in every profession, and occupy, in common with their fellow-subjects, all corporate, magisterial, and political posts. As soldiers they are equally courageous, as lawyers equally learned, as magistrates equally incorrupt, and as statesmen equally patriotic and high-minded as any others.

The same facts have been elicited in France. This was broadly stated by the Minister of Public Instruction, in his address to the Chamber in December, 1830. 'Since the Constituent Assembly,' said the French minister on that occasion, 'has placed the Israelites on the same footing with other citizens, they have partaken of our glory and our misfortunes; their blood has flowed on the same fields of battle as ours; their children have been brought up in the same schools as those of their Christian brethren; they have imbibed the same principles, adopted the same habits, and become most deserving members of the state.' Amongst our colonies, Canada and Jamaica, have conceded to the Jews a full share, with other subjects, of political rights; nor ought it to be forgotten by the Christian people of England, that when the lives of our missionaries were fiercely assailed during the Jamaica insurrection of 1832, the most prompt and effectual aid was rendered them by members of the Hebrew nation. When men bearing the Christian name thirsted for their blood, the professors of another faith, whom bigotry brands as aliens alike from our Constitution and our sympathies, generously proffered them the refuge of a home. May the God of Abraham remember this service in the day of final account! The member for Oxford, Mr. W. P. Wood, in his admirable speech in support of the second reading of the bill, put the inconsistency of British legislation in a strong and palpable light. We concur in his reasoning. There is no other alternative. We must advance or recede, must complete our work, or undo what has been already effected.

'The first Christian principle, said the honourable member, was to do to every man as they would be done by; and he would ask whether it was a Christian principle to say to any men, 'You may come to this country in any numbers you please; you may bring your wives and children; you may marry with our Christian daughters; you may

assurances as much as I wish as you please, and yet as great a proportion of taxation as we think proper to impose upon you and yet we tell you that you are not worthy to have any voice in the imposition of those taxes.' He contended that it was most monstrous and inconsistent that they should make use of the Jews, that they should avail themselves of their services and of their wealth as far as they could, and yet deny them the privileges of citizenship. Other countries, which had adopted the principle of exclusion, had excluded the Jews wholly and entirely; but the English people held out many inducements to the Jews to settle in this country, and then told them that they were unfit to be regarded as fellow citizens.'

But the second objection to which we have adverted was the mainstay and chief reliance of the opponents of the measure. Sir Robert Inglis, Lord Ashley, and other members of the Opposition, urged this objection as fundamental, and were evidently sincere in doing so. We respect their integrity, and can honor the fearlessness with which they avowed an unpopular opinion. An honest opponent is infinitely preferable, in our judgment, to an ally whose support arises from indifference, or whose advocacy betrays a recklessness of principle, or the absence of deep and strong conviction. But the case is very different, when we are asked to admit their reasoning, and to place ourselves under their guidance. This we are compelled to decline. We have no alternative; fidelity to truth demands it. The same principle which leads us to appreciate the honesty of their procedure, constrains us to oppose their advocacy. We admit their integrity as men, while we reject their dogmas as spurious, and denounce their theory as unjust and intolerant. In the present case we have more than ordinary reason for doing so. We cannot forget the past; its records are before us, and their lessons are numerous and weighty. We should have lived to little purpose, have gathered little from what our fathers have told us, and our own ears have heard, if we did not regard with distrust the reasonings of the Opposition. The family likeness of their objections must be obvious to the most careless observers. They are evidently old arguments reproduced. Varying slightly in form, they are identical with those which were urged in 1828, 1829, and on every subsequent occasion, when an inroad has been proposed on the intolerant and persecuting code of a former age. In the debates of 1828 the exclusiveness of an episcopal establishment was the rallying point, and since then 'our protestant church' has been the war cry of militant ecclesiastics. The church was formerly in danger, and Christianity is now imperilled. The same arguments instantaneously have been used throughout, and as experience has proved the decisions of a sound logic in the one case, so we

doubt not it will be equally triumphant in the other. The groundlessness of the apprehension expressed was ably exposed by Mr. Horsman in the following passage, which we cannot quote without recording our sense of the admirable and enlightened sentiments which pervaded his speech :—

‘ The old cry of ‘ the church in danger ’ was abandoned, and this new cry of ‘ Christianity in danger ’ was substituted in its place. What was this danger to Christianity that honourable gentlemen opposite apprehended ? A vague, mysterious, and unmentionable alarm pervaded the speeches of the honourable opponents of this bill ; but anything tangible in the shape of danger to Christianity he had been unable to lay his hand upon. Would the passing of the bill make one Christian the less, or one Jew the more, in this country ? Would the Christian portion of the community become less firm in their religious faith, or would the Jews be more established in theirs ? It must be remembered that this bill did not give the Jews the right to sit in parliament ; it only gave to Christians the right to elect them. It seemed to him that the opponents of this bill placed their objections not upon policy, but upon fear. He admitted that the Jews must feel that they had most generous opponents in the honourable gentlemen opposite, and that those who spoke and voted against the bill were acting from conscientious convictions and not from any other feelings. For himself, he felt that the acknowledgment of a fear for Christianity, as the result of this bill, was more degrading and insulting to Christianity than the invasion of a whole tribe of Hebrews. . . . The founders of Christianity did not so estimate its power ; such was not the weak faith of those few humble men who in the earliest ages of the church encountered persecution, braved every danger, and the rack, and taught the faith which had overspread the world. If Christianity had prevailed over principalities and powers, how was it that now, when she was triumphant, her disciples should acknowledge these fears, and that they should raise these cries of weakness ? In the hour of her obscurity she had been fearless, and advanced unshaken to martyrdom, why should she be painted now as a tottering and trembling tyrant ? Why did her champions never enter upon a contest without anticipating defeat ? There were thousands who had never seen the face of the honourable baronet near him (Sir R. Inglis), who had been taught to venerate and bless his name, and members of that house knew and admired the union of so much intense ardour with so much Christian meekness—the spirit that knew no fear, and the heart that knew no gall. If there were a danger that the days of persecution should return, he believed that the honourable baronet would be foremost to attest by the intrepidity of his martyrdom the sincerity of his political and religious faith. Yet a great part of the honourable baronet’s political life had been passed in proclaiming the weakness of his own religion, and its possible and probable downfall. On every political occasion the panic cry regarding religion had been raised by the honourable baronet and his party. When the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed, according to their apprehensions, the established church had received its deathblow. When the Roman catholics were

emancipated, they were told that the sun of protestantism was set for ever; and now it was said, that if they allowed one Jew to walk up the house to that table, and to take the oath, the faith of 655 Christians was to take to itself wings and fly off to Jerusalem, or Jericho. If the house were to judge by the language rather than by the lives of this party, they would seem to gird themselves for the battle rather in fear than in faith.'

We admit, indeed, that it is only a *prima facie* case which is thus made out. The witnesses come into court under suspicion, but not absolutely discredited. They are entitled to be heard, but cannot claim to be listened to with any presumption in their favor. It is just possible that an exception may be proved, and we are therefore bound to weigh their evidence impartially, and to pronounce judgment on the particular case without the admixture of foreign considerations. Just so much is demanded at our hands, and we will endeavour to yield it in all fairness. Let us then examine the specific form which the objection takes in the present case. It is alleged that Christianity is part and parcel of the constitution of the country, and that to admit Jews to the legislature is manifestly inconsistent with this fact; that the nation is in consequence a Christian nation, and that the ministerial measure will destroy its religious character, opening the door for the admission of Mahometans, Parsees, and all others, whether infidels, or idolators. The form taken by this objection is very various, but the above fairly represents, as we believe, its essential feature. Now it is obvious in the first place to reply, that if Christianity is, in the sense contended for, part and parcel of the British constitution, it by no means follows that this is right and befitting. We might be entitled to urge—nay, we should most undoubtedly do so—that the fact itself called for remedy, that it was a grievous wrong which required to be redressed, that it sprung out of the ignorance of a half civilized age, was out of harmony with the nature of Christianity, and had been a fruitful source of social miseries and of religious hypocrisy. As the parties advancing the argument are specially moved by its religious bearings, we should be entitled to urge that no such connexion with things secular was known to Christianity in her best and purest days; that her divine author did not place her in any such relationship, but that it had arisen at a time, and under circumstances, which involved it in the greatest possible suspicion. Nothing can be imagined more simple, or less open to mistrust, than Christianity, as she came from the hands of her founder. Benign in her aspect, unworldly in her means, making her appeal to the unseen and spiritual, she moved amidst the children of men as an element of supernal good,

equally remote from the policy of rulers and the turbulence of mobs. It was not until her nature had been corrupted, or rather—for she herself is unchangeable—until her professors had been secularized by the marvellous triumphs won in her better days, that she was fitted for the purpose, or was received into the embrace of the secular power. In our own case, the assumed incorporation of Christianity took place in a time of the grossest ignorance and superstition. Our Saxon forefathers were rude and barbarous, the intellect of the nation was asleep, literature was unknown, religion was a mere thing of forms, and an ambitious clergy sought to possess themselves of unlimited power. So far, therefore, from regarding this fact as a test by which the propriety of legislative measures may be determined, we protest against it as vicious in itself, without scripture warrant, and pregnant with a thousand social wrongs.

But we deny the soundness of the position assumed. In no *such sense* as Sir Robert Inglis and others allege, is Christianity part of the British constitution. Mr. Goldsmid's reasoning is conclusive on this point, and we commend it to the attention of our readers. He says:—

‘ But those who employ as arguments against the removal of the remaining disabilities of the Jews the ambiguous propositions that the constitution has an ancient Christian character, and that Christianity is part of the law, must, I presume, understand these assertions as implying that there exists some ancient constitutional principle, which declares that all Christians ought to enjoy privileges and favour, from which all who are not Christians should be excluded. For in no other sense than this would those assertions furnish the shadow of an argument against the measure proposed.

‘ Now if there were indeed any such constitutional principle, it would not follow as a matter of course that it ought to be retained.

‘ But in truth, it is easy of proof that no such ancient constitutional principle exists; it is easy of proof that the only Christianity forming part of or recognized by the ancient constitution of England, has been the established religion for the time being, the Christianity of Rome before the Reformation, and that of the Anglican church since.

‘ The writ for burning a heretic is found among the oldest forms of English legal proceedings, and is believed to be a portion of the immemorial usage or ‘ common law ’ of the land.

‘ And a heretic is defined by Lyndewode, one of the most ancient authorities on this subject, as being, not a Jew or an infidel, but ‘ he who doubts concerning the catholic faith, or who neglects to observe those things which the Roman church has determined or decreed to observe.’

‘ It was therefore in those remote times a constitutional principle that every Christian who might display any want of close adherence to the enactments of the Roman church was liable to be committed to the flames.’—p. 41—43.

Lord Russell's reasoning is precisely to the same effect. The theory under which the existing law was adopted, he tells us, was, 'not that the legislature should be open to all classes of Christians, but that every member of it should belong to the church, which was then universal, the Roman catholic church;' and he subsequently adds, that the common law of England 'was not framed in favor of Christianity, but for the protection of what was then the established church of the realm.' The argument, then, so understood—and in this sense only has it the semblance of truth—is manifestly repugnant to our deepest convictions, and has already been repudiated by the legislature. If by Christianity be meant the established church, then the argument was more valid against the measures of Edward VI. and of Elizabeth, than against any subsequent legislation, and the Romanists of that period might rightly have taken their stand upon it in opposing the Act of Supremacy and the other reforming measures of that age. But if, for the sake of argument, we concede that the Christianity spoken of is the protestant church of these realms, then it follows that the direct and primary bearing of the argument in question was against the Acts of 1828 and 1829, and that it is only applicable in a secondary and indirect manner to the bill now before parliament. The admission of Dissenters and Catholics to the legislature was in such case a violation of the constitution, nay, the very one against which the whole spirit and bearing of the constitution protested. And such, indeed, was the view then taken by Sir Robert Inglis and others. Their argument was narrowed to this point, and they insisted on it with all the pertinacity which distinguishes their present course. Happily, however, they failed to produce conviction, and it need not therefore awaken surprise if, in its revived form and less direct application, their argument meet with a similar rejection now. We appeal to the past deeds of the legislature in disproof of the reasonings pursued, and triumphantly affirm, that before the Jewish Disabilities Bill can be rejected on this ground, the statutes of 1828 and 1829 must be repealed. Let us at any rate have some consistency in our legislation, or the nations will regard us with derision, as a people controlled by fear, but uninfluenced by righteousness and truth.

Having thus replied to the objection advanced, in the only sense in which it possesses a semblance of application to the present case, we proceed to remark that the argument itself is grossly misunderstood. High authorities have undoubtedly affirmed 'that Christianity is part and parcel of the law of the land,' and we are not disposed to deny that there is a sense in which this is true. The real question to be determined is,

what that sense is? The phraseology employed is obviously susceptible of various significations—at least the orators of different parties put on it interpretations accordant with their respective theories. An attentive reader of the speeches recently delivered from the opposition benches, cannot fail to perceive the loose and vague manner in which the terms in question are employed. Nothing is easier than such an oratorical artifice, but, on the other hand, nothing is more unsatisfactory. The first impression on an unreflecting audience is favorable to the speaker, but immediately that thought is exercised on the words employed, the illusion is broken, and a mere piece of trickery is found to have been practised. The phrase is just now the rallying point of a party, as ‘the church in danger’ and ‘no popery’ were formerly. Its whole relevancy and force, however, is derived from its vagueness, for the moment its terms are analyzed they are found to involve no such sentiment as is contended for. Lord John Russell and Mr. Goldsmid agree on this point, and their interpretation is manifestly the only sound and tenable one:—

‘It is said,’ remarks the former, ‘that Christianity is part and parcel of the law of the land. I have always understood the meaning of that statement to be, as I have heard it interpreted by several learned persons, that any writings reviling and blaspheming the Christian religion, the Scriptures being part of the law of the land, are illegal, and those who so revile and blaspheme may be punished. But I never understood it to mean anything beyond that; and I think it would be quite a new interpretation of that doctrine to assert that, because Christianity is a part of the law of the land, every person is required, on taking the oath of office, to make that declaration ‘on the true faith of a Christian.’’—p. 23.

We are not now arguing whether the principle thus limited is right, but are concerned about the question of fact only. On the former point, however, we have no doubt. Christianity asks no such service at the hands of the secular power. She is competent to defend herself from the jests and ribaldry of the blasphemer, as well as from the calmer and more respectful pleading of the deist, and her interests have only been injured when her claims have been argued in courts of law. The prosecution of blasphemy is no more sanctioned by the spirit or laws of Christianity, than is the punishment of heresy under any of its various forms. But apart from this, the maxim now referred to, thus understood, in its legitimate and only intelligible sense, is clearly beside the present case. It has no connection whatever with the question on which the legislature has now to adjudicate, and ‘can certainly,’ as Mr. Goldsmid argues, ‘afford no reason against any benefit to be conferred on the Jews, who, notwith-

standing the calumnies to the contrary cast upon them by some scurrilous writers, are admitted by all who really know them to be remarkable for their scrupulous abstinence from any mark of disrespect to the creeds of other men.'

Having thus disposed of the objection founded on an alleged constitutional maxim, we come now to consider the precise nature of the change contemplated, and the effect it will have on the religious complexion of our legislature and country. And here it is necessary that we understand the present condition of the Jews. There is much misapprehension on this point, and we prefer, for obvious reasons, availing ourselves of the authority of Sir Robert Peel, than to make any statement of our own. So much has already been done, so near an approach to the accomplishment of our desires has been effected, as to throw an air of ridicule over the fears which are now expressed. The language of the honorable baronet will set this point in the strongest light:—

'I apprehend,' said Sir Robert Peel, 'even at the point at which we stand in this debate, and after all the attention which has been paid to the subject, that the real position of the Jew is not yet quite understood. It is said that a Jew is entitled to all municipal offices, and that a Jew may be sheriff. The Jew, in two recent instances, one occurring under the present and one under the late government, has been admitted to high distinctions; two Jewish gentlemen, Sir Moses de Montefiore and Mr. De Rothschild, have been created baronets. And I further believe that at this moment the Jew is eligible to any executive office to which the crown may appoint him, no matter how important may be the duties attached to that office, unless he be precluded by the oath which is administered to a privy councillor. I apprehend that there is nothing which can prevent a Jew being secretary of state to-morrow, except through the indirect operation of the oath required of a privy councillor, and there is nothing in the form of that oath to which a Jew would object. If you will but permit the Jew to take the privy councillor's oath on the Old Testament, the oath of the privy councillor will not exclude him from the privy council. It is my conviction, therefore, that unless through the indirect operation of that oath, there is not an office within the gift of the crown from which a Jew, practically, is excluded.'

To stop short then at this point is impossible. It would be to render ourselves the laughing stock of Europe, and to give to our legislation and practice a character of inconsistency which must divest them of every title to respect. But it is alleged, that the bill submitted by her Majesty's prime minister contemplates a removal of one of the safeguards of Christianity, and is, consequently, an act of practical infidelity. Let us not be misled by words. We have already seen how easily men may

apprehend the terms of a proposition, and it will, probably, find that our opponents are equally wide of the truth in the present case. The preamble of the bill now before parliament declares, that a certain oath, 'commonly called the Abjuration Oath, is, or may be, required to be taken and subscribed by the subjects of her Majesty as a qualification for sitting and voting in parliament,' and sets forth that members of the Jewish religion 'are unable conscientiously to take and subscribe the said oath.' It therefore proposes to substitute another form of oath in which the objectionable matter is excluded, and the difference between these two—the form now prescribed, and that proposed by Lord John Russell—consists, so far as the present case is concerned, in the omission of the words 'on the true faith of a Christian.' These words were first introduced in the 3d James I. c. iv., which was entitled, 'An Act for the better covering and Repressing of Popish Recusants,' and were enacted in the seventh year of the same reign, in an act which required members of parliament to take the oath of allegiance prescribed in the 15th section of the former statute. The reason for imposing this oath was set forth in the preamble of the act, which recited that a most abominable and terrible plot had been entered into by the emissaries of Rome, to destroy the king. 'The exclusion, therefore, of the Jew,' as was remarked by Sir Robert Peel, 'so far as it depended on these words, was an incidental and collateral consequence of the Gunpowder Plot.' That form of oath continued in force until the first year of the reign of William and Mary. Now, if any real importance had been attached to these words as a security for the profession of Christianity, was it not remarkable that at the close of the Revolution the parliament made no provision for its continuance? Yet, almost the first act which was passed after the Revolution was to repeal the act of the 7th James I., instead of the words 'on the true faith of a Christian,' the words of the oath were, 'I promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his Majesty, etc.' From the year of the Revolution till the year 1701 these words, 'the true faith of a Christian,' were done away with altogether, and they were only revived in 1701, when the Pretender claimed the crown of England, and his claims were recognized by Louis XIV.

Lord John Russell agrees with his predecessor in his interpretation of these words. So clear, indeed, is the historical evidence, that we can scarcely conceive of a doubt being checked by an informed and honest mind. 'It was intended,' says, referring to the clause in question, 'to meet the case of the Roman catholics who bore true allegiance to the crown of

this realm, and to separate them from those who believed that their prince might lawfully be deposed or murdered. Therefore these words were intended, not to exclude either Jews, or infidels, but to give a greater sanction to the oath which the Roman catholic Christian took, when he declared himself a faithful and true servant of the crown.'

But, it may be replied, whatever be the history of these words, their obvious and admitted tendency is to exclude the Jew, and this is sufficient for our purpose. Our answer is twofold. First, if the Jews are to be excluded, let it be done honestly and in open day. Let their crime be stated, their disqualification be set forth. Let the accusations under which they are brought into court be exhibited in intelligible terms, and be clearly proved, before we are called upon to pronounce sentence against them. It is abhorrent, from our sense of right, to convict them under a statute framed for other ends, and having obvious reference to other parties. This is a species of injustice which no logic can vindicate, and for which no necessity exists. To avail itself of the laws of an intolerant age, may suit the temper of a bigotry too weak to be aggressive, but can never comport with the more enlightened spirit and maturing intellect of the English people. The tenacity with which these relics of intolerance are clung to by our churchmen reads us an instructive lesson. The spirit of persecution survives its power, and finds its only consolation in retaining the worst enactments of a bygone age. Our duty and our safety are therefore one. Religious liberty is in danger so long as a single fragment of these laws remains in force. We are never safe but in their repeal, and to this the strenuous labors of all right-minded men should be directed. Our own case has, in this respect, been analogous to that of the Jews. The Test and Corporation Acts were not framed to exclude protestant dissenters from corporate offices, yet such was their practical operation. For a century and a half they were appealed to against us, though our adversaries were compelled to admit they were framed for a different purpose. Against this dishonesty we uniformly protested, and should now be recreant to our principles, and faithless to our former selves, if we did not as strenuously oppose an application to the Jews, of words which were exclusively designed to detect the political heresy of a section of the papal church.

But we reply further to the reasoning of our opponents, that if we had no such objection as this, we should still contest their logic, on the palpable inefficiency of the test they advocate. There was never a more miserable delusion than that which good men practise on themselves, when they rely on any mere

of words, as the guarantee of a Christian profession. is not an established church in Europe, Catholic or Protestant, Lutheran or Reformed, Episcopal or Presbyterian, the very form of which does not prove the folly of such a reliance. Matter what be the form of words devised, how scrupulous the terms, or exact its terms, it becomes in the course of years a house of refuge, to which theologians of every class, from the highest supralapsarian to the lowest rationalist, readily flock themselves. The episcopal establishment of this country at this very moment shame our opponents into silence. What is passing before our eyes, *mutato mutando*, is a practical and most conclusive reply to their reasoning on this point. So his churchmanship permitted, Lord John Russell exposed the utility of this objection, and we quote his words, as free from the suspicion of dissenterism:—

‘I will, me,’ said his lordship, ‘for the sake of illustration, refer to two different times. In the reign of James I. and Charles I. strong religious feeling existed in this country. Men were divided into different sects, but nothing was more remarkable than the deep religious fervour which prevailed, sometimes burning more fiercely in one sect, sometimes in another: but all believed themselves bound by Christian obligations. I will take that you have before you the assembly in which Falkland, and Vane met,—men differing from each other in religious views, but all sincerely religious, and professing the doctrines of Christianity; and the Christian faith have been better secured in that parliament, than if any man had been permitted to enter it without binding his conduct by an oath ‘on the true faith of a Christian?’ Would it have added the slightest degree to the security of parliament? and would you have believed more strongly than you do now that those men were sincere, because they had stated the fact at the end of a declaration? I will now take another period, and another country. Let us imagine a parliament assembled in France towards the end of the last century, when many among the aristocracy were the disciples of Voltaire, and among the democracy of Rousseau,—let us suppose Mirabeau, Danton, Robespierre, and other men of that description, returned to the assembly;—can you believe that any security would have been afforded by compelling every one of them to pledge himself to observe an oath which he took ‘on the true faith of a Christian?’

I will now refer to another illustration, which our own country furnishes. The complaint against the Jews is, that they are revilers of Christianity—that they make a mockery of the Christian religion—that they set up Christ as an impostor; yet, was there ever a man who sneered at Christianity—was there any Jew of the last century who used such language, with the view of depreciating the doctrines of Christianity and destroying the belief in it in the minds of the people, as the Jews? Yet Gibbon took your declaration. He came to the table, and swore ‘on the true faith of a Christian.’ He held office under the late government; he sat on the Treasury Bench, under a government which

was more of a high church government, which was more disposed to raise the cry of 'church and king,' than perhaps any government which ever existed during the reign of that monarch. Take the case of Mr. Hume. He did not, it is true, have a seat in parliament: but he held an office under government; he held office for a short time in the British Embassy, at the court of Paris. My honourable friend, the member for the University of Oxford, must well know that there was no man in the last century who wrote essays so much calculated to undermine religion as Mr. Hume. And yet, if he had been returned to parliament, and had to make the declaration 'on the true faith of a Christian,' he would have taken the oath—with a smile or a sigh, as the case might be; but he would have taken it, and the cobweb would have been swept away.

'I hold that it is not by a declaration of this kind that you can obtain security. You say that the legislature ought to be a Christian legislature,—that the parliament ought to be a Christian parliament; but do you not say that the nation is a Christian nation, and that the British people are a Christian people?'—pp. 11—14.

We, of course, go further than his lordship, and should deny the expediency of the words in question, even if they could guarantee a nominal adherence to Christianity. What, we ask, is the worth of such adherence when it may consist—and is found actually to consist—with all kinds of practical ungodliness? We wish not to speak disrespectfully of our rulers, but we ask any sane man who is only partially acquainted with Christianity, whether a large proportion of our senators are not manifestly uninfluenced by its spirit, and without reverence for its laws. So notorious is this fact, that Sir Robert Inglis, himself, would not venture to deny it. Were any one hardy enough to do so, we would appeal to the brothels and gambling houses of this metropolis in proof of our averment. Nay, it is only necessary to be in the lobby of St. Stephen's, and listen to words which issue from senatorial lips, to be assured that 'the true faith of a Christian' is foreign from many of their hearts. Where then, we ask, is the advantage of this form? What does it accomplish? What purpose is answered by it, on which Christianity can look with approval?

It is in truth, and we mourn over the fact, but part and parcel of a general system of hypocrisy,—a mere semblance of religion, whose only effect is to dishonor Christianity, and to delude the parties who comply with it. Better far, that they were infidels in name as they are in reality, than that they should be exhibited before a deluded people as patterns of Christian men. Grievous is the wrong that religion thus sustains. Individual hypocrisy is bad enough, but systematic and legalised hypocrisy is a thousand times worse. There must, indeed, be something vital in Christianity, an element

drawn from the Deity, and guarded by omnipotence, for her to have survived the perils thus incurred. In comparison with the dangers which assail her from this quarter, those of theoretic infidelity are harmless. Amidst the persecutions of paganism in ancient times, and those of popery and state-protestantism in more recent days, she has maintained an erect and undaunted front. Against the malignant literature of Voltaire, the metaphysics of Hume, the ribaldry of Paine, the special pleadings of Bentham, and the sneers of Gibbon, she has presented a force of evidence, and a moral loveliness, which have retained the homage and the confidence of mankind. But when thus maligned in the house of her professed friends, she feels shorn of her strength, and her noble countenance is mantled with shame. 'Save me from my friends,' Christianity may well exclaim with the Spanish proverb, 'I will take care of my foes.'

Nor is it any reply to allege, that the insincerity in question is chargeable on individuals, and not on the system. We admit that a distinction is ordinarily to be drawn between the one and the other, but not so in the present case. The requirement was framed in obvious disregard of what its terms involved, and could only, in the known condition and circumstances of our nature, produce the results which have actually flowed from it. The parliament of James I. bore the same general character as its successors. It was composed of political men, the majority of whom were obviously uninfluenced by an enlightened estimate of religion, and whose exclusive object in such declarations—so far as it was religious—was the maintenance of an outward and formal Christianity. In the imposition of such an oath, on such parties as were known to constitute the lower branch of the legislature, they virtually recognised the consistency of practical ungodliness with Christianity, and thus lent themselves to the establishment of a system which outrages religious integrity, and does foul wrong to the name of Christ. So notoriously is this the case to the present day, that the parties who plead for the maintenance of these words, would be amongst the first, and the loudest, to condemn any constituency which required evidence of personal religion, as a qualification for parliamentary service. What an outcry would be raised, if any number of electors were to say to a candidate who solicited their votes, 'Before taking your seat as our representative, you are liable to be called on to make oath, 'on the true faith of a Christian,' and we are, therefore, solicitous to know whether you can do this honestly! Have you considered the import of the words in question? We ask not whether you adopt this or that type of Christian belief; whe-

ther you worship according to the episcopal, or the more simple form of the presbyterian and congregational churches. These are secondary points on which you are entitled to your preference, and we have no wish to interfere with your liberty. But we are concerned to know whether the essential doctrines of our faith are believed and loved, and in order to be satisfied in this matter we ask, whether its authority be revered, its laws obeyed, and the spiritual associations into which its disciples are brought, be cherished?' Were such questions proposed to a candidate, the whole kingdom would resound with the outcry of narrow-mindedness and bigotry; and yet, if such an oath may be imposed on senators, where is the impropriety of such queries being proposed by electors? For ourselves, we cannot see, and as we disapprove of the latter, so we plead for the withdrawal of the former.

But it is alleged, that if the words in question be withdrawn, there will be no safeguard against the admission into the British parliament of the disciples of every religious creed. Much use was made of this objection in the recent debates, and it was evidently supposed by the opponents of the measure to have weight. They pushed it to its extreme point, in order to show the dangerous character of the innovation proposed, and have probably succeeded in awakening the fears of the unreflecting section of their supporters. 'Such a bill,' remarked Sir Robert Inglis, 'as it was now proposed to pass, would open the doors of the legislature to men of every religious creed—to Mussulmans, Hindoos, and Parsees.' Lord Ashley adverted to the same topic, amidst the ironical cheers of the House. 'Let the noble lord,' said the member for Bath, 'consider that if the principle sought to be affirmed were to be adopted, not only the Jew must be admitted, but the Mussulman, the Hindoo, and the professor of every faith that was found under the sun of the British dominions.' Now we are not disposed to deny the fairness of this inference, so far as the principle it involves is concerned. The case put is not likely to become a practical one, but we should not shrink from the principle, even were it otherwise. Electors, we maintain, are the only proper judges of the qualifications of those who represent them in parliament, and should the improbable case ever arise, of their electing a Mussulman, or a Hindoo, our voice would be raised in defence of their right to do so. But the legislature has already decided the point, as is clearly shewn in the following brief extract from Mr. Goldsmid:—

'I am not sure,' says that gentleman, referring to this objection, 'whether this question be really intended as an argument. If it is so intended, the answer is obvious, that in this country there is no body of

Sabometans and Parsees to claim equal rights with their fellow-subjects, at that in that part of the Queen's dominions where such classes exist, the question has already been decided in their favour by the British legislature, since by the act of 1833 for the government of India, it is emphatically declared that 'no native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of his Majesty therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment,' under the East India Company.—p. 52.

We should do injustice to ourselves if we did not express our strong objection to one feature of the bill, which was pointed out by Mr. Monckton Milnes in the course of his speech. We refer to the following clause of the oath required to be taken by Jewish members: 'I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present church establishment as settled by law within this realm; and I do solemnly swear, that I will never exercise any privilege to which I am, or may become entitled, to disturb or weaken the protestant religion or protestant government in the United Kingdom.' A similar declaration is imposed on protestant dissenters by the Municipalities Reform Act, and in either case it is the pitiful effort of a defeated bigotry, 'which,' as our contemporary the 'Patriot' justly remarks, 'operates both as a stigma and as a snare upon the conscience, but cannot possibly have any practical value.' Its immediate effect is to prevent consistent dissenters petitioning for the bill. This was strikingly shewn in the case of the Dissenting Deputies of London. Prior to the printing of the bill, that influential body adopted a petition praying the Commons to pass it, but on this clause being discovered, the Deputies resolved to substitute another petition, the prayer of which went simply to the removal of Jewish disabilities. It is much to be regretted that the grace of a noble measure should thus be impaired by the narrow spirit of ecclesiastical jealousy. But we rest in hope. These paltry safeguards will soon be swept away before the advancing tide of public opinion. It will not be long ere the electors of London, having secured the entrance of their representative into the British parliament, will demand that he shall be free to give effect to their views, on every subject which comes under the consideration of the imperial parliament.

Many other topics crowd upon us, but our space is occupied, and we must conclude. Before doing so, however, we must advert to the high and noble ground on which Lord John Russell based his measure. We do this the more readily as we have often had occasion to contest his lordship's views. The tone and principles of his speech in introducing the bill were wor-

thy of his best days, and go somewhat to redeem the faults of his more recent career. The question was argued 'as one of principle, not of political expediency,' and the cheers with which his noblest sentiments were received, may well suggest to his lordship the direction and strength of the current which has set in. The following passage has some corollaries for which the premier is not prepared, but which the growing convictions of the British people will speedily render practical questions :—

' I place the question upon this simple, but, I think, solid ground,—that every Englishman is entitled to the honours and advantages which the British constitution gives. I state further, that religious opinion, of itself, ought to be no disqualification for the enjoyment of those rights. I found myself on a declaration in one of the statutes of the law of England,—' The laws of England are the birthright of the people thereof.' I found myself on a declaration made in the House of Lords, during the discussions on the Conformity Bill,—' The Lords think that an Englishman cannot be reduced to a more unhappy condition, than to be put by law under an incapacity of serving his prince and country ; and, therefore, nothing but a crime of the most detestable nature ought to put him under such a disability.' I say, then, that on this ground, unless something shall be proved to disqualify Jews, they stand in the position of persons born in this country, bearing all the burdens which are imposed on them, and ready to serve their prince and their country in any capacity in which they may be called upon : and that, therefore, they are entitled to all the rights and privileges enjoyed by their fellow-subjects. I state this with confidence ; and I will not attempt to ask your favour by anything which I might urge in behalf of the merits of the Jews. I think this is not a matter of favour towards the Jews, but that, unless some strong ground of disqualification be proved against them, it is a matter of right.'—pp. 7, 3.

For the present, then, we dismiss the subject. The immediate issue is unknown, but its ultimate triumph cannot be long delayed. In the Commons the measure is safe, and if the Peers are wise they will not reject it. We have not, however, unlimited confidence in their lordships' sagacity. Much will depend on the course adopted by the Duke of Wellington, and report speaks favorably of his intention. We wait the issue in confidence, and earnestly counsel our friends to remit no effort by which the cause of Jewish Emancipation may be facilitated. With the exception already pointed out, we regard the measure now before parliament with entire complacency, and shall hail its adoption by the legislature, as another triumph of religious liberty over the prejudices of an intolerant age.

Brief Notices.

of Nonconformity and Workings of Willinghood. Reprinted from the 'Nonconformist.' London: Aylott and Jones.

Contents of this small volume are already known to many of our readers. They consist of two series of essays, which appeared originally in the 'Nonconformist' newspaper,—the first series in the year of 1844, and the second in that of 1846. Their republication in a separate form is most seasonable, and can scarcely fail to be productive of much good. It is not necessary that we should rehearse them. They are like all the productions of their author, nervous, logical, and earnest; and we know few better services than can be rendered to nonconformity than the extensive diffusion of this volume. We are especially solicitous that our young men should make it their chosen companion. It will serve at once to stimulate their intellects, and to deepen their attachment to those sacred principles which lie at the basis of genuine Christianity.

Much for the volume: we now turn to the journal from which the contents are taken. It has afforded us unmingled satisfaction to observe the efforts which are being made for the enlargement of its circulation, and we avail ourselves of this opportunity to press on our readers an early and generous response to the *Appeal*, which the committee, formed for this purpose, has issued. At a meeting held at King's Head Tavern, London, on the 3rd of February, the following resolution, in which we most cordially concur, was unanimously adopted:—

That in the opinion of this meeting, the earnest friends of political and ecclesiastical freedom are deeply indebted to the 'Nonconformist' paper, for its able, fearless, and effective advocacy of their principles, during the period of its establishment. That in the present position of affairs, especially in relation to politico-religious establishments, it is highly desirable that means be adopted for more widely extending its circulation; and that the announcement of its intended enlargement presents a good opportunity for a vigorous effort on the part of its supporters, to secure for it a greatly increased circulation.'

A committee was then formed 'with a view to the adoption of suitable measures for carrying into effect' this resolution, and an *Appeal* notice has been issued. Such a step was due to the editor, and is especially graceful at the present moment. The projected enlargement of the paper will, of course, involve a considerable outlay, and it is right that the cost of such enlargement should be borne by those for whom the editor so ably labours. It is therefore proposed to raise a guarantee fund of £500, in order that means may be adopted to secure a *very widely extended circulation*, so as to place the 'Nonconformist,' in point of influence, as it is unquestionably in point of talent and integrity, 'among the first journals of the empire.' If we possessed of property, it would be our pride to employ it

for such an end, and we most urgently press on our friends to do their utmost in forwarding so good a work. All may assist in one way or another, and to whatever extent they do so, the cause of truth, both political and religious, will be advanced.

The Children's Year. By Mary Howitt. With Four Illustrations by John Absolon, from original designs by Anna Mary Howitt. London: Longman and Co.

THIS is a beautiful little volume, the nature of which will be best explained by the following extract from the preface. 'My own knowledge of children, founded upon the every-day experience of many years, convinced me that to write successfully for them we must come down, in some measure to their level. I resolved, therefore, to try the experiment of keeping for one whole year an exact chronicle, as it were of the voluntary occupations and pleasures, and of the sentiments and feelings, so far as I could gain accurate knowledge of them, of my two youngest children. This little book is the result; everything which it contains is strictly true.' We have never witnessed a more successful experiment, and we say this, after subjecting the volume to the severest of all tests, that of its power to interest the parties for whom it is specially designed. Having read it ourselves with a pleasure which we almost blush to acknowledge, we placed it in the hands of our younger children, by whom it was literally devoured. Its fascination was complete, while its influence over their feelings and sentiments was at once humane, pure, and elevating. We shall be glad to meet Mrs. Howitt again in the same walk of literature.

Works of the English Puritan Divines—Charnock. London: Thomas Nelson.

Doctrinal Puritans—Solitude Improved by Divine Meditation. By Nathaniel Ranew, A.D. 1670. London: Religious Tract Society.

THESE two series may possibly injure each other, and we are always sorry when this is the case with contemporary useful publications. We prefer the former of the two. The 'getting up' of Mr. Nelson's volume is certainly superior, and his series has the advantage of a preliminary essay, by some living writer of note. Charnock is thus introduced by Dr. Symington, who warmly appreciates, while he nicely discriminates, the merits of his writings. Both series, however, are deserving of encouragement, and the volumes included in them will form the best pocket-companions which can be desired.

The Provincial Letters of Pascal; with an 'Essay on Pascal, considered as a Writer and Moralist.' By M. Villemain, Peer of France, late Minister of Public Instruction, etc. Newly translated from the French. With Memoir, Notes, and Appendix. London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley.

WE congratulate our readers on the appearance of another excellent translation of Pascal's Provincial Letters. The author is anonymous; but rumour has reached us, that he is a near relative of a gentleman who has long been known and respected for his unflinching and enlightened advocacy of civil and religious liberty. Whether our information be correct or not, the author has shown himself every way competent to the task he undertook. M. Villemain's admirable essay, together with the translator's biographical sketches, both of Villemain and Pascal, serves greatly to enrich the volume; nor should the striking portrait or the appendix, with its copious information and specimen of Pascal's hand-writing, be left unnoticed. Had we not made the Provincial Letters, as given to the British public by another translator, the subject of a lengthened review in our number for last April, we should have entered much more fully into the merits of the present volume. But, under existing circumstances, we can only say, that it has, what it deserves, our hearty recommendation.

The Congregational Year Book for 1847, containing the Proceedings of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, and its confederate Societies for that year, together with Supplementary Information.

A VALUABLE collection of documents, to which the future historian will gladly refer. Congregationalists in particular will find much useful information in its pages, and all other parties who are concerned to know the condition, and to trace the progress of an important religious body, will be amply repaid for the labor of an attentive examination.

A Mission to the Mysore; with Scenes and Facts illustrative of India, its People, and its Religion. By the Rev. William Arthur, Wesleyan Minister. London: Partridge and Oakey.

MR. ARTHUR, after an absence of two years, was ordered home from his station in the Mysore, on account of the doctor's opinion, 'that on pain of blindness he must not enter the tropics.' Thus disabled, he now writes a sketch of his short missionary career, and a remarkably clear, interesting, and apparently impartial account of the people and religion of India. In the former part of the volume the reader is pleasantly carried on by a man of cultivated mind, and considerable power of sketching the peculiarities of Indian life and scenery, through the incidents of a missionary life. The latter

part, especially the sketch of Bramhanism is worthy of being read by all supporters of missionary institutions, and by all who wish to see what pantheism—which some people say is the only religion possible for us now—can come to. On the whole, we commend Mr. Arthur's volume as a valuable addition to the class of missionary literature, and as distinguished even in that class by 'the contagious intensity of faith' in the great results of the great work.

The Jewish Exile; or, Religion Exemplified in the Life and Character of Daniel. By the Rev. John Kennedy, A.M., Stepney. London: John Snow.

It is difficult both to speak and to write well, and Mr. Kennedy has here retained more of the style of the pulpit than is effective from the press. There are several passages evidently intended to be heard, not to be read; and throughout we lack the graphic power which so much depends on precision and compression. In one chapter, 'An Argument' for the Bible, for instance, we have ten pages devoted to a translation from Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, and an abstract running through as many more, of parts of Lewes's *Biographical History of Philosophy*—all to prove that Daniel's character was 'original,' and his theology secular. This would be out of taste anywhere, and is doubly so in 'a small book on a great subject.' Setting aside these defects, the volume contains much useful information, no small quantity of sound thought, and many earnest Christian appeals to the young, to whom it is addressed.

The Convent; a Narrative, founded on fact. By R. M'Crindell. London: Aylott and Jones.

It may be a question how far the interests of either literature or theology are advanced by controversial tales, where knotty points are discussed in a morning's walk by a couple of names—we cannot say characters, for characters they are not—who get up a long dialogue that is ended by the author's opponent recanting his opinions, having been, of course, most signally defeated. But supposing all this settled, there is much in 'The Convent' to please and benefit. It is a story, in graceful and simple language, of two novices, who, doubting catholicism, are persecuted; and at last, by a somewhat melo-dramatic process, escape to England and become protestants. There is more of vigour in the writing, the characters are more like flesh and blood, the incidents are more natural, and the argumentation is more satisfactory than is usual in 'Roman Catholic Stories.'

Hogg's Weekly Instructor. Vol. V. Edinburgh: James Hogg.

AN interesting and instructive miscellany, in which the pleasing and the useful are happily blended. Independently of its immediate interest as a weekly journal, it maintains a permanent value, of which the instructors of youth may advantageously avail themselves.

Memorials of the Dawn of the Reformation in Europe.

Memorials of Early Genius; and Achievements in the Pursuit of Knowledge. London: Thomas Nelson.

THESE volumes belong to Nelson's 'British Library,' and are very favorable specimens of the improved literature now provided for our young people. We strongly recommend the series, which is published in a neat form and at a very low price.

Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the Epistles of Paul to the Thesalonians, to Timothy, to Titus, and to Philemon. By Albert Barnes. Reprinted verbatim from the American Edition. London: Aylott and Jones. 1846.

MR. BARNES is well known as the author of several commentaries on portions of the Bible, marked by good sense, competent learning, and soundness of doctrine. The present volume is a specimen of an uniform edition of the whole of his Biblical works, and we can honestly affirm that it deserves a liberal support. For the great bulk of readers, Mr. Barnes's works are as suitable and sufficient as any of the kind with which we are acquainted.

Lectures, addressed chiefly to the Working Classes. By W. J. Fox. Published from the Reporter's Notes. Three Volumes. London: Charles Fox.

WITH Mr. Fox's theological sentiments we do not agree: his delivery of such lectures as these on Sundays we do not approve: but we are free to express a high opinion of his general merits as a lecturer. He has genius, extensive information, literary taste, and good language. If these lectures were listened to, and appreciated by, a fair representation of the 'Working Classes,' the fact deserves recognition and gratulation from the other classes of society.

It is not possible, in our space, to give the titles of the lectures. Poetry, Politics, Biography, Moral Philosophy, etc., are all discussed

and illustrated by a mind which does not appear more at home on one than on another of these subjects. We commend the lectures to ministers of the gospel, as containing a specimen of a style which, both as to thought and language, is very much adapted to the times, and might be introduced into the pulpit with the best results.

Correspondence.

Note on Article VIII. in the Number for January.

IN the 'Notices to Correspondents' at the close of the February number of 'The British Quarterly Review,' we find the following:—

'T. B.—Dr. Vaughan never fixed on ten years as the average time for attendance at day-schools: from the first the average assumed by him as being 'fully as long as should be expected for school attendance in this country' was five years. That a writer who did not know this should take upon him to judge the comparative merits of the statistics of Dr. Vaughan and Mr. Baines is somewhat amusing. But this is in keeping with nearly every thing that has come from the same quarter. If we do not greatly err, it would be easy to show that about every second statement on the education question in the 'Eclectic Review' is either a mistake as to fact, or a fallacy in reasoning. But tempting as the occasion may be, 'T. B.' need not fear our being seduced into any imitation of the taste displayed by the editor and his contributor in the last (the January) number. That we should become occupied in bandying personalities with Dr. Price, or with the writer who has been his assistant in this instance, is far from comporting with our idea as to the best method of advancing the interest we wish to serve.'

Our remarks shall be confined to the first part of this note, which prefers against us a charge of inaccuracy and ignorance. And we reply in general, that had we anticipated such a note as this we could hardly have selected language more accurately expressive of the truth than that which we employed. Dr. Vaughan has not done us the justice of quoting our own words, which convey a somewhat different meaning from that he attributes to them. We therefore transcribe from page 100 of our January number the sentences to which we suppose the 'note' refers:—'Our readers will remember Dr. Vaughan's confident adoption of both the calculations and the assumptions of the Manchester Statistical Society. In vain Mr. Baines pointed out the errors; demonstrating . . . that the assumption of ten years as the proper average term for popular education was altogether extravagant and baseless.' We must remind our readers, also, that on p. 102 we distinctly represented Dr. Vaughan and Mr. Baines as *ultimately* agreeing to propose 'that provision be made for children of *all classes* to spend, upon an average, five years at school.' But we certainly intended to assert in the preceding sentence, and we do still assert, that Dr. Vaughan at an early period of this controversy assumed *ten* years as the proper average

term for popular education. This he now denies ; and we are content, after referring to the ample evidence in justification of our assertion which is at hand, to leave the matter with the judges of appeal.

In the *British Quarterly* of November, 1846, Dr. Vaughan quotes largely (pp. 450—453) from the Reports of the Manchester Statistical Society. These Reports systematically assumed—not that five years between the age of five and that of fifteen years should, on an average, be spent at school—but that the whole ten intervening years should be so spent. Dr. Vaughan quotes from these Reports as warranting in part his reasoning, and gives no intimation of his disagreeing with them on this matter in particular. On p. 449, too, using words like those which he subsequently quotes from Mr. Baptist Noel, he represents statisticians as nearly agreeing that ten years is ‘the space which, in a healthy condition of society, should be given to education.’ It is, now, in accordance with this estimate of what is right that Dr. Vaughan estimates our educational deficiencies ; and it is on the ground of the vastness of the deficiencies as thus estimated that he pleads for the interposition of the government. We find him, on p. 456, reaching ‘conclusions without the fear of questioning,’ which conclusions he states in eight lines of mingled italics and capitals, and which conclusions present his view of our deficiencies as estimated by the ten years’ theory. Yet in February, 1848, he declares that ‘from the first the average assumed by him as being fully as long as should be expected for school attendance in this country was five years.’ It is true that on p. 458 (Nov. 1846) he says, ‘It may be declared to be most unreasonable to expect that the education of the people of this country should extend over an average of ten years. Be it so. Let the space be reduced one-half.’ To us, however, this appears a mere concession for the sake of argument, and not made without a sneer. And accordingly we find that on pp. 460, 463, and 472, he again and again presents a picture of educational deficiencies, composed on the hypothesis of a ten years’ course. That he *afterwards*, on p. 13 of his pamphlet, distinctly admitted what he now says he asserted *from the first*, we readily allow, and to this we made allusion in the passage we have quoted from p. 102 of our January number. We have nothing farther to attest, then, in opposition to the Doctor’s charge against us, but our correctness in referring to Mr. Baines as having *previously* demonstrated that the assumption of ten years was altogether extravagant and baseless. And our readers will find the demonstration in Mr. Baines’s fourth letter to Lord John Russell, under date of August 13th, 1846 ; a letter noticed by his opponent in the ‘*Morning Chronicle*’ long before the publication of the article in the November number of the ‘*British Quarterly*,’ and the adoption in that article of the ten years’ course. Dr. Vaughan has of late, laid bare in various ways, his apprehension that his brethren’s confidence towards him is diminished. Most probably it is : not, however, as he insinuates, because he dares to differ from them in opinion, but because in expressing his own opinions, and in representing theirs, he has not evinced the intelligence, nor maintained the temper, which are binding on honourable men. He is evidently unfurnished for the work he has undertaken, and should not, therefore, be surprised if his brethren decline his guidance. We cannot condescend to notice the insinuation advanced against ourselves. It is equally ungenerous and untrue, and Dr. Vaughan, himself, will, ere long, regret having permitted such words to escape his pen.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

Levana ; or, the Doctrine of Education. Translated from the German of Jean Paul Fr. Richter.

Notes on Herodotus ; Original and Selected from the Best Commentators. By Dawson W. Turner, M.A., late Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford, &c.

Who will Live for Ever ; an Explanation of Luke xx. 36. With Notes. By John Howard Hinton, M.A.

The People's Wants and the Church's Duty. A Vindication of Scripture Readers. By One who Knows Them. In Four Letters addressed to the Lord Bishop of Exeter. With an Appendix.

A Treatise on the Succession to Property Vacant by Death ; including Inquiries into the Influence of Primogeniture, Entails, Compulsory Partition, Foundations, &c., over the Public Interests. By J. R. McCulloch, Esq.

Oxford Protestant Magazine. No. 12. February, 1848.

The North British Review. No. XVI.

The Modern Orator. Charles James Fox. Part XI.

The National Cyclopædia of Useful Knowledge. Part XIII.

The Pictorial Bible. Part XI.

Daily Scripture Readings. By the late Thomas Chalmers, D.D., L.L.D. Vol. II.

Spiritual Heroes ; or, Sketches of the Puritans, their Character and Times. By John Stoughton.

A Book of Ballads from the German. By Percy Boyd, Esq.

The Gospel in Advance of the Age ; being a Homily for the Times. By the Rev. Robert Montgomery, M.A.

Scripture Symbolism ; or, Tabernacle Architecture. By the Rev. Samuel Garratt, Minister of Trinity Chapel, Waltham Cross.

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THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR APRIL, 1848.

- ART. I.—1.** *A Defence of Capital Punishment.* By the Rev. George B. Cheever, D.D. *And an Essay on the Ground and Reason of Punishment, with Special Reference to the Penalty of Death.* By Tayler Lewis, Esq. New York: Wiley and Putnam. 1846.
- 2.** *On Punishment and Prisons.* By Oscar, King of Sweden.
- 3.** *Letters on Capital Punishment.* By Charles Dickens. ‘Daily News.’ 1846.
- 4.** *Capital Punishments Unnecessary in a Christian State.* By the Rev. Henry Christmas, M.A. London: Smith, Elder and Co.
- 5.** *The Punishment of Death Scriptural, Moral, and Salutary.* By Walter Scott, President and Theological Tutor in Airdale College, Bradford, Yorkshire. London: Simpkin and Co. 1846.
- 6.** *Capital Punishment binding on the Civil Ruler.* By Henry John Neale Chase. London: Hamilton, Adams and Co.
- 7.** *A Plea for the Abolition of Capital Punishment.* By the Rev. Thomas Pyne, M.A. London: C. Gilpin.
- 8.** *The Punishment of Death Reviewed.* By Frederic Rowton. London: C. Gilpin.
- 9.** *Two Orations against taking away Human Life under any Circumstances.* By Thomas Cooper, the Chartist. London: Chapman.
- 10.** *Report of Speeches delivered before the Town Council of Edinburgh,* by Messrs. Russell and Cruickshank. Edinburgh: Oliphant. 1845.
- 11.** *Crime and Punishment.* By Lord Nugent, M.P. ‘People’s Journal.’

Of all the Scripture prophecies yet unfulfilled, there is none to which the soul of man turns with such intense anticipation, and on which it relies with such steady and ardent belief, as the

reiterated prediction that the world is to enjoy a period of perfect peace and happiness, when 'there shall not be war any more,' and 'when men shall not hurt nor *destroy* in all God's holy mountain.'

The assurance that such a period will unfailingly come is not only made in the strongest terms in many portions of Holy Writ, and regarded with the clearest hope by the instinctive moral sense of man, but the course of the world's history seems plainly to promise us its accomplishment. The propagation of the gospel, the progress of civilization and refinement, the development and growth of just and benevolent principles, the spread of 'peace on earth,' the gradual amelioration of man's physical, mental, and moral condition, the extension of fraternising and philanthropic influences over the world, and the other great signs of the times, significantly indicate that a period of perfection is ultimately to be enjoyed by humanity. Progression points with steady hand towards an End to be attained:—the philosopher, the poet, and the divine, alike promise us a Millennium.

As this great period approaches nearer and nearer to its consummation, obstacle after obstacle inconsistent with it gives way, crumbles and disappears. Empires which have served the purposes for which they were raised, dynasties which have done their appointed tasks, institutions which have accomplished the ends for which they had existence, creeds and sentiments by which no more service can be wrought, and codes of laws, religious, moral, political and social, which have answered the necessities for which they were formed, pass away, and give place to more appropriate and seasonable workers. The Roman empire, the religion of the sword, the feudal institutions, the rack, the inquisition, the Smithfield fire-pile, the sentiment of chivalry,—all are gone, to return no more. There was doubtless good of some sort in them, or they had never been; and whilst there was good in them, they lasted; but when they ceased to do good, they perished. So must it be with all things that are inconsistent with perfection.

In our own day a mighty step has been taken towards the great end. WAR has received its deathblow amongst civilized nations. Public opinion has finally condemned it; and though its 'pride, pomp, and circumstance,' may continue for a few brief years to dazzle the eyes of the unreflecting, the warrior will never again be the idol of the world. 'His kingdom is taken from him.'

The next great obstacle to fall is THE GALLOW. It has had its day, and it has done its work: the time has now come to abolish it,—or at least to demonstrate its worthlessness prepara-

tory to its abolition. The pain of death has been of use,—who shall doubt it? but the universal mind has passed, or is now passing, that point where its value ceases. A very few years, less than a quarter of a century, we predict, will see it abolished throughout Christian Europe. Its defenders are daily becoming fewer, and only a very limited portion of the community can now be found to maintain it even for the extreme crime of murder.

We have refrained from discussing the important and interesting topic of Capital Punishment until now, because we have thought that the public mind was not sufficiently ripe for debating it: and it is the state of the public mind that must, after all, finally determine the question. But the publication of the works named at the head of this article, and the intense excitement prevailing in many parts of Europe on the subject, sufficiently prove to us, that the moment has arrived when the well-wisher to his species must speak out, and fear not.

The books before us show that the question of capital punishment has penetrated into every class of the civilised community. We have here, not merely the extremes, but every gradation of the social scale. A monarch, a nobleman, a doctor of divinity, two Edinburgh baillies, a popular novel-writer, several clergymen of various denominations, a theological tutor, a chartist, and a country-gentleman, are amongst the writers who present themselves for review. Moreover, the subject is discussed in parliament; public meetings are held to debate it; societies are daily forming to urge it; our newspapers take it up; our magazines, legal and literary, gravely consider it. What clearer proof could there be, that the time for its final discussion and settlement is come?

There are other circumstances which show that decision upon this topic presses. The dislike of inflicting death begins to corrupt, or perhaps we should rather say to mislead, our rulers, judges, and jurymen. Convicted murderers, like *Dalmas*, are snatched from the gallows by royal interference;* criminals of the deepest dye (such as duellists and child-murderers,) are rescued from punishment by the interposition of our judges; and wretches whose guilt is beyond all legal doubt are acquitted by our jurors. Dislike is raised against the law and its ministers; crime is encouraged; and the standard of morality is lowered and perverted.

We think there is no question that public feeling is against the gallows. Sometimes the judge expresses it: it was but the other day that an eminent Irish judge was so affected in passing

* Out of 49 persons condemned to death in 1845 only 12 were executed.

sentence of death on a criminal, that he covered his face with his hands, and shed tears and sobbed like a child. Sometimes it is the jury that proves it: not only is it frequently the case that persons absolutely refuse to serve as jurymen in capital cases, but it continually happens that, before a verdict is returned, the jurymen inquire of the judge what *the consequences* will be?—and if they become assured that the word ‘guilty’ will be followed by the infliction of death, they return a verdict of ‘acquittal.’ And a clearer proof still exists in the fact, that the individual who is hired to execute the sentence of the law is so great an object of popular abhorrence, that people shrink from him as from a pestilence. Now, it is not reasonable to suppose, that the law will be approved, of which the minister is abhorred. It must be clear, we repeat, that public feeling does not support the punishment. On what, then, is it founded? ‘Dead in the sympathy of mankind, it rests solely upon the argument of tradition and the fear of change.’ We repeat, therefore, that the time for the discussion and settlement of this vitally important topic is come.

Now we are not of those who maintain that the infliction of death by man on man as a penalty for crime, must in the very nature of things be unjustifiable in all ages and under any circumstances. We agree with the very able writer on this subject in the ‘Topic,’ when he says—‘We are no more entitled to protest against the punishment of death in *the abstract* than we are warranted to plead its universal application.’ Seeing that the Most High unquestionably approved, nay commanded, the infliction of death among the Jews, only a downright infidel can argue that this penalty must through all times be unjustifiable. We believe that up to a certain point in the history of a community—in the history of *every* community—the threat of death operates as a restraint upon the commission of crime. To barbarous minds Death is, indeed, ‘the King of Terrors;’ and whilst the moral remains inferior to the physical in human nature, the fear of bodily suffering will ever be a safe principle to appeal to. Physical force being then the predominating idea, and might being then held to be right, physical pain is the kind of punishment most dreaded: and death, the extreme of physical pain, will naturally be the severest and most dreaded of penalties. Let it not be thought, then, that we are about to join the ranks of those thoughtless declaimers, who assert in defiance at once of Divine authority and of the world’s experience, that capital punishment must always have been, and must always be, in its very nature Murder; and that all who have defended, and do defend it, must have been, and must be, wilful murderers.

Nor would we have it imagined that we ask for the abolition of the pain of death, because we entertain undue sentiments of pity or compassion towards criminals, or a false idea of the intrinsic demerit of crime. In the sentimental sham-benevolence of the day (likened by Mr. Carlyle to 'patent treacle' and 'universal rose-water') we have neither part nor lot. We abhor crime as much as crime can be abhorred; and we should be the last to clog the hand of law in its endeavours to restrain the malefactors who infringe the peace which it is established to preserve. It is not for the criminal, but for society, that we plead.

We have admitted that, up to a certain point in the social history of every community, the punishment of death is calculated to restrain men from committing crime; and, on the other hand, we now as unhesitatingly affirm, that after that point has been once reached, the penalty of death not only fails to restrain from crime, but actually incites men to perpetrate it.

When the moral becomes stronger than the physical in a nation's mind, then the infliction of pain upon the body naturally ceases to be as great a terror as it was before; and mental pain—the pain of conscience—becomes a greater punishment by far. Suicides, heroes and martyrs are never found amongst savages. Moreover, when a civilised state of society is reached, the infliction of pain upon the body is felt to be unjust and unwise and childish. As we grow enlightened, we become aware that it is the soul that sins, not the body—that the intrinsic crime consists in the motive, not in the act; and the torture of the body for the sin of the soul is naturally thought to be as absurd as it is found to be unavailing.

When a child is too young to be reasoned with, personal chastisement operates in a salutary manner in restraining him from bad conduct; but when the child is grown old enough to understand and to feel conscientiously, it is found, not only that personal chastisement is useless to him, but that he despises and laughs at it. It is by representation, by persuasion, by affectionate remonstrance, and above all by educating the conscience in moral and religious truth, that you are able to work upon him most effectually.

Just so with a state. When young it must be restrained and corrected physically, because that is the kind of punishment which it then most fears. When, however, it is old enough to judge, to think, and to feel—when, in other words, it is morally civilised—it must be restrained and corrected morally; and physical punishment only hardens, depraves, and corrupts it. In an age of civilization, the lash, the sword, the gibbet, and the rack are found to be totally useless as deterrents from crime: it is to knowledge, to reflection, to philosophy, to benevolence, to peace, to conscientiousness, and to the religious sentiment

that we must look, as our only means to stop the progress of vice.

We think it will now be clear, from reason, experience, and the testimony of revelation, that there is a point where all physical correction must give way to moral, and that therefore the punishment of death, however useful it may have been in the early ages of society, is not intended to last for ever. Few persons, we fancy, would be disposed to assert the contrary. The stoutest defenders of capital punishment continually admit that 'a time may come when the death-penalty can be safely discontinued :'' and legislation is evidently pointing the same way as popular belief. This point admitted at the outset, we shall be saved many difficulties in the course of the discussion which we propose to institute. The supporter of capital punishment will see that his strongest arguments *must* at some time or other become unavailing, and that they may, consequently, be unavailing now ; and the abolitionist will be saved the appearance of charging, first, the Almighty with folly in originally ordaining these inflictions ; and, secondly, the followers of the commands with wickedness in enforcing them.

The question then which we have mainly to try is, whether the penalty of death is found to be now practically successful in restraining men from crime. Death is at length inflicted solely for the offence of murder ; and we have to inquire whether the purpose is accomplished by the means.

We are prepared to show that it is *not*.

But here we are met at the outset by Mr. Tayler Lewis, whose 'Essay on the Ground and Reason of Punishment' is the most elaborate, most talented, and we will add, most sophistical defence of the penalty of death that we have yet read. We are told by this writer that expediency must *not* be the rule of human punishment—that although 'reformation and prevention should have a most prominent and important place in the scheme of human government, yet they should ever be held (as in Divine legislation) subordinate to the higher principle of *retribution*.' In other words, Mr. Tayler Lewis argues, that in punishing crime, the ruler is bound to have regard more to its intrinsic demerit than to its consequences on society. We are not at liberty, therefore, it would seem, to judge this question as one of expediency, because we are bound first to satisfy the higher claims of moral justice. Punishment should be (according to Mr. Lewis) 'not so much a means for deterring other men from crime through the example of the penalty inflicted,' as 'the infliction of pain upon sin *for its own intrinsic demerit*'—'the infliction of suffering for crime *as crime*, irrespective of antecedents, collaterals, and consequents.' 'Punishment,' he goes on to say, 'is properly a *satis*-

faction, or even a *compensation*, of justice.' Dr. Cheever, too, quoting (and often misquoting) Grotius and a host of other learned authorities, contends that punishment should be inflicted upon the Rhadamanthean ground, that 'evil felt balances evil committed.' And even Mr. Scott argues for the retention of the pain of death for murder upon the principle that murder '*deserves* death.' Now we conceive that the theory of human punishment, thus put forth, is one of the most dangerous doctrines that human sophistry can preach; and feeling this, we trust the reader will pardon us for entering somewhat fully into its consideration.

The chief ground upon which Mr. Tayler Lewis (for we select him as our strongest opponent) builds his theory of pain for sin, is that derived from the Divine example. The Almighty inflicts pain for sin, says he, and *therefore* man should. Now, deferring our consideration of this logic for a moment, we would take leave here to observe, that Mr. Lewis, and all who write on the same side, are forced to sacrifice to one of the Divine attributes all the rest. They see in the Creator only the stern, awful, and inexorable JUDGE, armed with penalties and thunderbolts, and unable, as well as unwilling, to forgive. 'Law and retaliation,' 'the sternness of the Divine justice,' and 'retributive vengeance,' are the chief ideas which these writers put forth upon the subject; and we must say that they urge them vastly too much in the spirit of those over-zealous apostles, who were rebuked by the Son of Man for calling down 'fire from heaven' to consume the Samaritans. The Book that tells us of the 'justice' of God, speaks of his 'mercy,' too; and Mr. Tayler Lewis would have written less like a pharisee, and more like a Christian, had he urged us to imitate the Almighty's benevolence rather than his vengeance.

Punishment is not an end, but a means. Suffering looks beyond the pain it inflicts. Judgment is not a final principle, but only a component part of the one universal element of Benevolence. While, then, Mr. Tayler Lewis rests upon the idea of penalty as higher than the idea of expediency, we rise to a height far transcending his. He would have it that God is LAW: we reply that God is LOVE. He would tell us that the foundation of the universe is vengeance: we maintain that it is mercy. He affirms that pain for sin is an eternal and absolute principle: we assert, that before there was sin or pain, there was a God of infinite and endless love, and a universe of unsullied purity.

We admit that man should imitate the government of God; but we contend that it should only be in its absolute and eternal

principles. We have no example from the Most High for inflicting a punishment which includes no hope or chance of mercy. The punishment of death by human law has no parallel in the Divine law. God 'desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live.' There is mercy even for the chief of sinners.

But it may be said, that as, beyond all question, judgment has a place in the Divine government, (however inferior it may be to the attribute of mercy), so it must also have a place in human law : that, as God judges the intrinsic demerit of crime, so also should man. This argument is, indeed, the chief basis on which Mr. Tayler Lewis builds.

One need not go far to see that the argument refutes itself. 'God judges the intrinsic demerit of crime—and, *therefore*, man should do so,' is the logic of Mr. Lewis. Now, as God is the judge of all the earth, and tells us that *He* will unfailingly recompense every man according to his deeds, is it not perfectly plain and self-evident that there exists *no need* for man to weigh the intrinsic demerit of crime—that, in fact, the scales of justice are held by the hands of a faultless judge already?

The *other* world, not this, is the scene of retribution. Earth was never meant to be a world of reward and punishment; and no observer of life can have failed to gather proof of this from his own experience. The blindest mortal must have constantly seen that in this life neither the virtuous gets his reward, nor the vicious his penalty. The wicked prosper, and the good suffer, oftentimes from the cradle to the grave; and one of the strongest arguments in favour of the immortality of the soul is derived from the unquestionable fact, that as it does not receive its desert *here*, it is forced to look to a future. To that future it *does* look; and we have a moral conviction, as well as a prophetic assurance, that, although man is neither punished nor rewarded in this life, he is unerringly recompensed hereafter; and that none escapes, or is passed over. Let no man think, then, that the murderer or the criminal, of any sort, can escape due punishment; he will assuredly receive his doom in the future world, and we need not punish him here under the plea that he will escape if we do not.

All that Mr. Tayler Lewis and his fellow-defenders of the gallows say about the 'satisfaction' or 'compensation' of justice, is consequently superfluous. Justice is unfailingly satisfied above, and it is not meant to be satisfied here.

We wonder that Mr. Lewis does not see a fatal objection to his argument, that man is bound to make the intrinsic demerit of crime the rule and principle of judgment, in the fact that *man cannot tell* the intrinsic demerit of crime. He cannot see

it, cannot weigh it, cannot ascertain it, and, therefore, cannot possibly make it his rule of judgment and penalty. That man is not meant to satisfy justice, is evident at once from his incompetency to do so. Had he been meant to judge morally, he would have been endowed with proper powers of discernment; and as he is not so endowed, we see plainly that moral judgment is not his province.

It is a singular fact, that whilst men like Mr. Lewis are found to say that moral judgment is man's province, our very judges disclaim the right. At the York Assizes, held July, 1846, the judge thus addressed a criminal, John Rodda, on whom he was passing sentence of death, for the murder of his daughter: '*Human tribunals must always fail when they endeavour to ascertain the motives by which men are stimulated to crime.* It may have been from the mere weariness of watching over and attending a sick child; it may have been for pitiful gain; or it may have been *from motives lying more deep than the mind can fathom.* The facts, however, have been proved against you.'

Real crime consists in evil motive; sin proceeds from the heart, not from the hand; and, as the learned judge, just quoted, very properly says, motives cannot be ascertained by human tribunals. No man can read the heart. No man can say how far another is guilty or unfortunate, how much of his crime is due to force of circumstances or extenuating motives, how far hereditary predisposition may have drawn him within that fearful line where fatuity commences and responsibility ends. 'Dr. Forbes Winslow maintains, that what is called insanity, is only the *extreme* and *perceptible* form of nervous suffering; and that the disease exists in millions where the *overt* insanity is not perceived.' Who can say, then, how much of what we call crime, ought not rather to be laid to the charge of insanity which has not reached its perceptible crisis of development? Only those who *can* distinguish thus, can be safely permitted to punish the intrinsic demerit of crime.

Nay, they must see more than this. They must not only distinguish between crime and insanity, but they must be able to estimate the strength of temptation, (for he who sins, being but little tempted, is surely more criminal than he who resists till he yields from very weariness); they must be able to calculate the force of each and every outward pressure, to follow the immediate up to the originating causes, and to know, so as to link together in one faultless chain, every thought that lies between the first conception and the act of crime. But what man can do this? Ah, it is altogether vain for humanity to put forth its puny claim; the attributes are omniscient ones, and only Omnipotence can wield them. How strange it is that

But this is an utterly groundless dread. We do not deny the right of man to wield and distribute the sword of justice: we do not contradict the principle that we should punish the crime: we merely reserve the judgment to the tribunal. There is (as we have seen) a power which we do not have the power of inflicting moral guilt; but there is a power which we cannot deem moral guilt; but there is a power which the Deity should not wield: on the other hand, it is necessary (so to speak) that He should wield the sword of justice, the Divine government should be able to prevent disorder in the universe, and to maintain the law of the universe.

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uses to forgive his fellow-man the far smaller sin committed against him. Sentenced malefactors ourselves at God's justice, we assume God's sword to slay the fellow-sinner standing our side ! As one of the writers before us well observes : ' If God can forego his justice against our souls, surely we can forego our vengeance against men's bodies.'

The satisfaction or compensation of moral justice, then, is early no part of man's duty in punishing crime. First, moral justice is satisfied and compensated before a higher tribunal: secondly, man is not competent to measure the compensation it requires; and thirdly, being a criminal himself, he is disqualified from awarding its penalties. He must, therefore, leave the satisfaction of justice to the Judge of all the earth, and legislate crime solely with a view to its effects; placing before himself simply one end—the prevention of evil to the community governs; which object, of course, includes the reformation of the offender.

Thus viewed, expediency does not become, in Mr. Tayler Lewis's words, 'severed from the true idea of retribution,' but dependent upon it. Far from superseding this idea, it confirms it. For, whilst it weighs and punishes the actual evil committed, it still says that there is a higher justice and more certain tribunal before which the moral wickedness of the offence must ultimately go; a tribunal where guilt can have no chance of escape, and where innocence can have no fear of error. The system which Mr. Lewis advocates,—that of letting the human tribunal inflict the moral penalty—is rather calculated to lower, than raise, the standard of true morality; for it arraigns crime before a fallible tribunal, and the award is made by chance, not by criminalisation. This will leave crime to hug itself with the idea that it may possibly go unpunished after all: it will sin in secret, and dare the chances of discovery. We contend, therefore, that the true idea of retribution can only be maintained upon the principle that the infallible God administers the awards. There can be no true idea of retribution whilst weak and faulty man is judge and the executioner.

We are in no wise amenable, then, to the charge which Mr. Lewis brings against the abolitionists of 'endeavouring to destroy whatever is strictly penal in legislation:' we only maintain that the infliction of the moral penalty should be left to an infallible hand, and that all human attempts to arraign and 'judge the consciences of men' will be found to be (as they have ever been) vain and futile.

Mr. Lewis fears, nay, asserts, that 'if it can be made out that there is nothing strictly penal or retributive in human law, deists and infidels will push the argument further, and say, that neither

is there in the Divine.' But this is an utterly groundless dread. When we disclaim the right of man to wield and distribute the penalties of moral guilt, we do not contradict the principle that man should be punished for crime ; we merely reserve the judgment for the Divine tribunal. There is (as we have seen) a reason why man should not have the power of inflicting moral penalties—the fact that he cannot discern moral guilt ; but there is no such reason why the Deity should not wield them : on the contrary, there is an absolute necessity (so to speak) that He should. The blasphemy of calling the Divine government simply 'a police system' to prevent disorder in the universe, pertains not to us, therefore, but to our opponents.

We think it will now be evident that man, in his judgment of man, must simply estimate outward acts, and leave motive quite out of the question. The word 'RETRIBUTION' must be expunged from his criminal code, and 'PREVENTION' substituted.

But the supporter of capital punishment will say, that although he may not be able to prove his right upon *moral* grounds to wield against his fellow-man the penalties of omniscience, still he conceives that the sword of eternal justice is deputed to him by Omniscience itself : and he will invoke *religion* to support what morality has been unable to establish.

We quite agree with Mr. Tayler Lewis when he says, that 'the real question involved in this discussion is in the highest and deepest sense a religious one.' Were we not so convinced, we should hesitate to employ these pages in this controversy. Certain, however, that the subject can never be settled without taking the religious view of it into consideration, we have no fear that we shall be accused of irreverence when we turn, as we now do, to the scriptural aspect of the whole question.

It is asserted, then, that the Bible contains certain express declarations of God's will upon this matter—which *enjoin* the infliction of death by man upon the murderer, and which are to be binding upon us to the end of time. The destruction of the murderer by the law thus becomes a religious duty, it is urged ; and consequently must be enforced, whether it is agreeable to morality or opposed to it, whether it is expedient or baneful in practice.

It seems a wild and singular theory that the one pure and infallible God, the creator, the orderer, the judge of all the earth, the 'Lord to whom vengeance belongeth,' should commit the care of his eternal justice into the hands of weak, finite, short-sighted, fallible, and guilty man ; for the purpose, too, of arraigning, judging, and punishing a fellow-being not more intrinsically wicked than himself. To us no theory could seem less probable. The omnipotence and the benevolence of

the Deity alike forbid so monstrous a supposition. And when we find, further, that the theory does not answer in practice—that it increases crime instead of repressing it, that it makes murderers while it endeavours to exterminate them,—we have increased reason to doubt its soundness.

But do you deny the Scriptures? our opponents say. Will you reject the Bible?

By no means: we admit it to be man's best teacher and guide, and we mean to base our chief arguments concerning the matter in hand upon its sacred precepts. We only maintain, that isolated texts must never be put forth as rules of faith and conduct. It should not be forgotten that there has never been an error so monstrous, or a vice so flagrant, that it has not met with defenders who could quote Scripture as fluently as Satan himself in proof of its excellence. The crusades were justified upon religious grounds—the Holy Inquisition was a religious institution—the massacre of the Albigenses was undertaken for religion's sake—Queen Mary and Bishop Bonner lighted their Smithfield bonfires with leaves from the Bible—the massacre of St. Bartholomew was believed to be an acceptable sacrifice to the Divinity—the reformer Calvin persecuted Servetus to death upon religious principles—the presbyterians of Scotland destroyed in less than one century sixty thousand women for the alleged crime of witchcraft upon Bible authority—even in our own time our fellow-citizens are denied equal rights with ourselves, because religion disapproves their creed; and within the last few years books have been written to prove that slavery is a religious institution, and ought never to be abolished. We may well say, in the words of the poet,—

————— 'In religion,
What awful error but some sober brow
Will bless it and approve it with a text,—
Hiding its grossness with fair ornament?'

All this ought to make us very careful how we employ Scripture to judge our fellow-men. These shocking errors were all once as firmly believed to be gospel truths as is the practice of choking the life out of men on the scaffold; and disbelievers in them would have been called (as Mr. Tayler Lewis and Dr. Cheever call those who disagree with them respecting the infliction of death by the law) 'infidels,' 'radicals,' and 'ferocious popular demagogues.'

A short way of arriving at the truth of the proposition that the punishment of death is a religious ordinance, is to force the supporters of that idea to carry out their principles, and make the execution of a criminal a religious ceremony. It was so with the Jews, whose law is quoted for our imitation; let it, then,

be so with us. Let the destruction of our culprits take place in our churches, and let our clergymen be the executioners. What religion commands, religion's minister can surely do. Nay, as it was in the holiest of holies, and by the high priest, that sacrifices for sin used to be offered in that olden Hebrew time from which our modern sacrificers seek to copy, let the execution-place now be St. Paul's Cathedral or Westminster Abbey, and let a bishop or an archbishop be the hangman.

It seems to us that the scope and intent of religion are altogether mistaken, when we employ its doctrines and injunctions *against* our fellow-creatures. Religion is a matter between man and God, not between man and *man*. No man has a right to judge another *in* religion, or *by* religion. The office of religion is to lead a man to make his own peace with God, not to set him up as judge and executioner of his brother sinner. Religion ought never to be pleaded as our reason for condemning and punishing one another; our religion is a rule for ourselves, but should never become the law by which we arraign our brethren.

But, quitting generalities, let us consider the special arguments by which the punishment of death is scripturally defended.

First of all, we, of course, have the oft-quoted passage from *Genesis*, ix. 6, 'Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed;'—'one of the planets,' as Dr. Cheever calls it, 'in the firmament of revealed truth'—'the gift of God to a christianized humanity'—'the great law of love'—'the very perfection of criminal jurisprudence'—'a well-spring of truth, the stream that gushes up from which is pure benevolence, as clear as crystal.' This passage is the chief ground on which the defenders of capital punishment rest their belief; and we propose to examine it somewhat minutely.

But we must first inquire, whether our opponents mean to read the passage literally, or whether they mean to take a little latitude in their application of it. In either case they thrust themselves on the horn of a fatal dilemma. If they take the passage literally, then it proves too much (as we shall shortly show); and if they allow themselves a latitude in its application, then they are forced to concede a latitude to us likewise, and cannot hold us bound by their conclusions.

We will suppose that the words are read literally. Let us see what they amount to. Dr. Cheever says, that they are characterized by 'a wonderful explicitness and compactness;' so we cannot well make an error in applying them. 'Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed;'—this is the passage.

'Whoso.' This includes everybody. There is no exception in favour of any one. It refers, therefore, to kings as well as to subjects, to magistrates as well as to individuals.

'Sheddeth man's blood.' Not *'killeth man,'* but *'sheddeth man's blood.'* If a man kill another by strangulation, then, and *sheds no blood,* he evidently is not included in the denunciation; whilst, on the other hand, he who *'sheddeth man's blood,'* *whether he kill him or not,* is inculpated. Surgeons, consequently, soldiers, Jack Ketches, simple manslayers, stabbers, and all homicides who shed blood, are the persons who alone are referred to. The beast, too, that sheds man's blood, is also included in the sentence. As to murder, there is no especial mention of that at all—the reference is to simple blood-shedding of any sort, to any extent, and with whatever purpose.

'By man shall his blood be shed.' *'Shall'* his blood be shed. This may have two meanings, either of which would be strictly grammatical:—first, That man is *hereby endowed with authority* to shed blood; second, That, in the course of things, *it shall so come to pass* that man shall shed the blood of the blood-shedder. Neither of these readings can be established absolutely, therefore either may be selected as correct.

The literal meaning of the words before us is this, then: *Whatsoever* (whether man or beast) *sheddeth man's blood, for any purpose, or to any extent, with good motive or with evil, shall have his blood shed* (not—*'shall be killed'*), *in the course of God's providence, by his fellow-man.* This is the literal rendering of the passage; and now we ask any man of candour and fairness, whether it is anything like an equivalent for the doctrine that man has built upon it—viz., *Whoso with wicked motive killeth a man, shall be killed, with God's sanction, by the hand of a hired executioner?* For in the text before us, neither *motive* nor *death,* nor God's approval, are at all referred to.

It must seem pretty evident, we think, by this time, that an absolutely literal application of this passage is quite out of the question; and this brings us to remark upon the other horn of the dilemma. Upon this the advocate of capital punishment *must* fall.

He will say, I never meant to maintain that the words must be taken *quite* literally; they must be construed inferentially; and straightway he gives you his own inferences as absolute foundations. But it is clear that this is a virtual surrender of the whole argument. If he may interpret the words according to *his* views, we may construe them in such a manner as will suit *ours.* When he calls upon us to give him the latitude he claims, we gain a right to demand a similar margin for ourselves:—

‘ The mercy we to others show,
That mercy show to us :’

And thus the question becomes a perfectly open one ; and it is as unfair, as it is absurd, to insist upon one man’s reading, as a version binding upon all men.

Our argument will now be clear, then. If the passage is read literally it involves principles of action which no one can defend or follow ; and if it be an open question, to be settled in each man’s mind according to his own idea and comprehension of it, then it cannot be put forth as an absolute, explicit, and fundamental law of God, binding every man through all time to one particular construction of it.

We think that there cannot be a plainer proof of the inherent weakness of our opponent’s case, than that they should choose, as the ‘corner-stone’ (we quote Dr. Cheever,) of their argumental edifice, a passage which, as we have seen, no man can dare to take literally ; and which, consequently, is left open to as many constructions as there are minds to construe it. Why, there is no passage in the whole Bible so much disputed, and so differently read, as this. By one writer we are assured that it is a mere prophecy. By another we are told that it is a command. A third calls it ‘the Divine institution of civil government.’ A fourth conceives that it gives to *any* man the right of being the avenger of blood. A fifth affirms that it reserves the exercise of vengeance to the Almighty, that it refers to the punishment of murder by the providence of God. A sixth says that it refers not to murder at all. A seventh maintains that it pertains not to murder only, but to all homicide, accidental or wilful. Another argues that it is an injunction against cannibalism, and looks upon it as a prohibition of human flesh for food. Another calls it ‘a Divine appointment without the Divine approval—affirming that the bloodshedder’s blood *shall* be shed, but not that it *ought* to be shed.’ Another affirms that it is the first assertion of the great doctrine of the atonement by blood (Dr. Cheever agrees in this). Another views it ‘as predictive of an indirect consequence, not injunctive of a direct retribution.’ Another sees in it the origin of the doctrine of sacrifice for sin—a doctrine completed when Jesus was sacrificed on Calvary. Another considers it a general injunction against crimes of violence of any sort. Another says it ought to be read ‘*whatsoever* sheddeth man’s blood, by man shall his blood be shed,’ being an injunction including brutes as well as men. Another writes that it refers to those who cause a man to be put to death by false witnesses. Another believes that it is meant to set up every man’s brother as the avenger of his blood. Another thinks it an institution peculiar

to the time—‘the passion-language of a barbarous age’—intended to last only until the next manifestation of God to man. Another describes it as ‘a simple denunciation of *God’s* vengeance against men of blood,’ similar in effect to the threat, that ‘the bloody and deceitful man shall not live out half his days.’ Another reasons, ‘that even granting it to be a prophecy which man is bound to fulfil, the fulfiller may, notwithstanding be wrong, even as Judas, although obliged to betray, was, nevertheless, punished for betraying.’ And these are but a few of the various readings which this passage has received!

Then comes the question about the translation of the passage into English. The above readings, of course, take the English translation for granted; but our case would be most incomplete, were we not further to remark that even the translation is disputed: that, in fact, scarcely two scholars can be found who agree in their renderings of the verse. It appears that the original may be read in either of these four ways:—1. Whoso sheddeth man’s blood *by* man shall his blood be shed. 2. Whoso sheddeth man’s blood *through* man shall his blood be shed. 3. Whoso sheddeth man’s blood *in* man shall his blood be shed. 4. Whoso sheddeth man’s blood *among* (or *with*) man shall his blood be shed. The translators, of course, give a great variety of readings. The Septuagint renders it, ‘The person shedding the blood of man, for the blood of that man his blood shall be shed.’ Wycliffe reads it, ‘Whoso sheddeth out man’s blood, his blood shall be shed,’ (without reference to man’s agency in the matter). The Chaldee says it refers to the shedding of blood by false witnesses. Luther, Cranmer, Toustall and Ridley, Coverdale, Matthew Beza, and the bishops, give it as it is commonly received. Calmet translates it, ‘Whoso sheddeth man’s blood shall be punished by the shedding of his own blood.’ The Vulgate and the Spanish version of Scio, omit the words ‘by man’ altogether. Ostervald reads it thus—‘Whoso sheddeth man’s blood *that is in him* his blood shall be shed,’ treating the words ‘*that is in him*’ as a mere pleonasm, similar to this—‘Who knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of a man *that is in him*?’ Jerome reads it as Wycliffe does; and Calvin agrees with Luther and the bishops. There are other versions which differ from any of these, but we have quoted enough to serve our purpose.

Here, then, is a passage upon the translation of which from the original no two scholars can agree, and upon the meaning of which, when translated, there are as many opinions as there are commentators. No man can undertake to tell us whether it is an edict or a prediction; whether it refers to the government of God, or of man; whether it pertains to murder, to cannibalism, or

to blood-letting. And now we ask, what man can dare to say, with this contrariety of opinion staring him in the face, that the words form a clear and indisputable command from God to man, to punish the crime of murder with death by the hands of the executioner?

But weak as we thus find the ground of the capital punishment supporter to be, it becomes even weaker when we try it by the *practice* of the ancient world. If the law requiring the infliction of death for murder had been as plain, explicit, and unmistakeable, as our opponents aver, we should surely find some examples of its enforcement in the Book where the enactment stands recorded. Not one, however, can be discovered, whilst we read of many wherein the practice was clearly *not* enforced. Several cases of murder are related, but in no instance is the penalty of death for the crime inflicted, or even mentioned; which seems unaccountably strange if the law existed. We may name, amongst others, the slaughter of the Shechemites by the sons of Jacob, the murder of the Egyptian by Moses, the killing of Jael by Sisera, the treacherous destruction of Uriah by David, and the shedding of innocent blood by Manasseh. In all these cases there is the 'shedding of man's blood,' but in none of them is 'man's blood shed' in return. Thus, at the time when it is contended that the law was newly promulgated, and therefore most rigid in its requirements, there was evidently no such practice in existence.

There are two other cases of murder recorded in the early Scripture, which materially strengthen our position. The cases are those of Cain and Lamech.

Cain was the first murderer, and therefore the worst. One naturally supposes, then, that had the Almighty intended to have established, once and for ever, the principle of 'blood for blood,' he would have done so here. The first murderer should have been the first example. But God visited him with quite another kind of penalty. He preserved him from destruction: he made it a crime to kill him: and he branded him, that men might know him for a murderer, and be deterred by his example from his crime.

Lamech also committed murder;—or, if not murder, it was at least wilful bloodshedding, and therefore liable to the penalty; but so far from his being destroyed, we find him referring to the example of Cain, and saying, that should he be killed for his crime, he should be avenged, not seven, but seventy-fold. Every illustration, then, as well as every rational argument, tends to show that the passage under consideration should not be, and never was, looked upon as a Divine command to man.

But even if it ever were, there is no reason whatever to conclude that at this great distance of time from its promulgation, the world is still to be held bound by it. It was not the *earliest* legislation of God on the subject of murder, for Cain's instance, and Lamech's also, occurred before it. Nor is it a *final* law upon the matter, for there is a far more complete and compact piece of legislation thereon in the Jewish code. It is neither the beginning nor the completion of law ; but stands, a solitary declaration, opposed alike to what goes before it, and to what comes after it. It is surely a fair presumption, that when the Almighty legislates anew on a subject, his primary law is repealed and superseded. It is manifestly so in the case before us, for the law given to Moses is totally different from the words spoken to Noah, and the observance of the latter is incompatible with the observance of the former. The one includes all homicide—the other makes distinctions in the crime. Moses *must* have regarded the Noachic precept as a dead letter ; and if it became a dead letter to Moses, there can be no reason to suppose that it was intended to remain a living law to the rest of the world. But even if it be argued that the Jewish law was given to the Jews alone, and therefore the general precept given to Noah remained unrepealed, then we find its abrogation in the law which confessedly binds all the earth—the Decalogue.

The changed condition of the human family as time advanced, would of itself have necessitated a change in the principle of law. The enactment suitable to utter barbarians would become useless, if not injurious, in a more civilized condition of the world. Even Dr. Cheever is forced to admit that this ' Noachic law ' was ' in many respects a dangerous institution.' It was so wide, that it included *all* homicide, and made even beasts responsible for the shedding of human blood. One can well suppose that the smallness of the human family at the time of the promulgation of the precept, rendered an extraordinary care of human life necessary, and thus made even *accidental* homicide a punishable offence. But in the Mosaic economy there is an evident design—the stringency of the former period having passed away—to distinguish between accident and intention, between homicide with hatred, and simple manslaughter. It draws a line between the two crimes, and awards different penalties to each. All this goes clearly to show that the Noachic law (whatever it was) clashed with the next divine revelation, and became superseded when the fuller code was given to Moses, and so ended for ever when the Mosaic commenced.

In any case, then, this passage cannot be binding upon *us*.

If it is a LAW, it has since been superseded by a later law on the same subject, from the hands of the same legislator; if it is a mere DENUNCIATION of God's vengeance in the course of his providence against the murderer, then, of course, it is no warrant to us, and we may safely leave the fulfilment of the awful prediction to Him who says, '*The bloody and deceitful man shall not live out half his days.*'

That the *Jewish* law, upon this or upon any other subject, is binding upon the Christian world, none, we suppose, but our Hebrew brethren, will maintain. The church of England gives it up, in fact; for in her seventh article she says, that the law of Moses 'does not bind Christian men, nor ought of necessity to be received in any commonwealth;' and no sect of Christians, heretics, or infidels, can be found who recognize it as a rule of life. It is true that Mr. Tayler Lewis regards the spirit of the Jewish *lex talionis* as being 'of the very essence of right and natural justice,' but even *he* does not insist on its observance now. He appeals, in fact, to other rules; as, indeed, he finds himself compelled.

We shall not dwell long, then, upon this portion of the subject, for there is no need to do so. It will be sufficient to remark, that the Mosaic law was given at a particular time, and for a particular object, which object has since been accomplished; and that it has been entirely annulled by the development of the Christian scheme.

There is an evident purpose in both the Noachic and Jewish ordinances. They both were founded upon the idea of sacrifice for sin—expiation. Adam had fallen, and the world's redemption had to be accomplished in Christ. To bring about that end, and to point to it continuously and significantly, was the evident aim of the early institutions of God's ordering. By the blood of Christ the world was to be purified; and, therefore, blood was made sacred from the first. To Cain, the first words were, 'Thy brother's *blood* crieth to me from the ground.' To Noah, the injunction is, 'Flesh with the *blood* thereof, shall ye not eat;' and the words, 'Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed,' are, to our mind, only a link in the same great argument. In the Mosaic law this idea is promulgated with even greater force. Many passages may be selected therefrom in proof, but the following will suffice:—

'What man soever there be of the house of Israel that killeth an ox, or lamb, or goat, in the camp, or that killeth it out of the camp; and bringeth it not unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, to offer an offering unto the Lord, before the tabernacle of the Lord, *blood* shall be imputed unto that man: he hath shed blood, and that man shall be cut off from among his people.'—Lev. xvii. 3, 4.

‘And whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn among you, that eateth any manner of *blood*, I will even set my face against that soul that eateth blood, and will cut him off from among his people.’—ib. xvii. 10.

‘The land cannot be cleansed of the *blood* that is shed therein but by the blood of him that shed it.’

‘The life of all flesh is in the *blood* thereof. Whosoever eateth it shall be cut off.’—ib. xvii. 14.

‘For the life of the flesh is in the *blood*, and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls: for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul.’—ib. xvii. 11.

‘The *blood* of the covenant.’—Exod. xxiv. 7, 8.

We see by this that there was a purpose in view in making blood sacred. The whole system of sacrifice (from Noah downwards) was to typify the one sacrifice appointed to take place on Calvary. This will be sufficient to explain the precept to Noah and the laws to Moses.

But when the purpose was accomplished, of course the system ceased. The one sacrifice once offered, expiation, or sacrifice for sin, was no longer to be the principle of punishment. Christ’s blood was shed that man’s *might no more be shed*. God is represented as saying, that in burnt offerings and *sacrifices for sin* he had no pleasure any more. All prior revelations merged into that greater one which Christ announced. The stars of truth which had been shining through the night and early dawn of time, were at length eclipsed by the rising of the Sun of Righteousness. Man was no longer to be under the ‘covenant of law,’ but under the ‘New Testament’ of grace. Dr. Cheever allows us for once to agree with him most cordially when he says, that the object of the Christian dispensation was ‘to regard law as subjectively reigning in the human soul, rather than existing in relation to the outward ideas of law and penalty.’ The sword of justice which had smitten the man who was God’s fellow was then sheathed. The idea of the sacrifice of blood for sin passed away for ever on Calvary: Christ was truly ‘the end of the law.’

There is no authority, then, to kill the murderer transmitted to man by the law of Moses. When the vail of the temple was rent in twain, the whole system was declared to be ‘finished.’ Its end was accomplished, and its requirements ceased. In the new revelation all others merged. ‘God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake to us by the prophets, hath in these latter days spoken to us by his Son.’

There is no necessity for any lengthened argument to show that in the Christian scheme the punishment of death is not commanded, for none of our opponents affirm the reverse even

in their wildest assertions. They state frequently enough, that the Noachic and Mosaic laws are corroborated in the New Testament, but they never venture to say that if the Noachic and Mosaic ordinances were entirely put out of the question (as we think we have shewn that they must be), the New Testament would alone sustain their conclusion. Our remarks on this head will therefore be extremely brief.

The New Testament is a message from God to men, to the effect that sin has been atoned for; that grace, not expiation, is to be the principle of judgment henceforth; that the Almighty has now condescended to redeem, pardon and restore even the vilest sinner. Stripe for stripe, evil for evil, an eye for an eye, are forbidden. Inward motive, not outward act, is proclaimed to be the real measure of sin; and inward penalties, not outward inflictions, are to be the punishments enforced. 'The Son of Man came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them.' He 'abolished death.' The days were come when he was to make a new covenant with man. 'He came and preached peace.' He made us free from the law of sin and death. He bids us disregard the Mosaic system of retaliation, and avenge not ourselves. He sets us an example of the doctrines he came to teach, by praying for his murderers. He tells us to 'fear not them who kill the body;' he teaches us to expect forgiveness of our trespasses only '*as we forgive them that trespass against us.*' He bids us 'judge not, that we be not judged:' and says, that 'with what measure we mete it shall be measured to us again.' He points out to us the surpassing value of the human soul, and continually teaches us to beware of jeopardising it. He urges that life is a period of probation, and that 'as the tree falleth so it must lie.' He supplants the principle of fear by that of love. He requires 'mercy, not sacrifice.' He came upon earth 'not to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved:' 'he is not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance.' We learn from him, that there is mercy even for the worst, and that 'there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth.' He heralds the period of perfection. 'The law made nothing perfect, but his bringing in of a better hope *did.*' Man was till His advent lying under the old law of death, but Christ was 'the resurrection and the *life.*' He brought life and immortality to light by the gospel; he abrogated 'the letter that killeth,' and brought us under the dominion of the 'Spirit that giveth life.'

We would thus sum up our observations upon the religious aspect of this question. The Almighty unquestionably approved and commanded the infliction of death in the early ages of the world, but only when he himself directly controlled

it, and when there could be no chance of error in its enforcement. He makes it to be seen, moreover, that although for a great purpose of his own he ordained the system of sacrifice, to which the punishment of death pertained, he parts not with his high prerogative of life and death, but still remains 'God the Lord to whom belong the issues of life.' 'I kill and I make alive,' He says—'To me belongeth vengeance and recompense.' And when he leaves us without any peculiar enactment on the subject, he presents to us his universal and eternal law—THOU SHALT NOT KILL.

Thus, then, we have disposed of the objections which it is imagined that morality and religion present to the treatment of this question as one entirely of human policy: and are free to try it by the only direct test in our power—the test of experience.

We propose to enter fully into that portion of the subject in a future number; and to prove, by plain and indisputable facts, that the world has now arrived at that era in its history when the penalty of death not only fails to prevent crime, but actually incites to its commission.

ART. II.—*The Princess.—A Medley.* By Alfred Tennyson. London: E. Moxon.

THE announcement of a new volume from the pen of so gifted a writer as Mr. Tennyson, could not but be welcome, and we therefore eagerly awaited the appearance of his 'Princess,' although the second title rather puzzled us. As the muse he invokes is not of the order 'to amble at court,' we felt well assured that his 'Princess' would have no relation to any of the royal families of Europe. We, consequently, hoped, indeed expected, to receive some wild and stirring tale of the old heroic time, or, more likely still—remembering how sweetly and gracefully he has sung the fairy tale of the 'Sleeping Beauty,'—some story, wondrous, but poetical withal, though perhaps as fragmentary as that which Chaucer told of *his* princess—

'Who owned the virtuous ring and glass.'

Still, the second title seemed to forbid this expectation; but until we took up the little book before us, we had no idea of

meeting with anything so *bizarre*, indeed grotesque, as this correctly enough named 'medley,' in which grave matter of fact and wild fancies, solemn disquisitions, and sportive ridicule, all mingled with much sweet poetry, are so strangely jumbled together.

'The Princess' is prefaced by a poetical prologue, which, as one of our contemporaries has justly remarked, 'is in reality an apologetic supplement,' and from this we learn, that the writer, enjoying the hospitalities of Sir Walter Vivian, who—

' All a summer's day,
Gave his broad lawns until the set of sun
Up to the people'—

and having adjourned with his friends to some neighbouring ruins, he, in the interval of conversation, reads from a family chronicle :—

' Of old Sir Ralph a page or two that rang
With tilt and tourney ; then the tale of her
That drove her foes with slaughter from her walls,
And much I praised her nobleness, and ' Where,'
Ask'd Walter, ' lives there such a woman now ? '

Quick answered Lilia, ' There are thousands now
Such women, but convention beats them down :
It is but bringing up ; no more than that :
You men have done it : how I hate you all !
O were I some great Princess, I would build
Far off from men a college of my own,
And I would teach them all things : you should see.'

And one said, smiling, ' Pretty were the sight
If our old halls could change their sex, and flaunt
With prudes for proctors, dowagers for deans,
And sweet girl-graduates in their golden hair.'—p. 6.

Upon this theme, therefore, a smart dialogue ensues, which ends by his being required to tell—

' A tale for summer as befits the time.'

It is, however, also stipulated that it shall be of a prince and princess, and that he shall be the hero. To this our author assents, and therefore begins :—

' A prince I was, blue-eyed, and fair in face,
With lengths of yellow ringlet, like a girl,
For on my cradle shone the northern star.

a very early age he was betrothed to a princess, whom, though he had never seen, he falls in love with from hearsay, wears her picture, and 'one dark tress' of her hair,—

'And all around them both,
Sweet thoughts would swarm as bees about their queen.'

When the time draws near for their bridal, the king sends embassy which returns with the news, that the princess had fled from court, and would not fulfil the contract. The prince, determined to see, at least, this obdurate beauty, endeavours to prevail on his father, to allow him to set forth with a few companions to the court of the lady's father. This the king refuses, but the prince, impatient to see his lady-love, goes away with two friends, and hastens to the court of King Gama. This king, 'a little, dry old man,' receives him cordially, but informs him that his daughter, led astray by 'two fellows, Lady Psyche and Lady Blanche,' and their theories, had fled from the court, 'all wild to found an university,' which she has done, and prohibited men on pain of death from entering. This account only stimulates the curiosity of the prince, who, remembering that 'in masque and pageant' he and his friends had often assumed a female dress, determines to do so, and nothing fearing that their disguise will be discovered, they press onward until they arrive at this college for women; though whether situated in Europe, America—or from the Indies, Gama and Arac, of the king and his son,—somewhere in Africa, Mr. Tennyson, unfortunately, has not told us.

'There stood a bust of Pallas for a sign,
By two sphere lamps blazoned like Heaven and Earth
With constellation and with continent,
Above an archway: riding in, we called;
A plump-armed Ostleress and a stable wench
Came running at the call, and helped us down.
Then stepped a buxom hostess forth, and sailed
Full-blown before us into rooms which gave
Upon a pillared porch, the bases lost
In laurel: her we asked of that and this,
And who were tutors. 'Lady Blanche' she said,
'And Lady Psyche.' 'Which was prettiest,
Best natured?' 'Lady Psyche.' 'Her pupils we,'
One voice, we cried; and I sat down and wrote,
In such a hand as when a field of corn
Bows all its ears before the roaring East;

'Three ladies of the Northern empire pray
Your Highness would enrol them with your own,
As Lady Psyche's pupils.

This I sealed,
 (A Cupid reading) to be sent with dawn;
 And then to bed, where half in doze I seemed
 To float about a glimmering night, and watch
 A full sea glazed with muffled moonlight, swell
 On some dark shore just seen that it was rich.'—p. 22.

In the morning the three gentlemen clothed in very becoming 'academic silks,' are introduced to the princess,—

' ————— Liker to the inhabitant
 Of some clear planet close upon the sun,
 Than our man's earth,—'

who gives them a gracious welcome, and pointing to the statues of the heroines of ancient times, bids them take these for their models. They then go to the lecture-room, where the Lady Psyche, the pretty young widow, gives an address, which not only charms her pupils, but steals the heart of the prince's companion, Cyril. Unfortunately, the other companion, Florian, discovers his sister in the fair lecturer, and the result is, that their disguise is detected by Psyche, and more than half suspected by Melissa, a pretty little blue, whose respect for her mother, the other professor, rather than any love for learning, has led thither. They next go to dinner,—

' And in we streamed
 Among the columns, pacing staid and still
 By twos and threes, till all from end to end
 With beauties every shade of brown and fair,
 In colours gayer than the morning mist,
 The long hall glittered like a bed of flowers.
 How might a man not wander from his wits
 Pierced through with eyes, but that I kept mine own
 Intent upon the princess, where she sat
 Among her grave professors, scattering gems
 Of art and science :—

* * * * *

At last a solemn grace
 Concluded, and we sought the gardens : there
 One walked reciting by herself, and one
 In this hand held a volume as to read,
 And smoothed a petted peacock down with that :
 Some to a low song oared a shallop by,
 Or under arches of the marble bridge
 Hung, shadowed from the heat : some hid and sought
 In the orange thickets : others tost a ball
 Above the fountain-jets, and back again
 With laughter.'—p. 44.

But, pleasing and graceful as these and such like descriptions are, they, after all, only give us the notion of a huge 'finishing school,' for tall young ladies; and we almost feel, with the Lady Blanche, that the gentlemen have no business there.

'Morn, in the white wake of the morning star,
Came furrowing all the orient into gold,—'

when Melissa meets the three intruders, and tells them that her mother, a very duenna, has also detected their disguise; and she counsels flight. The young men, however, think they may as well stay a little longer, while the prince bursts out into the fine apostrophe:—

' 'The crane,' I said, 'may chatter of the crane,
The dove may murmur of the dove, but I,
An eagle, clang an eagle to the sphere.
My princess, O my princess! true she errs;
For being, and wise in knowing that she is,
Three times more noble than threescore of men,
She sees herself in every woman else,
And so she wears her error like a crown
To blind the truth and me.'—p. 51.

The princess, meanwhile, unaware of treason in the camp, summons them, with some others, to ride out with her.

'Agreed to, this, the day fled on through all
Its range of duties to the appointed hour.
Then summoned to the porch we went. She stood
Among her maidens, higher by the head,
Her back against a pillar, her foot on one
Of those tame leopards. Kitten-like he rolled
And pawed about her sandals. I drew near:
My heart beat thick with passion and with awe,
And from my breast the involuntary sigh,
Brake, as she smote me with the light of eyes
That lent my knee desire to kneel, and shook
My pulses, till to horse we clomb, and so
Went forth in long retinue following up
The river as it narrowed to the hills.'—p. 55.

During the ride, there is a great deal of talk between the prince and princess; and they then sit down to a collation, which a maiden—enlivens, we cannot say, by a rather lugubrious song. The prince is next called upon, and he 'aggravates' his voice 'like any nightingale,' and sings some very moving stanzas addressed to the swallow, but which rouse the scorn of the princess, as 'a mere love poem.' Meanwhile, Cyril, who has been paying unremitting attention to the wine-

flask, bursts out with 'a careless tavern-catch, unmeet for ladies,' to the utter alarm, as we may well suppose, of the fair company. The prince, equally forgetful of his disguise, 'smote him on the breast' with right masculine force, and all is confusion. The princess bids her ladies fly; and, flying too precipitately herself, falls into the river, from which, according to the rule, she is snatched by the prince, who consigns her to her maidens, and makes off.

With strange temerity, he returns to the gardens, where he is seized, and led before the princess once more. Here all is confusion; the Lady Psyche has fled, leaving her infant daughter behind her; Melissa is in deep disgrace, and her mother prophesying the overthrow of the whole establishment, when 'a woman-post' comes in, bearing letters, from which it appears that Princess Ida's father is captive to his brother king, who, alarmed at the unexpected absence of his son, thinks that he has been taken some advantage of. The letters announcing this intelligence are flung by Ida to the prince; his answer is 'eloquent music':—

'O not to pry and peer on your reserve,
But led by golden wishes and a hope,
The child of regal compact, did I break
Your precinct; not a scorner of your sex
But venerator, and willing it should be
All that it might be; hear me, for I bear,
Though man, yet human, whatsoe'er your wrongs,
From the flaxen curl to the gray lock a life
Less mine than yours: my nurse would tell me of you;
I babbled for you, as babies for the moon,
Vague brightness; when a boy, you stooped to me
From all high places, lived in all fair lights,
Came in long breezes wrapt from the inmost south
And blown to the inmost north; at eve and dawn
With Ida, Ida, Ida, rang the woods;
The leader wild-swan in among the stars
Would clang it, and lapt in wreaths of glow-worm light
The mellow breaker murmured Ida. Now,
Because I would have reached you, though you had been
Sphered up with Cassiopëia, or the enthroned
Persephone in Hades, now at length,
Those winters of abeyance all worn out,
A man I came to see you: but, indeed,
Not in this frequency can I lend full tongue,
O noble Ida, to those thoughts that wait
On you, their centre.'—p. 85.

His pleadings are vain, he is scornfully dismissed, and he seeks his father's camp, outside the walls.

Up to this part of the 'medley' we are evidently contemplating the doings of people belonging to the nineteenth century. As we have before remarked, the college is exceedingly like a large ladies' boarding-school, and, we may add, that the princess talks very much like a lady enamoured of literary and scientific institutes. But, 'a change comes o'er the spirit' of the tale, and, now, we are in the midst of men in armour, and kings heading their own armies, and kings' sons offering challenges to single combat. It is, at length, agreed that Ida's three brothers shall fight the three intruders. The lists are prepared in chivalrous fashion, lances are set in rest, then good swords brandished, and, at last,—

' Life and love
Flowed from me ; darkness closed me, and I fell.'

With the conquest of the prince by Ida's tall brother her conquest begins. The sight of the wounded men, and of the prince who so lately rescued her, moves her pity, and after much recrimination with his father and the Lady Blanche, she bids her doors to be thrown open for all the wounded, taking the prince under her especial care :—

So was their sanctuary violated,
So their fair college turned to hospital ;
At first with all confusion : by-and bye
Sweet order lived again with other laws :
A kindlier influence reigned ; and everywhere
Low voices with the ministering hand
Hung round the sick : the maidens came, they talked,
They sang, they read : till she not fair, began
To gather light, and she that was, became
Her former beauty treble ; and to and fro
With books, with flowers, with angel offices,
Like creatures native unto gracious act,
And in their own clear element, they moved.'—p. 142.

' But sadness on the soul of Ida fell,'—

while she sat watching the prince through the changes of his slow recovery. This is very gracefully told ; and her mingled regrets at the failure of her cherished plan, draw from the prince these fine remarks, which seem to us to be the moral Mr. Tennyson intends to draw from the whole :—

' ' Blame not thyself too much,' I said, ' nor blame
Too much the sons of men and barbarous laws ;
These were the rough ways of the world till now,
Henceforth thou hast a helper, me, that know

The woman's cause is man's : they rise or sink
 Together, dwarfed or godlike, bond or free ;
 For she that out of Lethe scales with man
 The shining steps of Nature, shares with man
 His nights, his days, moves with him to one goal,
 Stays all the fair young planet in her hands—
 If she be small, slight natured, miserable,
 How shall men grow ? We two will serve them both
 In aiding her, strip off, as in us lies,
 (Our place is much) the parasitic forms
 That seem to keep her up but drag her down—
 Will leave her field to burgeon and to bloom
 From all within her, make herself her own
 To give or keep, to live and learn and be
 All that not harms distinctive womanhood.
 For woman is not undeveloped man
 But diverse : could we make her as the man,
 Sweet love were slain, whose dearest bond is this
 Not like to like, but like in difference :
 Yet in the long years liker must they grow ;
 The man be more of woman, she of man ;
 He gain in sweetness and in moral height,
 Nor lose the wrestling thews that throw the world ;
 She mental breadth, nor fail in childward care ;
 More as the double-natured poet each :
 Till at the last she set herself to man,
 Like perfect music unto noble words ;
 And so these twain upon the skirts of time,
 Sit side by side, full summed in all their powers,
 Dispensing harvest, sowing the to-be,
 Self-reverent each and reverencing each,
 Distinct in individualities.'—pp. 155, 156.

The reader will readily conclude that *Ida* is won by such eloquent pleading, and thus 'The Princess' ends.

From the foregoing specimens it will be seen that the work before us, like all that Mr. Tennyson has written, is characterized by much fine poetry ; but that it is also (and this is his prevailing fault) distinguished by want of unity of design and by inequality of construction. Foundation and superstructure, precious as may be many of the materials, are yet mingled with much which should have had no place there ; and the whole, consequently, rather resembles grotto-work, where the spar glitters beside the common pebble stone, and the agate and jasper are embedded in sand,—than the stately building, perfect in design, which our great poets have delighted to construct. We are half inclined to believe that Mr. Tennyson has seen his mistake, and hence his second title ; we shall therefore hope soon

to receive another poem, whether of princess or queen, full of as much sweet and noble poetry, but more systematic.

As a sign of the times, the work before us offers much for reflection. To the reader acquainted with the numerous 'Battles of the Sexes,' which, from the time of the *jeu d'esprit* in the 'Spectator,' formed so favourite a subject for verse and prose with the writers of the last century, the contrast afforded by this volume is great indeed. We have often smiled when reading those one-sided vindications of 'the right divine' of man; and scarcely wondered at the energetic denunciations of poor Mary Wolstoncraft against such contemners of womanhood; but here we have one of our most delightful poets, though commencing half in *badinage*, warming as he dwells upon *her* cherished subject, 'the rights of women,' and pleading those rights with a force and an eloquence which the world has scarcely witnessed before.

ART. III.—*The Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels.* By Andrews Norton, late Professor of Sacred History, Harwood University. Two vols. Second Edition. London: J. Chapman. 1847.

It may excite surprise that, in the present day, there should be occasion to discuss so elementary a question as that to which these volumes are devoted. After the laborious researches of Lardner and Jones, and the lucid condensation of Paley, it might naturally be supposed, that if anything in literary history be settled, it is that the gospels of the New Testament were written by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and that these narratives have been transmitted from age to age in their essential integrity. It almost looks like an offence to the understanding of an English Christian, no less than an outrage on his religious convictions, to place these tried documents of his faith in a light which seems to admit the possibility of their being anything less than that which the Christian church in all ages has held them to be—the true histories of inspired apostles and evangelists. We own to a large participation in feelings of this kind. Such questions, after all the evidence which has been accumulated in opposition to the denials of unbelief, and the morbid incoherences of scepticism, come upon us with somewhat like disgust. It is one of the penalties, we sup-

pose, that must be paid for whatever advantages we derive from continental scholarship, to be infested with the crudities of English infidels, hashed up by the diligence and ingenuity of theological professors, long after they had been consigned to oblivion by the good sense and religious taste of our own community. We remember people, some years ago, being frequently annoyed by sailor-looking men, with ear-rings and glazed hats, and a well feigned naval air about their dress and manner; who came to the door, offering, very privately, to dispose of real Bandana silk handkerchiefs, which were wrapped up in strange Indian-looking coverings. It turned out that these tempting articles were manufactured in England, that they were inferior to goods intended for the English market, and that, after being exported to Germany, they had been *brought back*. These pretended smugglers were not unlike some importers of other articles from Germany, which turn out to be of home production.

Let us give one or two examples of our meaning.

Hobbes, in his '*Leviathan*,' while acknowledging the antiquity of the gospels, and the probability that they contain faithful registers of actual events, imagined that there were but few copies of them in the second and third centuries, that those few were in the hands of ecclesiastical persons, and that it was not until the council of Laodicea, in the fourth century, that they were received as of Divine authority in the Christian church. Leland, in his '*Amyntor*,' published a catalogue of spurious writings ascribed to Jesus Christ and his apostles, which he represents as having been at first of equal authority with the gospels, and which were not generally distinguished from them before the latter times of Trajan or Adrian.

Lord Bolingbroke, in his '*Letters on History*,' asks—'if the fathers of the first century do mention some passages that are agreeable to what we read in our evangelists, will it follow that these fathers had the same gospels before them? To say so, is a manifest abuse of history, and quite inexcusable in writers that knew, or ought to have known, that these fathers made use of other gospels, wherein such passages might be contained; or they might be preserved in unwritten tradition. Besides which, I could almost venture to affirm, that these fathers of the first century do not expressly name the gospels we have of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.' This mode of attacking the gospels by our English infidels, has been taken up by professed Christian theologians in Germany, and smuggled, we might almost say, into our country as the genuine fruit of German research and scholarship. Assuming, with our English infidels, that the gospels are not the productions of the writers to

whom they are ascribed, these learned gentlemen have set up ingenious but most superficial modes of accounting for the unquestionable fact, that in the latter part of the second century they were received as genuine by all the Christian churches then existing in various quarters of the world. We have confessed our strong dislike to all this. We are not careful to conceal it.—It may be asked, indeed, Do you not allow freedom of investigation? Would you put down the expression of opinion?—Most certainly we both claim and yield freedom of investigation on all subjects. We have no wish that any men should be forcibly prevented from saying or writing what they believe to be true, or exposing what they believe to be false, or even doubtful, in that which is held for truth by others. At the same time, when we see the acknowledged teachers of Christianity prominent, eager, ingenious, and persevering in obtruding on men their ill-concealed infidelity, and using their position in society to weaken the historical foundations on which the whole Christian system rests; we do not feel that we are chargeable with illiberality in denouncing such performances as mischievous, and their writers as either feeble or dishonest usurpers of a function for which, whatever be their learning, they lack the most essential qualifications. While investigation must be left free, we cannot forget that such investigations often betray dispositions which are very remote from the love of truth, or reverence for religion. We know of no reason why men are to gratify their vanity, their fondness for novelty, their ill-regulated love of hypothesis and conjecture, at the expense of disturbing the faith of Christians, and affording excuses to the profane and thoughtless, for regarding all religion as uncertain in its evidence, and, therefore, entirely without authority.—It may be quite true, as happily it is, that these semi-infidel publications call forth the counter-publications of better scholars and sounder reasoners, and that the usual result is a more intelligent and a stronger grasp, on the part of Christians, of the historical truth, the literary integrity, and the Divine inspiration of their sacred books. But this result, gained in spite of the writers to whom we refer, abates not a jot of the impertinence and shallowness and wretched inconsistencies which they palm upon the world as theological discoveries, and which are too eagerly caught at here, as undoubtedly valuable, just because they come from some foreign university. We think it peculiarly unfortunate that Bishop Marsh, who took the lead in bringing the German theologians of the last century before the English public, should have so thoroughly imbibed some of the worst features of their fundamental scepticism, doing more injury to the general interests of practical Christianity than all the criticism and inter-

pretation of the last half-century have done good. That many theologians, from Semler downwards, have rendered great service to the Christian church by their critical and philological works, we are not denying; but, while they have been elucidating the language of the Scriptures, not a few of them have done much, by their conjectures and speculations, to undermine the authority of the very books they have explained.

The views which give importance to our sacred writings in the minds of Christian people, are of another order than those which are interesting only to scholars and professional theologians. If the gospels were not revered as the word of God, they would possess but little charm for the bulk even of those by whom they have long been prized as the most precious treasures. The aids afforded by large acquaintance with ancient manuscripts, by the improvements in lexicons and grammars, or by the illustrations of ancient usages, ought not to be, and are not, lightly esteemed, generally, by the Christian people; but then the reason why they care in any measure for these things, is found in their strong belief of the inspired authority of the writings which these lights elucidate. It is their belief that the narratives of the gospel history are true; that they contain the testimony of witnesses; that these witnesses were divinely appointed for this purpose; and that they were fitted for the work to which they were appointed, by the special gifts of the Holy Spirit. Now take away this belief, or produce the impression that it is not well-founded, and Christianity will soon lose its hold on the popular mind, especially on that increasing proportion of our people who are too enlightened for superstition, and too much in love with mental freedom, to take their religion on the authority of man. But the writers whom we have now in view, appear to have no kind of regard for the gospels which we hold to be inspired, that they have not, in an equal degree, for any other ancient writings. They place the life of Jesus on a level with the life of Socrates; and would have the evangelists stand side by side with Xenophon or Plutarch. Reversing the complaint of Balak, we can suppose plain Christians saying to such men,—‘You came to us with offers of friendship and assistance, professing to enlarge our knowledge of our religion, and to increase our interest in it; but you have deceived us. Whether, at the same time, you have been deceiving yourselves or not, may be a grave question for *you*; for us, it is enough to know that you have been labouring to prove that our religion is not founded in historical truth, or that if it be, there is now no evidence, and, for aught we can see, there never has been satisfactory evidence of this. If the case be as you represent it, our interest in the books on which you are wasting your superfluous

diligence is gone : your labours are nothing to us ; we make no account of your scholarship. But, if the case is not as you say, give us leave to rebuke your presumption and impiety ; not indeed without humility and charity ; yet with the honesty and earnestness of men who know what they believe, and who believe what they profess.' And we think that all Christians are entitled to say this to any man, be his position or his learning what it may, who treats the gospels as being anything less, or anything else, than that which they have been held to be, for seventeen hundred years.

Among the speculations which we feel ourselves warranted, and called on, most emphatically to condemn, is that which gave rise to professor Norton's dissertation now before us. Johann Gottfried Eichorn has been long known and highly esteemed, in Germany, as one of the most eminent orientalists and biblical critics of that country. He was born in 1752, at Dorinzimmern, in the principality of Hohenloe Oehringen. After being rector of the school at Ohrdruf in the duchy of Gotha, he was appointed, in his twenty-third year, to a chair in the University of Jena, whence he proceeded, three years after, to Göttingen, as professor of biblical and oriental literature.

The first specimen of his oriental learning was given in his 'History of Eastern Affairs before Mohammed,' which was immediately followed by a survey of the oldest monuments of Arabian history. At Göttingen, he devoted himself especially to the criticism of the biblical writings. The fruits of these investigations were his : *Repertorium of Biblical and Oriental Literature*, in eighteen volumes ; to which was added his *Universal Library of Biblical Literature*, in ten volumes ; Introduction to the New Testament, two volumes ; Introduction to the Apocryphal writings of the Old Testament ; and a Commentary on the Apocalypse of John, in two volumes. His historical works, too, are very numerous. In his Introduction to the New Testament, Eichorn *supposes*, after Hobbes, Toland, and Bolingbroke, that the gospels, as we now have them, *were not in use till the end of the second century* ; but that before that time, other decidedly different gospels were in circulation, and used in the instruction of Christians.

These *supposed* gospels had a *supposed* common origin in a written gospel, drawn up, it is *supposed*, for the use of Christian teachers, who, without being witnesses of the life and discourses of Jesus, were employed as assistants to the apostles. The early gospels are *supposed*, again, to have received considerable accessions of false and fabulous narratives. At the end of the second century, it is further *supposed* the church selected those which had the greatest marks of credibility, and were the most

complete for common use. From these suppositions it would follow, that we have now no reason for believing that our gospels are the compositions of witnesses; that we have no proof that they are true; and that we cannot rationally regard them as inspired.

As there is something in these *suppositions* which commends them, it seems, to a considerable number of learned moderns in Germany, (who are servilely followed by many in America), we need not wonder at the totally different sentiments with which the gospels are regarded in their country and in our own. But this complicated hypothesis can be manifestly shown to be opposed to all the conclusions drawn from a consideration of the facts. We undertake to prove that there is no occasion for any one of these suppositions; that they are all unfounded; that they have no bearing upon the true question; and that they leave the broad evidence of the Divine authority of the gospels unshaken.

The materials for this proof are so copious and manifold, that our only difficulty lies in making the best selection, and in uniting the perspicuity which is so desirable, with the brevity to which we are restricted. It is obvious to remark, on the threshold, that it is a total misrepresentation of the state of Christians at the close of the second century, to speak of *The Church* as determining, by its own authority, what gospels should be rejected, and what received. There was, then, no organization, no representative body, answering to the notion attached, in later times, to the word Church. The only intelligible sense, therefore, in which this word can be applied to the Christians of that age is, that of the collective churches. But there is no record of any such movement in these churches, as the hypothesis in question supposes.

True it is, the churches of Christ received the gospels. But, in what character did they receive them? There is not a tittle of evidence that they received them as being merely more credible and more complete than writings which were rejected. There is, on the contrary, sufficient historical evidence that they received them as *coming from the inspired writers whose names they bear*. Papias, in the beginning of the second century, affirms, that the gospels of Matthew and Mark were written by Matthew and Mark, and he calls them *oracles*. Near the middle of the same century, Justin Martyr describes these gospels as revered among Christians, equally with the writings of the prophets, and as written by apostles and their companions. Irenæus, contemporary with Justin, says: 'We have not received the knowledge of our salvation by any others than those through whom the gospel has come down to us,

which gospel they preached, and afterwards, by the will of God, transmitted to us in writing, that it might be the foundation and pillar of our faith ;' and he distinctly mentions the four gospels as written by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.

Clement, of Alexandria, living in the same age, gives an account of the four gospels, as distinguished from all other narratives of the life of Christ, and of the order in which they were composed, according to the testimony of the elders of former times. Now, the value of these testimonies, it should be observed, lies in this—that they do not express merely the judgment of Papias, and Justin, and Irenæus, and Clement, and of other writers who have been frequently quoted to the same effect; *they embody the testimony of multitudes to a fact well known* to Christians in Phrygia, in Gaul, in Palestine, at Carthage, at Alexandria; and the fact to which they bear witness is, that the gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, were possessed, revered, and used, as divinely-inspired histories, long before the close of the second century.

Then, on what grounds did the Christians of those widely-separated countries so receive the gospels? As honest persons, they would not profess their confidence in them, unless they had, or, at least, thought they had, reasons for that confidence. As intelligent persons, well knowing the importance of holding such a belief on sufficient grounds, they could not hold it without much more decided evidence than is allowed for in the mass of suppositions, against which we are reasoning. They were well aware that there were pretended narratives of the life of Jesus. They regarded all mutilating or interpolating of sacred writings with horror. That other narratives were rejected, and that the gospels were copied, translated, inserted in catalogues, read in churches, commented on, and quoted by Christian writers in Asia, Africa, and Europe, at the end of the second century, is acknowledged. But this could not have taken place if these gospels had not existed, *in the form in which they have ever since appeared*, long before, according to the testimony of ancient writers. If the Christians from the first had not known that these gospels were genuine and original histories, how is it to be imagined that they should be unanimously received as such at the close of the second century? *There was then no authority in the church, but the authority of witnesses.* As Professor Norton has well expressed it:—

‘ Either the great body of Christians determined to believe what they knew to be false ; or they determined to profess to believe it. The first proposition is an absurdity in terms ; the last is a moral absurdity. There is, then, no ground for the supposition of any interposition of

authority, or of any concert among Christians, at the end of the second century, to select our present gospels for common use; or, in other words, to select from the great number then in existence, four particular manuscripts which should serve as archetypes for all subsequent transcribers, and the text of which should alone be considered as the authorized text. Our present agreement of authorities, which necessarily refers us back to one manuscript of each of the gospels, as the archetype of all the copies of that gospel, cannot thus be explained. We are left, therefore, to the obvious conclusion, which we adopt in regard to other writings, that this manuscript was the original work of an individual author, which has been faithfully transmitted to us.'—vol. i. pp. 27, 28.

The question then is, do the manuscripts agree? We plainly answer, they do. Of course we know that there are slight variations, about which the critics, anxious to magnify an office which is indeed worthy of high honour, have said a great deal that amounts to but very little.

Allowing for all the variations, which are easily accounted for, and by means of which the true text of the gospels has been ascertained more minutely than that of any other ancient writings, all who have gone into such inquiries will allow us to affirm, without hesitation, that the manuscripts must have been copied from one original. We know of nothing in literary criticism which is more clearly proved, or so generally acknowledged, by persons competent to judge in such a case. This agreement, acknowledged to be a fact, cannot be accounted for by any supposed interposition of the authority of the church. For, in the first place, we have no proof that such interposition was at any time required. On the contrary, all the evidence we have goes to show that the gospels were always received by the churches, as standing on a footing totally different from other narratives. Secondly, there is no mention of such interposition, no trace of it, no allusion to it in the early writings. And, thirdly, the very notion of such interposition is utterly at variance with what we know of the constitution, the condition, and the habits of the churches of that early age.

The real historical proof of the genuineness of the gospels is so clear, and so ample, that its very clearness and amplitude prevent our being sensible of the strength of our case.

Professor Norton calculates that, on the lowest computation, there must have been '*three millions of believers* using our present gospels, regarding them with the highest reverence, and anxious to obtain copies of them,' at the end of the second century. He likewise calculates that, among these three millions of Christians, there might not be fewer than sixty thousand copies of the gospels. Now, it must have required a long time before the year A. D. 180, when the authority of the gospels

was so extensively acknowledged, for these books to acquire this sacred reputation. Yet such is the history of these books.

There are many modes of strengthening this general evidence, which cannot be easily explained to persons not conversant with critical studies; and, as we are now writing, not for that class of persons, but for Christians of ordinary intelligence, we abstain from them. There are two or three further considerations, however, which we deem of some importance, and which, we doubt not, will be fully appreciated by all religious men.

The gospels were introduced into the world in a literary age. The Greek language was spoken, and the Greek historians, poets, and philosophers were studied, not at Rome only, but in all the great cities of the empire. Now it was in Rome, at Antioch, at Corinth, Ephesus, Carthage, Alexandria, Lyons, the centres of intellectual power, that the Christian churches were most flourishing, and the gospels most generally used. The persons composing these churches were not what men call the lower orders, the ignorant, the idle, or the extremely poor. They were, for the greater part, men of clear and calm mind, who saw the absurdity of the popular superstitions, and were equally dissatisfied with the emptiness of the prevalent philosophies. They were in a situation which demanded, on their part, a rigid scrutiny of the reasons of that faith which the populace hated for its purity, and which every priesthood dreaded as a rival; which philosophers passed by with scorn as only one of many superstitions; and which the imperial government resolved to put down by force, because it brought its disciples to submit to a higher throne than Cæsar's. We cannot well conceive of such readers of the gospels, without being assured that they would read them with peculiar jealousy; that they were well qualified to judge of the evidence by which they were accompanied; and that they could easily detect the total difference in tone and style between them and all other written stories of the life of Jesus. We know that much anxious communication was held on this very matter.

We should think it in the highest degree probable, that, down to the end of the second century, the historical truth of the gospels would be most severely tested by nearly every one of the three millions, and many more, who believed; and we know, in point of fact, from the character of the early apologies, that such in many instances was actually the case. Did *they* know what our erudite modern professors adduce with so much confidence? Have any of them said so? Is there any record of this kind? For our part, we do not think so meanly of the intelligence and sagacity of the Christians of the second

century, in the great cities of Europe, Asia Minor, and Africa, as to suppose that they could not distinguish the majestic gravity of the gospels from all other narratives, quite as well as we can. We do not suppose that they would receive corrupted and interpolated copies of other books, for the genuine productions of the witnesses of our Saviour's words and actions. We do not suppose, that they could not have easily detected any admixtures of spurious traditions with the dignified fidelity of Matthew, the graphic descriptions of Mark, the elegant consistency of Luke, and the sublime simplicity of John.

Then the moral integrity of these numerous and well-instructed Christians is to be taken into account. Men who resigned the dearest attractions of the world for their religion, and whose only reason for so doing was identified with the authority of these written gospels, were unlikely to conspire in a deliberate fraud, not only of the most atrocious character as it regarded literature and history, but simply blasphemous according to the Christian view of the gospels. The fact, on all hands acknowledged, is, that all these Christians united, at the end of the second century, in upholding the literary integrity, the historical authority, and the Divine inspiration, of the gospels. Then, did they say that which they knew to be false?—for false it was, and they must have known it so to be, if the mere authority of the church determined that a selection of four gospels out of many, all composed of additions to one original gospel, were the real histories written by two apostles of Jesus Christ, and under the direction of other two. Would these Christians ascribe to the inspiration of the Holy Ghost the compositions which they *knew* to be the work of men? We may be reminded that there are pious frauds, and that this might be one of them.—We understand men, if they say *Christianity is a fraud*. Yet we aver that suppositions, *opposed by evidence*, do not entitle any man to bring so grave an accusation against either the dead or the living. It may be said, that without charging them with intentional fraud, it may be supposed they might have been in error; they might not have the same views, as those which we entertain, of the heinous criminality of such a transaction. Now, admitting that there were persons bearing the Christian name to whom this sort of candid insinuation may apply, it can be fully shown that the great body of Christians were better instructed out of these very gospels, than to fall into such an error. We might appeal, in support of this view, to the inward convictions of every Christian. But there are facts in abundance. The early Christians, that is, the Christians before the third century, were remarkable jealous of the integrity of

their copies of the gospels. In their time the copying of manuscripts was an honourable profession, analogous to that of printing important works and documents among ourselves. The manuscripts, when copied, were subjected to the careful revision of ἀντιβαλλόντες δοκιμαζόντες (*censores*), who affixed their signatures to these revised copies. Noble and illustrious men did not disdain to discharge this important and responsible function.*

We have the testimony of Irenæus to the fact, that attested copies of the gospels were carefully preserved in the churches of Asia Minor, and of Gaul, and by their elders. Clemens is our witness for the church at Alexandria; Theophilus and Tatian for Antioch; Tertullian for the African churches; Justin, for the churches at Ephesus, and at Rome; Origen for Jerusalem, both the Cæsareas, Tyre, and Athens.

The care with which the gospels were preserved from the first, is sufficiently apparent to any intelligent reader of the accounts collected by Eusebius. The writings of Origen likewise prove to us, that the critical art was not unknown, nor uncultivated, in the early churches. Let it be granted that some of the earliest Christian writers, that is, those who wrote before the end of the second century, give quotations from the gospels which do not exactly agree with passages in our gospels: it is well known that the same looseness of citation is found in writers after that time; so that this is no more a proof that the earlier writers used gospels different from ours, than that later writers also used different gospels—an inference which would be contrary to the hypothesis with which we are dealing.

It is of no trifling consequence to bear in mind here, the well-known fact that the Christian writers of the second century accuse the heretics of corrupting the gospels. Whether the charge was well founded or not; or if well founded, to whatever extent the alleged corruption took place, those who brought the charge were sensible of the criminality of such an offence; to us it appears, that in making such a charge they were conscious of their own innocence in that respect. The accusation shows, moreover, that these writers knew, by plain and sufficient evidence, that there were standard copies of the gospels, with which all others could be compared, and by which their faithfulness could be tested.

‘I affirm,’ says Tertullian, in his six books against Marcion, ‘that not only in the churches founded by apostles, but in all

* Strabo, Geogr. l. 13. Fontanine de Aubrey, Hort. l. ii. c. 3. Valerius, Lib. de Critica, c. 34. Burman's note ad hoc locum. Sch Prol. N. T.

which have fellowship with them, that gospel of Luke which we so stedfastly defend, has been received from its first publication. The same authority of the apostolic churches will support the other gospels which, in like manner, we have from them, conformably to their copies.' Again, in his books against heretics, 'They who were resolved to teach otherwise were under a necessity of remodelling the records of the doctrine. As they could not have succeeded in corrupting the doctrine without corrupting the records, so we could not have preserved and transmitted the doctrine in its integrity, but by preserving the integrity of its records.'

The same confidence in the gospels possessed by Christian churches, and horror in contemplating the crime of heretics, is expressed in a passage preserved by Eusebius from an anonymous writer, against the heresy of Artemon:—

'How daring a crime is this, they can hardly be ignorant; for they either do not believe that the Divine Scriptures were dictated by the Holy Spirit, and then they are infidels; or, they believe themselves wiser than the Holy Spirit, and what are they then but madmen?

'The feeling expressed by these writers was common, without doubt, to Christians generally. But they could not have felt, or have expressed themselves, as they did, if their own copies of the gospels had been left, as is imagined, at the mercy of transcribers, and (if) there had been such a disagreement as must have in consequence existed among them. What text of their own would they have had to oppose to the text of Marcion, or of any other heretic? What would they have had to bring forward but a collection of discordant manuscripts, many of them, probably, differing as much from each other, as the attested gospels of the heretics did from any one of them.

'If our gospels had not existed in their present form till the close of the second century; if, before that time, their text had been fluctuating, and assuming in different copies a different form, such as transcribers might choose to give it, those by whom they were used could not have ventured to speak with so much confidence of the alterations of the heretics. They must have apprehended too strongly the overwhelming retort to which they lay so exposed, and against which they were so defenceless. If, however, any one can imagine that they really would have been bold enough to make the charges which they do against heretics; yet, in this case, they must at least have shown solicitude to guard the point where they themselves were so liable to attack. But no trace of such solicitude appears.'—vol. i. p. 43.

The mere proposal to omit a word or two in the gospel of Matthew was regarded by Origen with reverential apprehension, even though there were slight verbal differences in the copies both of this and of the other gospels. The comparison of

copies was, therefore, a familiar practice. Whatever variations there might be, they could be only such as are now found in copies which are, on all hands, acknowledged to have been derived from one and the same original.

It is now in our own power to examine our existing gospels, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they betray any marks of that patchwork composition which has been ascribed to them. Every scholar who has attended to this matter will bear witness to the facts which we now briefly state.

First, all the gospels differ in their general style and manner, from the remains of all other writings which have come down from before the third century. Secondly, each of the four gospels has a distinctly marked character of its own. Thirdly, the dialect in which the four gospels are written, could not have been sustained, as it is sustained, by interpolators. Besides these facts, there is the broad evidence, lying open to every reader of the gospels, even in a translation. We certainly do not refer to this as of itself proving the genuineness of the four gospels, but as harmonizing with the clear historical proofs of which we have given a summary. We appeal to readers of the gospels, whether they do not find in them such narratives of the life and teaching, the death and resurrection, and ascension of Jesus, as commend themselves by their calm, and unembarrassed, and consistent truthfulness:—the very air and manner of witnesses deposing to what they know to be true. We detect in them no stories of the kind which are contained in the apocryphal gospels. With the utmost ease they bring before us the most singular life that was ever narrated, with no inconsistency, with no word or fact unsuited to the dignity, the wisdom, the benevolence, the practical perfection and completeness of the character of the Son of God living among men. We feel, so to speak, *the tone of originality*, which must have been destroyed or injured by any serious alteration of the primary documents.

It is remarkable enough that Eichorn, whose views we have been examining, has given something very like a refutation of the main ground of his own hypothesis. For, in the second edition of the first volume of his 'Introduction to the New Testament,' he published an additional section on 'The Reception of the Four Gospels for the Use of the Church,' in which he says, that the interval between the years 150 and 175, appears to be the fittest that can be assigned for the silent introduction of this unanimity of opinion respecting those gospels which merited a preference above others, provided any cause can be pointed out which might facilitate such a decision. And such a cause existed. The other gospels either did not bear the

name of any author, or the individual names of their authors were not specified. On the contrary, our four gospels were ascribed, two of them to the apostles Matthew and John, and two to apostolic men worthy of all credit.'

In the last year of his life, 1827, he writes, that the selection of the gospels was not made 'through any formal decision of the church, by means of its most distinguished teachers,' for this could not have been done privately, but through a silent general agreement, during a period of perfect quiet in the church, when men's minds, not being excited by any other causes, none were inclined to set themselves against the reception of any writing that was strange to them; for, without opposition, and in perfect silence, a series of writings, regarded as the authentic records of Christianity, was unanimously received throughout the Christian world, in the east and in the west.' Still further, in the fourth volume of his Introduction, he says, 'that the early Christians proceeded on the principle of admitting into it no book which was not the work of an apostle, or of a scholar and companion of the apostles;' that 'criticism in the perfection to which it has been brought in our age, allies itself to the traditions of the church, and confirms its judgment upon their genuineness as apostolic writings; and, that as the earliest age of Christianity handed down genuine writings to succeeding Christians, so they, during the subsequent period, have preserved these writings uncorrupted.'

Notwithstanding these later views of Eichorn, succeeding writers, such as De Wette and Strauss, still treated this question of the genuineness of the gospels as either doubtful or disproved. The grounds of this incertitude or positive denial, are, as we have seen, precisely the old grounds of infidelity which were long ago exposed, with ample learning and admirable force of argument, in this country.

We are not in the least degree startled by the tokens already visible in Germany, of an approaching conflict,—not among professed Christians,—but between avowed infidels and sincere believers. Holding, as we do, among our most rational and tested convictions, that the gospels which we now read were written by the authors to whom they are ascribed, and that they contain the testimony of inspired witnesses, we have no fears for the issue of the conflict.

There are not wanting in Germany men who are, in all respects, prepared for it. They have seen, long since, that the denial of the miracles recorded in the New Testament, by resolving all the narratives of miracles into peculiar modes of expressing natural events, was a violence offered to the common sense of Christians; that the mythical absurdities of Strauss

would, in time, be rejected by the superficial, as they were, at first, by the well-informed, because they are based on a supposition which virtually regards Christianity as false, and, therefore, not worth explaining or defending; and that, sooner or later, men would be brought back to the old question, *Is Christianity built upon true history, or upon a lie?* As in Germany, so in England, we are certain that all the disguises which infidelity has assumed will be thrown off by a clear-headed and sound-hearted people. The slang of complimentary phrase respecting the Bible will be rated at its real worth, and its latent sense will lie upon the surface. Men will be forced to rank themselves among those who either hate Christianity or care not for it, or are ignorant of the facts of its history, or are unwilling to judge according to evidence.

There are in the English language almost innumerable works on the historical authority of the gospels. The progress of society seems to require not so much the republication of these works, as the reproduction of their materials, in forms and with accompaniments appropriate to the taste of our own times. Professor Norton's work is not offered as a specimen of what we have just been suggesting. For such a purpose it wants vivacity, and is, in other respects, not suitable. But it is highly honourable to the writer's learning and diligence; and as the American edition was dear, and very scarce, we are not surprised that it should be republished in London.

His argument on the genuineness of the gospels is, however, not completed, the author having reserved a third volume, on the Internal Evidences, as a companion to a new translation of the gospels, in which he has been long engaged, but which, so far as we know, has not yet appeared. The most laboured portion of these volumes, and by far the largest, consists of miscellaneous notes on sundry critical questions relating to the gospels, and of very elaborate dissertations on the opinions of the Gnostics. The second volume, which contains these dissertations, is, in reality, a distinct treatise. So, also, is the long and most objectionable note, filling more than a hundred pages of small type, on the books of the Old Testament. As they are now connected we cannot do justice, at the same time, to three departments of inquiry so manifestly distinct from each other, and each suggesting matter for deep and earnest disputation.

Professor Norton has not explained his views of the inspiration of the gospels. He has taken no notice of the promise of our Lord to his disciples, that they should be guided, as the teachers of his religion to mankind, by the Holy Ghost. Neither has he referred to the declarations made by the apostles Paul, Peter, and John, to the effect that they enjoyed this

guidance ; nor to the miraculous signs which they gave of the truth of these declarations.

It may be presumed, that these topics are reserved for his third volume. But we are bound to say, that in the volumes now before us, we have noticed some modes of expression respecting the evangelists, which would not be used by a writer entertaining our views of the inspiration under which the gospels were composed. And his mode of accounting for Paul's knowledge of the facts of our Saviour's life is, according to our judgment, in direct contradiction to that apostle's own express averment. Professor Norton says, he derived it from ordinary sources of information ; the apostle himself solemnly affirms that he received it by revelation from God.

In his exposition of the opinions of the Gnostics, Mr. Norton shows with much force, the peculiar value of their testimony to the genuineness of the gospels, which, it is manifest, they would have impugned, if there had been any ground of doubt respecting them. It will be seen to what school of theologians the professor belongs, when he says, 'the system by which the catholic faith was supplanted among protestants . . . may, perhaps, appear to a *rational* believer of the present day to stand in as open and direct opposition to Christianity as the systems of the leading Gnostics.' We have not space to repel by argument the heavy accusation here brought against the doctrines which we believe to be plainly and clearly taught us in holy Scripture. We cannot characterize it otherwise than as an insidious and unfair mode of obtruding the peculiarities of his own school, upon an inquiry relating to the historical authority of the four gospels.

In the long disquisition on the books of the Old Testament, he acknowledges the Divine mission of Moses, with many of the later German critics ; but he denies that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch, or that the Pentateuch has any claims to be regarded as authentic history ; on the contrary, he does not scruple to speak of it as containing a traditionary *erroneous* account of the early revelations of God to man. He professes his disbelief in the Divine institution of the Levitical ceremonies, which he represents as inconsistent with true religion, and as condemned by the Hebrew prophets. The difficulty placed in the way of these sweeping conclusions by the language of our Saviour respecting Moses, he escapes by the cool expedient of *supposing* that the words of Jesus have not been accurately reported by the evangelists,—that the evangelists unconsciously attributed expressions to him which favoured their own opinions as Jews, and that Jesus himself, on some occasions, adopted the common language of the Jews, founded on their erroneous

conceptions. The same tone of *resolute denial* pervades his observations on the remaining books of the Old Testament; and of prophecy he says: 'Our Saviour accomplished not any express prophecy relating to him; but he came in conformity to an expectation which the whole tenor of God's providence towards their nation had taught the Jews to entertain.' To examine all these positions in detail, would be the work, not of a review, but of a volume. We have long been satisfied, that, like all the arbitrary positions of De Wette, Vater, Ammon, and other writers, those which Professor Norton has here borrowed from them are untenable, and that a much more rational and consistent solution can be given of the difficulties with which they have entangled the whole question of the Old Testament. It is but justice to the author to say, at the same time, that some of his suggestions are worthy of consideration, proceeding, as they apparently do, from a mind of independent habits, richly furnished, and patient in the pursuit of truth. It is our notion that the cause of orthodoxy will be better served by calmly examining what he says, than by hastily denouncing him as an unbeliever. His convictions and prejudices are those of a rationalist. His Christianity is a moral system sanctioned by the doctrine of a future state; ours is a system of recovery from guilt, and depravity, and misery, through faith in an atoning sacrifice; so wide a difference in the views entertained of the Saviour's mission may well be accompanied by a corresponding difference in our views of many subordinate matters. We have no apprehension that Professor Norton's opinions will generally prevail in England; for, as we regard them, they strip our religion of those essential peculiarities to which it owes all its interest, among practically religious people.

Believing that these appendages to Professor Norton's main argument are *fundamentally* inconsistent with the argument itself, and that they belong to the modern German school of infidelity, which is weakened by too many fallacies to beguile our literary judgment, and disgraced by too many impieties to impose on our Christian charity, we feel it to be our duty to record against them, for the present, our deliberate protest.

A more fitting occasion, we doubt not, will arise for proving in detail, that our reasons for this protest are neither few nor weak.

ART. IV.—1. *On the Salubrity of Great Towns.* By Dr. Monfalcon and Baron de Poliniere. Paris. 8vo. 1846.

2. *The Medical Topography of Tours.* By Dr. Duvergé. Tours. 12mo. 1774.

THE French laws are half a century before ours, upon several important points of public salubrity. For example, it is rare to find burial grounds within the walls of a town in France, or even near the houses of a village; and their removal is expressly enjoined. So almost everywhere public slaughter-houses are there built out of the cities, and private ones are forbidden. At the same time, hurtful trades are subjected to regulations which aim at preventing their too close proximity to habitations, and their being carried on so as to become nuisances. Councils of public health, too, exist in some large towns; and an improved Sanitary Bill was before the late Chambers. The subject is examined upon isolated points in several of the reports of Mr. Chadwick, and others belonging to the sanitary movement now so happily advancing to a good issue in England; and, although the general result either of French ways of living, or of the bad condition of French towns be *a much higher rate of mortality than ours*, still those reports show that many French usages deserve to be consulted, in reference to our sanitary reforms. But for those good usages, the deaths in France would probably be far more fearfully excessive.

Such good usages, therefore, are proper subjects of study for us; and as Dr. Southwood Smith, Mr. Chadwick, and their fellow-labourers will be glad to find, able and eminent Frenchmen hold that analogous usages and reforms of ours are worthy of their close examination. So correctly did Lord Mahon, in observing the correspondence of our South-Sea bubbles with Law's Mississippi schemes in Paris, note the mutual influences of events on both sides of the channel.

Those influences do not indeed, always work for good. A French minister seizes too eagerly upon our *commandos* at the Cape, and our *massacres* in New Zealand, to justify the 'inevitable' *razzias* and *slaughters* in Algeria and Tahiti. So Lord John Russell, with singular want of discretion, excused his incorrect information upon the failure of the crops in Ireland, by a reference to the wonderful blindness of the French minister to the bad harvest of France. It would not be a very surprising thing to see the two governments simultaneously palliating their oppressions of the native

Africans in the extreme north and south, by citing their respective dealings with the prisoner chiefs—Abd-el-Kader, the Arab, and the Caffre Sandilla, or Macomo.

It is more agreeable to enlarge upon the good example of international influence; and one fact, in this respect, is highly satisfactory in reference to the French, and to our own observation of *scientific* experiences. On both sides, national jealousies are entirely banished from this pure region. Mr. Cobden, and the Manchester free-traders, could by no ingenuity discover matter of more delightful contemplation, than the eagerness with which the leaders of medical science, or of mechanical science in Paris, Lyons, and elsewhere, watch our successes in the use of chloroform, or in the construction of sewers, or in the removal of nuisances.

If, on our parts, we had looked a little earlier to their city engineering, our laying down of levels would not have waited until 1848 for completion. So long ago as 1833, M. Emmery, of Paris, demonstrated the absolute necessity of beginning with such things in great sewer works.

It is remarkable how many reports are published annually in France, from engineers and other men of science, concerning their visits to our public works, and to our great private undertakings. The Annals of the Pouts et Chausees (the French public board of Civil Engineers, who make roads, bridges, canals, etc.,) ought to be translated into English, if it were only for the *travels* it contains in England. The fine passage in M. Arago's eulogy upon Watt, describing the homage he saw paid to the great Scottish mechanician by *all orders* of men, from Dover to Glasgow, shows, too, the zeal with which the illustrious French savant sought out the testimony of *all orders* of men from Babbages, Herschells, and Faradays, to the humblest artisans of Birmingham and Paisley.

Our visits of scientific discovery, across the channel, are not wanting; but they should be multiplied. The Arthur Youngs among us at the present day, might repeat with benefit an inspection of France, the result of which, in two goodly quarto volumes, gave Napoleon, as he said, for the first time a correct idea of the country. If Sterne's 'Sentimental Journey' will ever delight the idle reader, solid improvement may be gained from more plodding perambulations. The impartial stranger seizes upon things which are familiar to the inhabitants, in new points of view; so that he may sometimes have the satisfaction to teach them a little, while he is himself learning much. An example of this satisfaction has just occurred in the country of Denis Papin, a memoir of whom, from the pen of an English resident at

Blois, the place of his birth, appeared in our July number, last year. An accomplished and learned inhabitant of the city, M. de la Saussaye, a member of the Institute, has since prosecuted the subject with great success. He has obtained important new matter in Germany; and, among other things, an original portrait of Papin, preserved at the university of Marburg. The result of the research is the republication of his works, already in forwardness, under the auspices of M. de la Saussaye, with the aid of the librarian of that university, Hencke, and of the Englishman, who was so fortunate as to suggest the design.

The following observations are the result of a visit to another part of France, Tours, which abounds in British associations, early and present. This visit had the similar characteristic rewards of a friendly reception, and of a valuable discovery in the history of sanitary science. Here was found in a little volume of the last century, perhaps, the origin of the existing French sanitary laws; but certainly a very able exposition, in point of principle, of what is now doing for and what is wanted to complete their system; which interesting points can be cleared up further from the other work lying before us, of the present day. The title of the remarkable book of 1774 is set forth in the note.* It will be appreciated from the following extract, not one word too long:—

‘My object in writing this work,’ says the author, ‘was not amusement. For that, indeed, the field before me is eminently propitious;—the pleasant hills enclosing Tours north and south; its rich and smiling plains: the waters of the sweet Loire; a thousand striking points of view; an infinite variety of picturesque spots; with an extraordinary assemblage of antique historic chateaux studding this fine province;—all this calls for a master’s hand; and might well store the fancy of Tasso with images of beauty and grace. I have a different motive; and limit my labour rigorously to what is useful. The Duke de Choiseul, when minister, ordered all the physicians of the army to record their observations upon the diseases of the troops under them, according to an excellent plan prescribed by M. Richard, the chief of the medical staff. I have pursued that plan with scrupulous care; noting at the same time everything that Tours offers in any manner bearing upon it—such as the means of purifying the air, and of furnishing good water cheap to the inhabitants, with other remarks which appear to me to merit the atten-

* *Memoire, Topographique, Physique, et Medicinal, ou Traité sur les situation de la ville de Tours; sur la nature de son sol; sur les qualités de l’eau et de l’air; sur la nourriture, le tempéramment, le caractère, les maladies de ses habitans et des Troupes qui y sont en garnison. Par M. Duvergé, M.D. Tours. 12mo. 1774.*

tion of the public and of the government. What I thus offer is the fruit of fourteen years' close observation.

'The soil, the water, and the air of Tours have all peculiar characters. The town is situated on the Loire, and at about a mile from the Cher, to the south. Two ranges of hills, 120 feet high, running east and west, rise a little beyond each river. A double row of lofty trees, forming a fine mall, skirt the south side of the town; and beyond the town ditch in that direction, lies a wet and unhealthy district of market-gardens, which receive the filth of the streets for manure.

'I have examined the soil in all directions wherever any cavities have been dug, or the wells could be descended. It is in general a substratum, of sand, or gravel, at a depth varying from thirteen to twenty-eight feet, from the surface. Immediately above the sand, or gravel, is a bed of clay, or potter's earth, two feet thick. Then comes the upper mass varying from eleven to twenty-six feet in thickness. It is black earth composed of the deposited mud of the Loire along with all the refuse of the town constantly accumulated for many centuries. The depth at which several of the most ancient buildings are situated below the present surface, shows the prodigious quantity of such accumulations. The soil of the whole valley between the hills beyond the Loire and the Cher is exactly similar to that of the town of Tours. An analysis of this black earth shews its chemical qualities. It contains very little alkaline salts; but in general it is pure river mud of a slight salt taste, fine sand, and broken shells like those which are found in abundance in the adjacent hills. This composition is rich for agriculture and gardening; and it accounts for the productiveness of the neighbourhood.

'The water at Tours is less favourable, and most important it is in a medical point of view to improve what the inhabitants use. To show this clearly is the main purpose of my memoir. Water so much influences all the natural operations, and it is so useful in all the artificial arrangements of life, that the great chemists have taken infinite pains to discover its essential qualities. Analysis has settled that it often contains all sorts of salts, sulphur, bitumen, and vitriol; and that it commonly dissolves and bears away all the looser particles of the different bodies that it passes through. As to its qualities, it is known when applied cold externally to be astringent and repercussive, when so applied warm to be emollient, relaxing, and penetrating,—when drank, to soften and separate food, to dissolve and mix completely with bile so as to be a principal means of digestion—when conveyed into the blood, to freshen and moisten it, melt its salts, and carry all its other constituent elements into the very smallest vessels, so as to nourish them and keep them up in abundance. In short it may be asserted, that a due proportion cannot be maintained between the solids and fluids of our bodies without a sufficient supply of good water. It is that alone which preserves a proper circulation in the human machine; in other words, which preserves life.

'It is consequently of extreme importance to understand the quality of the water we drink. This may be done easily. The lightest, the clearest, the most limpid water, that which is tasteless, without smell, and is not heavy in the stomach, that which passes readily in the urine,

which forms a complete lather with soap, which boils readily and cools readily, which cooks vegetables quickly, is the best water. Water is wholesome too if it do not injure the teeth when regularly used, nor affect the skin. It is good, also, when it runs over sand or gravel where neither rushes, moss, nor any aquatic plants grow.

‘The well-water in Tours is flat and disagreeable to the taste. It soon throws to the surface when drawn a gummy coating, and a muddy sediment falls to the bottom. It immediately thickens upon oil of tartar being put into it. It dries the skin in washing. It should never be used for making bread, for cooking vegetables, or washing with soap, when the river water can be had. When boiled it gives a dark calcareous sediment which effervesces with acids. It is much infected from the privies. This water is exceedingly unwholesome. The Loire water and that of the Cher are about upon a par. That of the fountains which now supply the inhabitants is inferior to them both. It is most surprising that with the Loire at command, its water should not be raised by an hydraulic machine for common use. That operation would not be expensive; and besides furnishing a wholesome beverage by being filtered, it would give a constant supply to water the streets in hot weather, and to cleanse the ditches and sewers, so as to disperse all unhealthy miasma

‘The state of the *air* also merits the careful attention of the physician as much as that of the natural philosopher. The movement, the weight, and the elasticity of this element, which have been established by many experiments, sufficiently indicate the effects such an agent must produce upon organised bodies, an agent in direct contact with them, forming part of their essence, and the source of power to their principal parts. This agent must be the more potent, since its mere elasticity is the cause of the most wonderful phenomena of nature. The various effects of air upon our bodies arise from the ready combination of other substances with it,—such as moist vapours, poisonous miasmas from the decomposition of vegetable or animal matter,—or such as the sulphuric, nitric, and saline vapours educed from various soils by the sun, or by the internal heat of the earth. All these things impregnate the air alike, so that it affects our bodies in different ways in different climates. The essential air itself does not vary in different climates; for its nature is everywhere the same; but it has an indefinite property of expansion; and it becomes more or less pure, more or less flowing, more or less healthy; sometimes even dangerous and deadly, according as it is charged with particles which in different countries are more or less suitable to our constitutions.

‘The influence of air upon the human body is analogous to its effect upon animals, and upon all sorts of vegetables, I may add, and upon metals—in one word, the hardest, the most compact, the most indissoluble substances: for all nature is subject to air. That influence which is thus universal, is also most various according to the difference of situation, and of climate, and to the changes of the atmosphere.

‘The fatal character of these variations is sometimes seen in one species of animals, sometimes in another. One season carries off half our horned stock, another half our horses. For several years past the

fowls, and especially the dogs, have been destroyed. The last case was the more unaccountable, inasmuch as the food of these animals being the same as ours, their failure could not be attributed as with quadrupeds to the state of the pastures. The proof that an atmospheric exposure of individuals produced these fatal consequences is, that the diseases were general. The further proof that they came from the atmosphere is, that the same symptoms preceded their breaking out in all the cases. The tongue was always affected in the cattle disease so fatal a few years ago; with the dogs it is the head and chest that suffer.

‘ So in vegetables the very same uniformity of atmospheric influence occurs. Every season is fatal to some one sort of tree or plant. The most skilful gardener could not select the several kinds of shrubs more correctly than the fog strikes them. It turns one whole class of pear-trees, for instance, yellow, and spares all others. It will destroy all the buds of that class without attacking the leaves, or all the leaves without injuring the fruit.

‘ These facts are well established, but they are not commonly estimated at their due value. They shew clearly, that to the air alone must be attributed the great part of the endemic and epidemic maladies which afflict mankind. It is this maxim of Hippocrates, that air is the ruler of all things, and the source of disease. Indeed, no one can doubt that sore throats, which come and increase so rapidly in a thick fog, are caused by the malignant character of the vapours, its component parts. Every part of the body in turn is attacked by those vapours; one day the lungs, another day the chest, which loses its tone. Again—the eyes, often so susceptible to atmospheric changes, escape altogether. Volumes might be filled with the various cases, the origin of which may be traced to those changes. They are the more formidable for being quite unavoidable. The mercury in a barometer shut up close in a room rises and falls just as it would in the open air. In one word, it is matter of daily experience, that gout, corns, and rheumatism become intensely painful, and again are moderated with every vicissitude of heat and cold, wet and dry. The conclusion, from this state of the case as to the transient effects of the air in its changes, is that when it is steadily in the same condition any where, its influence upon us must be great and lasting.

‘ These general principles as to air, are strikingly illustrated by experience at Tours. It is a town situated between two rivers, the Loire and the Cher, both often inundated. This, with the stagnation of the rain water in the town, renders it exceedingly damp. Hence the frequency of epidemic fevers. The bad state of the sewers increases the tendency to such diseases. The fogs so charged are disagreeable to the smell, and corrupt the atmosphere. In the drier seasons, alkaline and putrid vapours, which compose these fogs, may be scattered more widely, but they infect the air still. Thus it becomes the vehicle of many diseases of equal danger and frequency. Such are the intermittent fevers, obstinate fevers (*fièvres rebelles*), mesenteric fevers, nervous, putrid, and scarlet fevers. I suspect that a disease reputed to have been contagious, and which prevailed in Tours for twenty-eight years together, was nothing more than a fever of the last class. It broke out in a parish subject to a bad, moist atmosphere; and the first victims being buried in the church and cemetery of that parish, rendered the air daily worse.

‘ In fact the air of Tours does not possess in a proper degree the qualities pointed out by Hippocrates, by Arbuthnot, Boerhaave, and other great physicians as essential to its perfection—dryness and clearness. A dry and clear air passes into the lungs, and through their vessels, unobstructed. Their smooth, unbroken coats, which reject the more gross particles floating about in a corrupt atmosphere, sift such pure air more easily than any other. This sifted air is believed now to have become the very element of fire needful to give fresh life to the blood in the lungs; and to convert it from being the blood of the veins into that of the arteries, and to raise its tone. On the contrary, damp air which is charged with heterogenous particles injures the lungs, and weakens their spring. Thus the column of air which each breath sends into the branches only reaches the blood with extreme difficulty, not even purified enough to make it circulate with vigour. Such a moist atmosphere with the frequent variation from heat to cold, to which Tours is subject, tends to increase most chronic complaints. The air of Tours cannot be made dry by any art: *but it might be made pure* by removing the causes of its bad vapours.

‘ The government has made a beginning towards this object by widening and paving the streets. This will tend to the removal of vast quantities of animal and vegetable matter which now cover these streets, and are kept too long with the manure from the stables. Its speedy removal would improve the air. The same result would follow a greater cleanliness of the houses. The sewers should be better built, and thoroughly washed. In all directions they are now mere collections of all the filth of the town. They want a regular system of falls, and a supply of water by machinery from the Loire. Another means of purifying the atmosphere of Tours would be the ceasing to bring the dead within its walls, and to select a more distant cemetery. It is a great mistake to suppose that respect can only be shewn to the dead by making their graves the source of infection to the living. Upon this principle the parliament of Paris has prohibited more burials in the churches of that capital. This good law would be improved by their prohibition within the city. The epitaph which Verreyen left for himself shewed him to be a man of real sense and piety. It ran thus:—

‘ Philip Verreyen has chosen this spot for his grave, in order that the church might not be profaned by his body, nor the air infected by its dangerous exhalations.’

‘ Bernard Ramazini maintains the same opinion, and Canon Poree, of Caen, has lately placed its correctness in a clearer light.

‘ Then the manufactories of starch ought to be removed from the houses. Their dangerous character has been certified by the medical college. The milk and butter from the cows fed on the refuse of the grain used there, as well as the flesh of the animals, are known to be poisonous. The police has already condemned them; but hitherto its judgment has been evaded, through the injudicious protection of some well-meaning, but mistaken members of the administration.

‘ Lastly, the deep stagnant ditches, and low grounds round the town should be levelled and filled up, or cut through. They are covered with slimy, putrid matter, and give out a dangerous miasma. The stench from them offends the passer by, and a deadly vapour is continually

emanating from them. The cut through these should be regularly washed from sluices supplied by the machinery at the Loire already recommended.'

Dr. Duvergé adds, that the cattle fed in these marshes were diseased.

He afterwards expatiates upon the importance of meteorological observations to the physician, who ought not, he says, to enter the sick room without noting the direction of the wind, the degree of cold and heat, the state of the atmosphere.

He adds, that Hippocrates taught this lesson, which all the great physicians since his time have repeated.

Thus, seventy years ago, Dr. Duvergé denounced cess-pools, intra-mural churchyards, neglected sewers, and all sorts of nuisances, to which we are only beginning to be alive; and many of which, even in France, still continue to destroy the people by tens of thousands. His work was not, however, without effect; and it has been followed, where it appeared, by a succession of similar productions from able physicians.* The Medical Society of Tours has recently proved its just sense of the doctrines of Dr. Duvergé, by warmly seconding an effort now making to realize and improve upon his principles of purifying the air, and supplying good water in abundance to the people of that town.

Indeed, strong traces of his doctrines are to be found in the transactions of the society. For example, the following case from one of the early volumes would have been eagerly recorded by Dr. Duvergé. It is a lesson from nature, which art should adopt.

'After a great overflow of the Loire,' says the Report of 1806, 'its borders were covered with alime, from which proceeded a marshy miasma in all directions. Immediately afterwards, a torrent of rain fell for two hours, followed by a strong west wind, and two wet days. The mud was washed, in a great measure, clean, so as to disperse much of the miasma. The wind carried away the rest; and the inhabitants escaped with a very few cases of fever, which had broken out before the change of weather.'

What the rains effected in this instance might be most usefully accomplished by supplies of water.

Dr. Bouriat, the learned secretary of the society when the foregoing extract was written, was long strenuous in his appeals

* Dr. Bouriat's Letter to Sir James Coylie, on the Climate of Towns, 1816; and Dr. Pommier's Medical Topography of Tours, 1827: the Transactions of the Medical Society of Tours, 1802—1848, contains rich store of such observations.

to the government to adopt means for cleansing the ditches whose bad condition was pointed out by Dr. Duvergé. Some years afterwards a medical officer of cavalry stationed at Tours, Dr. Pommier, followed with an able little work written on the same principles. Much has been done in conformity with these successive judgments of competent men, and always with effect.

Tours is, in fact, two towns in one. It has healthy and unhealthy quarters. The healthy are those which are well aired and well cleaned; the unhealthy are those quarters which are still in the old state. Occasionally in both cases exceptions occur which baffle medical science.

The year of the cholera-morbus, 1832, brought fatal confirmation to the correctness of this statement. At Tours, as elsewhere, the generally unhealthy streets were the most attacked with the prevailing malady. The eloquent and sagacious historian, M. Blanc, has emulated Thucydides and Defoe in his masterly picture of this new plague, which so prodigiously exceeded in fatality that of Athens, and that of London; and he notes with due discrimination the fact, that filth and neglect were the usual attractions to its visitation. The rare exceptions were only noticed by the close and scientific observer of Nature's caprices. On this occasion the Medical Society of Tours examined the subject with extreme care; and proposed a wise system of street cleansing for the future.

During the fifteen years which have since elapsed, many great changes have taken place respecting that point, and respecting the partial draining of the town. All these changes justify to the full the principles upon which the new science of public health is founded. They are an earnest that what remains to be done in this particular town, will want neither zeal, nor intelligence for its early accomplishment; and Tours is a sufficiently important town to be followed by others in so good a work.

The book of Dr. Monfalcon, and Baron de Poliniere, on the salubrity of great towns, furnishes more recent light upon this great social reform. A brief sketch of its contents would not do justice to the work; and it is important enough for a separate examination. It presents a complete picture of the practice in France in regard to sanitary establishments, with those of one great town, Lyons, in detail. It also enlarges upon our own sanitary inquiries, and surveys, rapidly, those of other nations, ancient and modern. If the learned authors had not expressly offered their book as a small portion only of their researches, the reader would have pronounced it a complete treatise upon public health.

ART. V.—*Life of William Allen, with Selections from his Correspondence.* 8vo. 3 vols. London : Charles Gilpin.

ON the 19th of January, 1788, in the chamber of a small house in Spitalfields, and in the evening of the day, a youth, of good talents but limited education, who had just completed his seventeenth year, began for the first time to commit to paper a daily record of his thoughts and feelings, his actings and experiences. The lad was William Allen, son of Job and Margaret Allen, honest and worthy people, members of the Society of Friends, then engaged in the manufacture of silk, and thereby doing well in the world. The diary, continued with but few intermissions during a period of more than half a century, was faithfully kept, and at length embraced the almost entire history of a long and useful life.

The very first entries distinctly indicate the character that was in process of formation. They are brief, but pointed and spiritual. The young disciple records the 'comfort' he had 'experienced in striving against evil thoughts,' regrets his 'impatience,' resolves to 'spend no time unprofitably,' and meditates on the 'happy state of those who are led and guided by the spirit of truth.' These were profitable thoughts for 'seventeen;' they proved that the endeavours of his pious parents to make religion attractive to him had not been in vain; and they harmonize with the emotions of love and gratitude which, even in early childhood filled his eyes with tears, as he repeated to his schoolmistress 'the evening hymn.'

William was already a decided 'Friend,' and fully able to estimate the principles professed by that society. He mourns to hear it said 'by a person not of our society,' that 'the Quakers are the proudest people upon earth, and the most difficult to be pleased in their apparel;' and he is satisfied that 'those who give occasion for such remarks are not Quakers, whatever they may call themselves.' The 'ministry' of Friends is *to him* accompanied by 'a Divine sweetness.' John Pemberton advises him to 'be faithful in small things,' and the words are recorded as the utterances of an oracle. James Thornton remarks, 'Every act of obedience to the Divine requiring brings strength, and every act of disobedience, weakness,' and the sentiment is noted down for everlasting remembrance. 'Surely,' he observes, 'there is something more than words in the testimonies of the servants of the Lord; something within us bears witness to the truth, and what is it but the good spirit of God?' Meetings for worship are 'favoured seasons'

to him ; he discerns there ‘the excellency of a true gospel ministry ;’ enjoys ‘particular satisfaction in the company of friends,’ and feels ‘a great love and an enlargement of heart towards them.’

The *benevolent* affections were not less fully developed. He longs to be the means of relieving suffering, and sympathises both with man and brute. The ‘tyranny and oppression exercised towards the poor Africans,’ and the reflection that ‘so many thousands are yearly murdered in the disgraceful slave-trade,’ ‘affect him deeply, and as sugar is undoubtedly one of the chief commodities procured by the labour of slaves,’ he resolves, ‘through Divine assistance, to persevere in the disuse of it, until the slave-trade shall be abolished ;’ a resolution to which he stedfastly adhered for forty-three years. The death of ‘a faithful dog,’ killed by accident in the street, causes him ‘a day of bitterness and sorrow ;’ and as for those who are ‘cruel to animals,’ he will put ‘no confidence in them even in the common concerns of life.’ Tender-hearted, conscientious, watchful, averse to the society of persons who had no sense of religion, and alive to the ‘secret impressions of duty,’ God guided his steps in purity ; ‘he lived unpolluted by the world ; and his young heart hated sin.’

During the whole of the period thus referred to, and probably until he was about two and twenty, he remained under the parental roof, and was employed in his father’s business. But, although ‘diligent and attentive,’ he had no taste for the manufacture of silk. His mind had already received a decided bias in favour of scientific pursuits. Even while a child he had ‘a particular predilection for chemistry, and was persevering in his efforts to obtain an experimental knowledge of this science. Astronomy was also a favourite study, and at the age of fourteen, he had himself constructed a telescope with which he could see the satellites of Jupiter. In describing the circumstance he said, that ‘not being strong in cash,’ he was obliged to go economically to work ; he accordingly purchased an eyepiece, an object glass, for which he paid one shilling ; he then bought a sheet of pasteboard, which cost twopence, and having made his tubes, and adjusted his glasses, he found, to his great delight, that the moons were visible. Thus, for fourteenpence, he obtained a source of enjoyment, the recollection of which always afforded him pleasure.’

The close of the year 1792 first associates William Allen with Plough Court, Lombard Street ; Joseph Gurney Bevan having introduced him into the chemical establishment carried on there under his able superintendence. In this new and more agree-

able situation his peculiar talents soon became manifest. He devoted himself with characteristic ardour to the duties of his position, and within three years, in consequence of the retirement of Mr. Bevan, he became leading partner in the house, and opened a laboratory at Plaistow. Soon after this he unites with other friends in the formation of a Philosophical Society;* takes to 'sitting up all night, preparing for lectures and making experiments;' becomes 'very low' for want of letters from a certain 'dear Mary Hamilton,' then residing at Redruth; and, finally, as after this intimation might be expected, is happily married to the lady of his choice.

William Allen was now a busy and a prosperous man. Literary and scientific pursuits, the claims of an extending business, experiments, lectures, meetings at Guy's, and medical studies, employed his days and frequently absorbed his nights; while competence, peace, and domestic felicity shed their blessings on his path, and cheered and refreshed him under labours which would otherwise have been overwhelming.

But he was soon to learn, by bitter experience, the uncertainty of all earthly joy. On the 6th of September, 1797, just ten months after marriage, his beloved companion gave birth to a daughter, and five days afterwards passed into the unseen and eternal world. His grief was deep and abiding. For a season it seemed as if his soul refused to be comforted. For years afterwards, his journal bears constant testimony to the tenderness of his love, and to the depth of his sorrow. Divine consolations were, however, richly mingled in his cup of bitterness, and he was soon made sensible of the blessedness of the discipline to which his 'tortured heart' was subjected. He one morning relates, that he had experienced such a flow of heavenly peace as humbled his spirit exceedingly. 'I seemed,' he says, 'to have somewhat of a sight and feeling of the disposition which prevailed in heaven; such a unity, such a lamb-like spirit, such a profound peace; no jar, no contention, nothing wrathful there. I saw that the world could not comprehend this state, and strong were my desires that I might be kept out of its parties, its noises, and its bustles, and be even esteemed a fool for Christ's sake. It was, indeed, a memorable time, and my heart overflowed.'

Indications of spiritual growth at this period appear in various parts of the diary. On one occasion he observes, 'I seemed willing to part with all, that I might win Christ. O

* Luke Howard, William Phillips, Joseph Fox, W. H. Pepys, and Samuel Woods, were among the earliest members. Astley Cooper, Dr. Babington, Tilloch, and others, joined afterwards.

how have I longed for a more intimate knowledge of him. May I never love anything more than him! but be favoured to keep everything in subordination, yea, under my feet.' He often commemorates the 'sweet solace' he found 'in waiting upon the Lord,' and urges the petition, 'make *me* one of those sheep of whom thou hast said, 'they shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand.'"

With this spirit of dependence there was combined habitual watchfulness, and an incessant struggle after higher practical virtue. Hence he determines 'to abridge the time devoted to natural science, and to fast from it,' lest it should absorb the heart. Again, he resolves to be exceedingly careful to avoid every share of egotism, the nurse of vanity. 'I feel,' he says, 'great self-contempt when I detect myself in doing anything to be seen of men. How minute are the ramifications of selfishness! Soul, keep in the valley, be content to let any one take the precedence, study to *be* more than to *seem*.' And again, 'I have seen the beauty, and long to attain to, that heavenly disposition of mind that seeks constantly to render those around us happy. May I be favoured to guard against peevishness, even when just cause, or what appears so, is given, and also to strive against foolish lightness!'

The death of his father, which took place about three years after this, and the subsequent decease of a beloved brother 'possessed of a remarkably sweet and amiable disposition,' opened afresh wounds which had never healed, and led him with increased earnestness to desire that he might be made 'an instrument in the Divine hand of usefulness to others, and at the same time, be preserved from the flattery and applause of a world lying in wickedness.'

But it is time to turn from these brief notices of the *inner life* of William Allen, in order to pursue with rapid pen the narrative of his public course, and more prominent philanthropic labours.

We left him in 1797, a happy but a toiling man, his days and nights alike devoted to the claims of business and science. For a time, domestic bereavements checked his ardour and turned the current of his thoughts; but it was only for a season. Two years afterwards, we find him again immersed in the search after all knowledge. One day in connection with Astley Cooper, and Dr. Bradley, he is eagerly engaged in experiments on respiration, breathing the gaseous oxide of azote; until fixed eyes, purple face, swollen veins, and apoplectic stertor alarm his friends, and conclude the investigation. On another, with his friend Pepys, he is freezing quicksilver with the muriate of lime and snow, or fusing platina with oxygen or charcoal. A little

he is shut up with Humphrey Davy, enjoying his experiments in electricity; and the day following he is at Fox's with Jenner and others, considering a paper on the cow-pox, to read by the doctor that night at Guy's. Nothing comes to him. He is always ready, always laborious.

1801 he commenced a series of lectures to the members of the Askesian Society,* which were well attended. In 1802 he was elected a fellow of the Linnæan Society, and became, in connection with Dr. Babington, a lecturer on chemistry at St. George's Hospital. In 1803 he was chosen one of the presidents of the Physical Society at Guy's, and, by the advice of Davy and John Dalton, of Manchester, accepted a proposition from the Royal Institution to become one of their lecturers. At this time, the demands made upon his time and attention were really heavy. He was frequently referred to for chemical assistance, and called upon to perform experiments which required, not only skill and accuracy, but extensive scientific attainments. The Court became distinguished for the excellence of its chemical re-agents; its fame in this department extending from London to the continent. Professor Pictet, of Geneva, speaks of the 'charming collection' he had been enabled to obtain from his famous repository, and which he had exhibited to the Royal Institute.

The year 1804 found Mr. Allen, if possible, still more engaged. During the season of that year, he delivered at the Royal Institution forty-six lectures on chemistry, as a first course; twenty-two as a second; and fifteen on natural philosophy. Twenty-four other lectures at the Royal Institution, made the total number delivered one hundred and eight.

In the following years, and amid similar avocations, he contrived to engage largely in botanical studies,—'had always something on hand;' made considerable progress in German; paid attention to drawing; read mathematics with a tutor, and made astronomical observations somewhat extensively;†

as was the later name of the Philosophical Society before referred to. William Allen had, for some time, been occasionally occupied in preparing tables of the right ascension and declination of the stars, from the first to the fourth magnitude, with the places of some of the most interesting stars. They were arranged for his own amusement, but as they were likely to prove useful to persons possessing a circular or transit instrument, he was induced to publish them. In this little work, entitled, 'Companion to the Transit Instrument,' the variations in right ascension and declination are given to the end of 1814. His fondness for the study of astronomy rendered his observatory a great source of gratification to him, and here, at the close of many a weary day, were his toils forgotten in the pursuit of this delightful science.

although, as we shall afterwards have occasion to notice, he was at this very time engaged in an almost countless succession of philanthropic undertakings. He seems also to have been much interested in a series of *conversazioni* held at Dr. Babington's, where Count Bournon gave instructions in Crystallography; and he subsequently took part with others in the formation of the Mineralogical and Geological Societies. He also became an honorary member of the Board of Agriculture, and delivered lectures to the members 'on wheel carriages,' on 'roads,' and on 'the application of mechanical principles to agricultural instruments.'

In March, 1807, he was introduced by Earl Morton, at Sir Joseph Banks's; and in the November following was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. A paper, 'on diamonds,' prepared by Mr. Pepys and himself, was read at the meeting in June, and soon afterwards the two friends presented some valuable researches on carbon, and carbonic acid, which were printed in the transactions, and excited much interest in the scientific world. Davy told them, that had the paper on carbonic acid been the production of one person only, the council would have voted the gold medal for it, but they found some difficulty in doing so where two parties were engaged.

Twelve years only had as yet elapsed since Mr. Allen, a plain and unknown man, had succeeded to the business at Plough Court; yet these had proved sufficient to enable him altogether to change his position in society. He was now known, appreciated, honored. The most eminent men of the age were numbered among his personal friends. His scientific reputation was established. He was becoming distinguished as a philanthropist. Fame and wealth spread their seductions before him; for everything he undertook prospered. All things betokened a bright if not a brilliant career. It was an hour of peril. Happily for him, he knew his weakness and was alive to his danger. 'If I am preserved,' he says, 'from falling a victim to the world, its honors, and its friendships, I shall be inclined to consider it a miracle of mercy. O, that my feet were permanently fixed on the sure foundation, even Jesus Christ!'

His pious mother, for whom he always manifested the most tender love, was at this time deeply anxious lest his passion for science and pursuit of knowledge, should lead him away from objects of higher importance. She had long been in the habit of conveying to him in writing the religious concern she felt on his behalf, and she now addressed to him two letters, which, for touching and simple beauty, have we think, seldom been surpassed.

‘Thy talents, my beloved child,’ pleads the unworldly, and, (O, rare excellence!) *unambitious* mother, ‘if rightly directed, would tend to spread heavenly knowledge, and to extend the government of the Prince of Peace.’

‘Oh, how I long that the Most High would anoint and appoint dedicated sons, to turn the attention of men to their greatest good, and arouse them from their beds of ease before the solemn sound goes forth, —‘Time shall be no longer.’ He who has loved thee from thy earliest youth, has called thee to love him; *above all*, to dedicate thyself to him; to surrender *thy all* to him, to be made use of as he shall direct. The reins of government should not be in *thy* hands, but in *his*, to turn thee *into* the path he may in future appoint, and *out* of what thou, as a man, would’st have chosen for thyself. Ah! my dear, it is not the strength of natural affection which leads me to say, thou wast not intended to spend all thy time in earthly pursuits, but through submission to the operation of that power which creates anew, thou art designed to lead the minds of others, both by example and precept, from earth to heaven. I believe it may be said of thee, as it was said to Peter, ‘Satan hath desired to have thee, that he may sift thee as wheat,’ but I humbly hope that the same advocate will plead for thee, that *thy faith fail not*.’

On another occasion she writes,

‘I entreat thee again to consider the necessity of setting thyself more at liberty in future. *Thou art too much absorbed in study, my beloved child*, for however innocent it may be, yet, like the doves in the temple, it fills up a place in the temple of thy heart, which ought to be otherwise occupied and dedicated to the Lord, in whose hands thou wouldest become an instrument to promote the knowledge of pure Christianity. *Come, my beloved, if a right hand, or a right eye be called for, give it up*,—the Lord loves a cheerful giver, and he will restore thee an hundred-fold.

The attachment which subsisted between William Allen and the excellent ‘Margaret,’ his ever-watchful mother and sympathizing friend, was all but romantic. Her letters were preserved as hidden treasures. He carried them in his pocket-book as constant companions. In seasons of affliction and discouragement he was consoled by her sympathy, and strengthened by her counsel. In advanced life, when age and infirmities gathered about her, his attentions were unremitting. His visits to her were almost daily. His chief joy was to soothe her sufferings, or to minister to her wants. Twenty-two years after the date of the letters, and nine before her decease, for she lived to a good old age, we find him noting in his journal, that he had been to see his dear mother, who was in a sweet state of mind, and described to him some of the feelings with which she had been favoured in the night. ‘I was affected,’ he says, ‘and told her I longed that we could *go together*, for we seemed to have a foretaste of the glory that should be revealed; but she said, ‘No, no, there is more for *thee* to suffer and to do yet;

the Lord has a work for *thee*.' In the month of January, 1820, we find him by her bed-side, offering prayer that the 'blessed Saviour might be pleased to administer to her an easy entrance into his everlasting rest,' and, on the 15th of that month, about seven o'clock, the 'beloved parent' sweetly 'slept in Jesus.'

We have hitherto almost exclusively confined our notices of Mr. Allen's public life to his engagements as a man of science; we must now, but still more rapidly, track his course as a philanthropist.

The first intimation we have in his journal of movement in this direction, is found under date of December, 1796, when he purposes, if he can get a little more at liberty, to lay some plan for the amelioration of the state of the poor. The following year, about the same time, William Phillips and himself united to form, what was long after known as 'The Spitalfields' Soup Society.' Into this scheme he threw himself, heart and soul. A large and effective committee was formed; liberal contributions were secured; and a vast amount of suffering was alleviated, at a comparatively small cost. In March, 1798, his name was proposed on the committee of 'The Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor;' but he is 'in a strait about it,' as many of the members are of the nobility, and he is 'fearful' that he 'may not keep his place as a *Friend*.' This difficulty was, however, soon overcome; no one being disposed to quarrel with the peculiarities of the society to which he belonged. In 1800 and 1801, the soup society was again in operation, (bread was then sometimes seventeen-pence-halfpenny the quartern loaf, and all other food proportionably dear); and day after day is devoted to 'the soup-house,' 'the soup committee,' 'domiciliary visits to the poor,' and such like labours of love.

Mr. Allen does not appear to have been actually elected a member of the committee for the abolition of the slave-trade until May, 1805, but in spirit he was united with it from his youth up.* His intimacy with Clarkson commenced in 1794, Plough Court being frequently the home of 'that apostle of humanity,' when in town, on the business of the slave-trade. In 1841, he paid his last visit to Playford Hall. They were

f" • The little band of labourers who first formed themselves into a committee, to promote the great work of abolition, were—William Dillwyn, George Harrison, Samuel Hoare, Thomas Knowles, M.D., John Lloyd, and Joseph Woods. Their first meeting was held in 1783. The mode they pursued, was enlightening the public mind, and some of their efforts proved highly useful. In 1787, a society was formed upon a more extended scale, when the names of Granville Sharpe, Thomas Clarkson, and several others were added to the committee.

then both old men, and they spent a happy hour in discoursing on old times. At parting, Allen, deeply affected, could only say, 'The Lord bless thee!' Clarkson wept. They had been friends for half a century, and they had a mutual conviction that they should meet no more on earth.

The date of Mr. Allen's first introduction to Wilberforce is not given. He dines with him, apparently for the first time, in August, 1805, where he meets Charles Grant, and others. From this time an intimacy subsisted between them which lasted for life. On the 30th July, 1833, Mr. Allen notes in his diary, 'Yesterday, died William Wilberforce.' 'His warfare is accomplished; his course is finished; he kept the faith. Those who regard him merely as a philanthropist, in the worldly sense of that abused term, know but little of his character; his philanthropy took its origin in love to God, it was kindled at the sacred fire of Divine love, and it burned with such bright and steady lustre, only because it was duly replenished from its hallowed source.' *

The name of Brougham first occurs in 1810, as having 'lately been brought into parliament,' where he had made 'some judicious observations' relating to the island of Trinidad. A few months afterwards, the future lord chancellor is dining with him, a friendship having commenced between them, which, in spite of occasional 'torrents of invective,' remained unimpaired.

Lord John Russell first calls at Plough Court, in 1825, when he evidently makes a favourable impression. Soon after this, his lordship joins the 'Society for the Improvement of the Labouring Classes,' and begins to take a prominent part in the affairs of the British and Foreign School Society. Increasing acquaintance with Lord John deepened William Allen's personal respect for him, and confirmed the early faith he cherished in the talents and integrity of the Whig leader, who fully reciprocated the esteem of his venerable friend.

In July, 1808, a party of seven † dined together at Plough Court, and formed 'The Society for diffusing information on the subject of Punishment by Death;' Basil Montague undertaking to open a communication with Sir Samuel Romilly, on the subject. Mr. Allen's anxiety for the amelioration of the criminal code was very great, and his efforts on behalf of crimi-

* These observations were *adopted*, from a brief obituary of the deceased.

† Basil Montague, Thomas Furley, B. M. Forster, R. Phillips, F. Smith, J. G. Bevan, and Luke Howard.

nals condemned to die for comparatively slight offences, were always unwearied and frequently successful. It is difficult to believe now, that so late as 1813, the greatest efforts were necessary to prevent the extreme sentence of the law from being carried into effect on a poor wretch, not twenty-two years of age, extremely ignorant, unable either to read or write, and exhibiting no indications of a ferocious disposition,—who, it seems, crept in at the window of a house, stole property to the amount of a few shillings, and withdrew without any attempt to commit a personal injury. Yet this was the fact. Well might Mr. Allen, writing, as a last resource, a long personal letter to Lord Sidmouth, indignantly exclaim :—

‘ Shall a person,—to whom, be it remembered, society has failed in its duty, by suffering him to grow up in ignorance,—for the crime of stealing to the amount of a few shillings, and without any aggravating circumstances, suffer the very same punishment which you inflict upon him who has been guilty of the most barbarous murder, and, in short, endure the greatest punishment which one human being can inflict upon another? To reform the guilty, and to restore them as useful members of the community, is a glorious triumph of humanity, and marks a state rising in the scale of civilization; but to have no other resource than the punishment of death, reminds me of the miserable subterfuge of a barbarous age, barren in expedients to save, strong only to destroy.’

It is gratifying to know that this appeal was successful. ‘ I am glad,’ says Mr. Allen, in a letter to Sir Robert Harry Inglis, ‘ that this affair has given me an opportunity of being better acquainted with Lord Sidmouth’s real character, of which, from what I have seen myself, I shall think more highly than ever.’

Early in the year 1813, Mr. Allen was planning the establishment of ‘ savings banks.’ ‘ Hast thou,’ (he writes to Richard Reynolds of Bristol) turned thy attention to the subject of a bank for the poor, in which their little savings of threepence or sixpence a week might accumulate for their benefit? I have consulted Morgan, the great calculator, and he is to sketch me a plan.’ Three years afterwards (January the 20th, 1816) he notes, ‘ Charles Barclay, Charles Dudley, and Robert Stevens, met me at Plough Court, on the subject of savings banks for the poor, and we laid the first stone of the building.’

On the 13th of February, 1814, Wilberforce calls upon him, and states that ‘ he has heard that the Lascars and Chinese kept at Ratchiff, had been very ill used. Would Clarkson and himself see what could be done? This was enough. Away he flies to the rescue of these unfortunate strangers. An order is immediately obtained, to visit and inspect the barracks where two hundred were lodged; and a ‘ Lascars Society’ is imme-

diately founded. The committee meet regularly at Plough Court; Mr. Wontner, of the Minories, and other humane inhabitants of the district, having kindly undertaken to act on behalf of these poor creatures. The same year he is assisting in the formation of 'the Peace Society,' and in 1815, projecting an institution for the reformation of juvenile criminals.

But there is literally no end of his devices for doing good. The volumes before us groan under his activities. The very pages become heavy and oppressed with the ever returning record of conferences, committees, and appointments. We shall therefore only add, that in June, 1816, 'with the sole object of stimulating to virtue and active benevolence, by pointing out to those who have the disposition and the power, the means of gratifying the best feelings of the heart; and to show that all, even the poorest, may render material assistance in ameliorating the condition of man;' he established, and with the help of friends, conducted a periodical entitled the 'Philanthropist.' This journal, which was warmly supported by Clarkson, Brougham, William Crawford, and many other benevolent individuals, was continued till 1820, having by that time extended to seven octavo volumes.

To the promotion of popular education, Mr. Allen, it is well known, was through life zealously devoted. In mentioning the first visit he paid to Lancaster's school, in the Borough Road, he says, 'I can never forget the impression which the scene made upon me. Here I beheld a thousand children collected from the streets, where they were learning nothing but mischief, all reduced to the most perfect order, and training to habits of subordination and usefulness, while learning the great truths of the gospel from the Bible. The feelings of the spectator while contemplating the results which might take place in this country and the world in general, by the extension of the system thus brought into practice by this meritorious young man, were overpowering, and found vent in tears of joy.'

In the year 1808, Lancaster resigned his affairs, which were then sadly embarrassed, into the hands of trustees; and on the formation of the British and Foreign School Society, which took place in the course of that year, Mr. Allen became treasurer. His advances for some years after the appointment were heavy, and frequently under circumstances which involved risk of repayment. An extraordinary effort was required to raise funds for the liquidation of the debt with which the society was encumbered, and it was at length only accomplished by enormous sacrifices of time on the part of a few individuals. The misunderstanding which soon after sprang up between Lancaster

and his trustees, greatly aggravated a burden which had already become nearly insupportable.

The first thing needed was a regular set of books, and properly arranged accounts. These Mr. Allen undertook to prepare, and he speaks of 'labouring as hard in unravelling matters,' as ever he did in his own concerns. This, however, was but the beginning of trouble. The books and accounts arranged, and a sufficient sum of money raised on loan at five per cent., to place the establishment on a permanent basis, subscriptions had to be secured, expenditure reduced, operations systematised, buildings erected, a society in name to be made a society in fact; and all had to be effected under a load of obloquy, and in the face of unceasing misrepresentation. A work like this required years of labour, and the diary bears witness that *years* were cheerfully devoted to it.

In 1811, notes occur to this effect,—'Very much overdone this week. I think school concerns altogether have taken up nearly three days.' Again, in 1812, 'Of all the concerns that I have any thing to do with, the Lancasterian lies the most heavily on my mind.' Again, in 1814, 'Busy at school accounts, much exhausted.' And thus on he went, day after day, week after week, year after year. School meetings, canvassings for money, journeys, and foreign correspondence, regularly alternated with lectures, experiments, business, and social obligations; and it is sometimes difficult to say which received the closest and most constant attention.

It is pleasant to observe in the midst of these engrossing labours, a not unfrequent recurrence to higher and more spiritual considerations; and we think we can sometimes trace a sort of secret link between the daily trial and the evening meditation. After a weary day, spent in thankless efforts to do good, how touching is the following record!—'Still under depression; my little stock of faith almost exhausted; and yet I can humbly say, in the multitude of things which harass my mind, the main object is the good of others; for this I have in great measure given up my own gratification, for if instead of these things my time were devoted to philosophical pursuits and experiments, to which I am naturally so prone, the path to honour and distinction stands fair before me. May the sacrifice be accepted above!' We could almost imagine, on reading these lines, that the voice of his mother was even then sounding in his ears the tender appeal—'Come, my beloved, if a right hand or a right eye be called for, give it up. The Lord loves a cheerful giver, and he will restore thee an hundred fold.'

The deep personal attachment which subsisted between the parties engaged in the propagation of Lancaster's plans was both

singular and sustaining. Fox writes to Allen, 'Let us cheer each other, we shall reap if we faint not. In the whole of the struggle my mind has been supported by a consciousness of the close fellowship of heart which was ever to be found in you, and I hope that so long as we are spared in this present sphere of action we shall be like Jonathan and David.' Allen notes, 'Dear Fox and I traced the gracious support of Divine providence under the work, and were comforted.' In writing to him, he says, 'No great and important object was ever attained without considerable exertion, but when we are associated with those we love, as I firmly believe is the case in the present instance, we may, perhaps, adopt the lines of Cowper:—

' And one in heart, in purpose, and design,
Gird up each other to the race Divine.'

So, in writing to Joseph Foster, an excellent man to whom he was united by the strongest ties of personal regard, and the value of whose long continued labours in the school cause, it would be impossible to over estimate, he says, 'I have often been very thankful in having such a coadjutor as thou art. I do not think we have entered into the work altogether in our own will, and humbly trust that we may be made instrumental in doing much good.'

School affairs at this crisis, brought Mr. Allen into almost constant communication with members of the royal family, and other distinguished persons. Among these, His Royal Highness the late Duke of Kent, and the late Duke of Bedford, afterwards President of the British and Foreign School Society, stand pre-eminent, on account of the laborious personal attention they gave to the affairs of the institution. The acquaintance with the Duke of Kent thus commenced, eventually ripened into mutual and sincere regard. His Royal Highness frequently consulted Mr. Allen confidentially in relation to his own personal affairs, treated him as an attached friend, and subsequently induced him to act officially on his behalf. The duke's grateful sense of his services was from time to time expressed in very gratifying terms.

The general peace of the year 1814, brought the allied sovereigns on a visit to London, when the Society of Friends hastened to present addresses to the Emperor of Russia and to the King of Prussia. That for the Emperor of Russia, was left with Count Lieven, on the 18th of June, and the next day William Allen called to arrange for its reception. To his surprise, however, instead of obtaining a formal interview, he found the Count in his carriage, who bade him get in, and, driving off

immediately, informed him that the emperor wished to attend a Friends' meeting, and that there was no time for it but the present.

Calling at Count Nesselrode's for the Emperor, the Grand Duchess of Oldenburgh, the Duke of Oldenburgh, and the Duke of Wurtemberg, the whole party drove off, without the slightest previous intimation, to the nearest meeting-house then open. No commotion was excited by their arrival. They were quietly shewn to the seats usually occupied by men and women respectively. The meeting remained in silence about a quarter of an hour, 'in which time,' says Mr. Allen, 'my mind was sweetly calmed and refreshed, in the firm belief that the Great Master had the work in his own hands.' Richard Phillips then stood up, with a short but acceptable address to the meeting; and soon after, John Wilkinson was engaged in explaining the effects of vital religion and the nature of true worship. After he sat down, John Bell uttered a few sentences, and John Wilkinson concluded in supplication. The Emperor and the whole party conducted themselves with great seriousness; and 'after meeting' they kindly shook hands with the Friends, and departed.

Two days after this, the emperor received Mr. Allen and the deputation, with the 'Friends' address. The number was very limited, in accordance with Count Lieven's instructions. Alexander received them alone, and conversed freely with them in English; asking questions which 'evidently shewed that he was acquainted with the operations of the Holy Spirit in the soul.' He said he 'agreed entirely with Friends on the subject of worship.' He told them that he was himself in the habit of daily prayer, that at first he employed a form of words, but at length grew uneasy in so doing, as the words were not always applicable to the present state of his mind, and that 'now the subject of his prayer was according to the impression he felt of his wants at the time.' He stated how 'the Lord had made him acquainted with spiritual religion,' after which he had much sought it, and that 'herein he found strength and consolation;' adding that he, and 'all of us, were only placed in this life to glorify God and to be useful to one another.' During the interview, he repeatedly pressed their hands, expressed a wish to know more of them, said he should like to see a Friend's house, and concluded by observing, that if any Friends should visit Petersburg on a religious account, they were not to wait for any introduction, but to come direct to him, and he would do everything to promote their views.

The 'wish to see a Friend's house' was not forgotten. When at Portsmouth he again reverted to it, and arrangements were made for John Glaisyer, of Brighton, to receive him. But

when he reached that town, the crowd was so great that he was obliged to proceed without fulfilling his intentions. Passing a farm house, a few miles from Lewes, however, he observed two persons standing at their own gate, who, by their appearance, he supposed to be Friends. He immediately ordered the driver to stop, alighted, inquired if they were of the people called Quakers, and, being answered in the affirmative, asked permission to go into the house. The request, although considered exceedingly strange and unaccountable, for these parties had not heard any thing of the emperor's interest in Friends, was of course cheerfully complied with. The duchess then alighted, and they all went in together. After a little time, the duchess asked if they might go over the house, and they were accordingly conducted into the principal apartments, the neatness of which they praised. On returning to the parlour, they were invited to take some refreshments, which they did, and seemed pleased with the attention. Finding that the family had not heard of the emperor having had any communication with 'Friends' in London, he gave them an account of his having been 'at meeting.' At parting, the emperor saluted the hand of the lady, and the duchess kissed her. They then both shook hands cordially with her husband, (Nathaniel Rickman) and bade them 'farewell.'

At what precise period William Allen first began to speak 'in ministry,' does not appear. It would seem, however, not to have been before the year 1818. But, although at first unemployed officially, his attention to the claims of the religious society with which he was connected, had from his earliest years, and during his busiest seasons, been most exemplary. In 1799, we find him appointed a corresponding member* of the 'Meeting for Sufferings,' for Derby and Nottinghamshire.

In 1811, he is set apart to the station of 'overseer.'† 'I am

* The yearly meeting of London, in 1675, appointed a meeting to be held in that city, for the purpose of advising and assisting Friends in cases of suffering for conscience sake. It is composed of men Friends, under the name of correspondents, chosen by the several quarterly meetings. Approved ministers are also members. It was called the Meeting for Sufferings, in consequence of its original purpose. It is considered as a standing committee of the yearly meeting, and to its care is intrusted whatever may arise during the intervals of that meeting, affecting the society, or requiring immediate attention.

† The discipline of the Society of Friends directs that, if practicable, some of their members, whose conduct and conversation manifest 'the fruits of the Spirit,' be appointed to exercise a general care and oversight of all the individuals who constitute the particular meeting to which they belong. The persons thus appointed are denominated *Overseers*.

afraid to refuse,' he says, 'lest I should shrink from a duty, and thereby bring greater spiritual poverty upon myself. My prayer is to be preserved from doing any harm, if I can do no good.' In 1813, he is chosen 'an elder,' and the year following he is 'constrained to utter' a few words, 'which humbled' him 'exceedingly.' In 1818, he seems to have been recognised as an approved minister among Friends, and in that character to have visited the families of his district. On Thursday, the 11th of May, 1820, 'in solemn conference,' he was 'discharged from the office of elder,' and 'recorded as a minister in unity.' It was *as a minister*, and 'under religious concern,' that he subsequently undertook those various and important journies, the records of which form so large a portion of the volumes before us. We can do little more than enumerate the places thus visited.

The *first* journey, undertaken in 1816, was in some respects an exception to the statement we have made, inasmuch as on this occasion he seems to have travelled chiefly in the capacity of 'care-taker' to some women friends, whose 'concern' the journey properly was. They crossed to Calais, and then proceeded through Belgium and Holland to Pyrmont, Hesse Cassell, Frankfort, Strasburg, and Basle; everywhere inspecting prisons, schools, and public institutions generally.

Fellenberg, whom they saw at Hoffwyll, is described as 'a man whose countenance and manner strikingly indicates great mental power, openness of character, and benignity.' Soon afterwards they visited Pestalozzi. 'The lively old man,' says Mr. Allen, 'saluted me with two kisses, one on each cheek. He is rather below the middle stature, and thin. A spirit of harmony seemed to pervade the whole establishment. I was much pleased.'

At Geneva Mr. Allen was again plunged in sorrow by the decease of his second wife, Charlotte Hanbury, to whom he was affectionately attached. She was interred in the cemetery at Sacconet, and soon after the party returned home.

The *second* and most important journey occupied him from August 1818 to February 1820, and embraced Northern Europe, with some portions of Turkey, Greece, and Malta.

Accompanied by his friend, Stephen Grellet,* Mr. Allen sailed from Harwich, on the 15th of August, for Stavanger, in Norway. On the 25th they were approaching the coast, and ranges of high and rugged rocks one beyond the other presented themselves. Here they landed and established 'a system of disci-

* An eminent minister of the Society of Friends; a native of France, but resident at Burlington, U. S.

pline' among some of the inhabitants who recognise the religious principles of the Society of Friends.

The voyage to Christiansand was very tedious; the wind boisterous and contrary, the country 'a picture of desolation.' The land journey to Christiania was arduous and fatiguing; sometimes 'beaten by the roads,' six horses could not force along the carriage. On one occasion men and horses are alike 'used up,' obliged to pass the night by the roadside, 'the face of the country resembling *waves*;' in fact 'huge masses of rock from two hundred to five hundred feet high mostly covered with pines, and in constant succession.' Finally, the 'roads improve,' and the 'country becomes beautiful, resembling Switzerland.'

Proceeding to Stockholm the two Friends had an interview with the King of Sweden, to whom they presented an address on prison discipline, education, the management of the poor, and religious liberty. They were afterwards admitted to a private conference, and in about an hour obtained all the privileges they wished for 'Friends' in Norway and Sweden. The king was most kind and cordial. 'While I was holding his hand to take leave,' says Mr. Allen, 'in the love which I felt for him I expressed my desire that the Lord would bless and preserve him. It seemed to go to his heart, and he presented his cheek for me to kiss, first one, then the other; he took the same leave of Stephen and Enoch (a Norwegian) and commended himself to our prayers.'

Soon after this interview they embarked for Finland. The prison at Abo was found in sad condition, and notes were made which led to the speedy removal of the evils complained of. While at Abo they dined with a large party at the archbishop's. At 'the pause' after dinner, Grellet gave a religious address, and they separated under a mutual feeling of regard and esteem.

On the 12th of November the travellers arrived at the outposts of Petersburg, the snow everywhere on the ground, and the roads rough. Here they found Walter Venning, Dr. Paterson, and many other friends, to cheer and welcome them.

Their first formal visit (the emperor being absent) was to Prince Alexander Galitzin; then to Lord Cathcart; and afterwards to the Princess Sophia Mestchersky. Everybody received them gladly. The Lord set before them 'an open door.' Mr. Allen describes his visits to the Princess Sophia as visits to 'a sister and dear Christian friend.' She conversed without the least restraint on religious subjects, and gave evidence of true piety and deep understanding. The following description is

given of the interior of her palace, in the depth of a Russian winter:—

‘The large room has a very lofty ceiling and is just like a shrubbery. There are some fine tall trees in boxes, and very pretty trellis-work, covered with a beautiful creeper from New Holland; the plants are all evergreens, and in a healthy flourishing state; among them are cages of singing-birds, some of which are of magnificent plumage, and there was one elegant pair of Indian sparrows. Their stoves, and their universal system of double windows keep up a uniform and very agreeable temperature throughout all the apartments, and even passages of a Russian house. The princess’s apartment is so large, and so much divided by shrubs and trellis-work, that two or three parties might converse at the same time without interrupting each other.’

Dining with the minister of the interior at a large party, Papof, the confidential secretary of Prince Galitzin, sat next to Mr. Allen, and entered freely into religious conversation. Papof talked like ‘an experienced Christian.’ He ‘spoke feelingly of seasons of desertion and dryness, in which he said that all he could do was to come to the Saviour with the appeal, ‘Thou knowest that I love thee. If I perish, I perish, but it shall be at thy feet. I have no hope but in thee, and if thou wilt not look upon me any more, I must still love thee.’ But then he sweetly remarked, that after these deep trials the light of the Lord’s countenance shone upon him again, and he went on his way, rejoicing.’

Prince Galitzin, himself, was not less sensible of the necessity and value of experimental piety. He repeatedly sent for the two strangers, entered into their plans, urged them to communicate freely with him at all times, and sometimes united with them in prayer for the Divine blessing upon their labours. Michael, the metropolitan of the Greek church, who received them ‘in a robe of purple silk, ornamented with stars, and a cap enriched by a cross set in diamonds,’ kept them in conversation at the monastery for four hours, and chiefly on religious subjects. He professed his belief, that through the teaching of the Holy Spirit alone, could men come to a knowledge of the truth, and he finally parted with them as the best of friends. Everywhere there appeared to be a disposition to promote religion, and to countenance benevolent effort for the poor.

The public institutions in St. Petersburg were found to be generally ‘well managed;’ the Lunatic Asylum ‘a superb establishment;’ and the large Hospital distinguished ‘for general neatness and cleanliness,’ to a degree rarely equalled, never sur-

passed. The military schools, then but recently established, were in a good state of discipline, but very deficient in lessons for instruction. Some were taken from infidel writers of the French school; others of better character, were ill-arranged and unsuitable. Mr. Allen at once perceived the vast importance of promoting the extension of education in Russia, and of substituting in place of useless or absolutely mischievous compilations, a volume of selections from the Holy Scriptures; and to the accomplishment of this object he devoted himself with characteristic energy. The opposition he met with was great; and it arose in quarters where it might least have been expected.

Frequently had he to combat the argument so often refuted, that learning, being an instrument of power, should be kept from the poor lest they should make a bad use of it. Again and again had he to show, that the ground taken by the opponents of popular instruction was fatal to the progress of all civilization; and times without number, had he to urge the inconsistency of looking for good from the circulation of the Scriptures among the people, while thirty millions of them were unable to read a single letter. The determination of the emperor, always in advance of those who surrounded him, at length settled the question, and the work was commenced without an hour's subsequent delay. Dr. Paterson, the two Vennings, and Mr. Swan, of the London Missionary Society, assisted in the compilation, and with Mr. Allen, 'literally worked at it night and day.' In rather more than a fortnight they had the book ready to lay before the emperor, who was so delighted with it that he immediately ordered 8,000 roubles (£1,400.) to be paid for an edition. This volume was soon after translated into Modern Greek, French, and Italian; and in the English form has ever since been the selection used in all the schools of the British and Foreign School Society.

The conduct of the emperor, on his return to the capital, was in perfect harmony with his professions when in England. He received his visitors without ceremony; conversed with them in the openness of friendship; asked for notes of all they had seen; knelt down and united with them in prayer; and at parting, kissed their hands in token of affectionate esteem. In the course of conversation he told them 'how early he had been favoured with touches of Divine love in his mind,' though 'he did not know from whence they came,' and was at the time 'surrounded by persons entirely ignorant of these things;' how 'he and his brother Constantine, with whom he slept, used to pray extempore and had comfort in it;' how 'these impressions were dissipated;' how 'he had imbibed French principles;' and how, in 1812, 'he had for the first time read the Bible,' recognized 'the witness it bore to the operations of the Holy Spirit

in his soul,' and 'found peace' in believing. Prince Galitzin, with equal frankness, described his own religious course; how he was brought to see the emptiness of mere forms, and the inestimable value of true Christianity. He said the emperor and himself had been brought up as playfellows together, and were exposed to the same disadvantages, in being surrounded by irreligious persons. He told them that the emperor took his Bible with him in the campaign of 1812, and read in it every day. He also gave them many interesting details about the Holy Alliance,* and the astonishment of the emperor's own court when they heard the decree read. But into these matters we have no room to enter.

Cheered and refreshed as Mr. Allen must naturally have been by much that he saw in Petersburg, his residence there was far from being agreeable, in consequence of the great depression of mind to which he was at this period subject. He frequently speaks of himself as 'in mental bonds,' as 'deeply tried in spirit,' 'needing much faith to remain,' feeling as it were 'shut up in prison,' longing for home, and so on. Expressions of this character are frequent in the journal. The 'nicely warmed rooms' only make him think of his mother, and wish she could have her house made equally comfortable; and letters from his daughter can scarcely be read, for tears. 'Thou art my beloved child,' he writes to her, 'doubly dear to me, dear by the closest ties of nature, and even still dearer by that precious union of spirit which is produced by religious feeling. I am sometimes obliged to wipe my eyes, in order to get on with reading thy letters.' His valued friend and companion, Mr. Grellet, was at these seasons a great comfort to him, strengthening him after the labours of the day, both by conversation and prayer. On one of these evenings, when they had been undisturbed by visitors, he says, 'After supper, dear Stephen and I had some very edifying conversation; my mind was low and tender, and after we had sat some time, he engaged in supplication. On taking leave to retire to my own room I

* A copy is preserved amongst William Allen's manuscripts of the manifesto which announces what has been denominated the 'Holy Alliance,' published at Petersburg, under date, 'January 10th, 1816,' which expresses the determination of the Emperor Alexander, and that of his allies, the Emperor of Austria, and the King of Prussia, to 'endeavour to regulate their future conduct by the principles of the gospel.' It also declares their conviction, that the Christian nations, of which they and their people form a part, have, in reality, no other sovereign than Him to whom alone power really belongs, God, our Divine Saviour. They, therefore, recommend to their people, with the most tender solicitude, as the sole means of enjoying that peace which alone is durable, to strengthen themselves every day, more and more, in the principles, and in the exercise of the duties, which the Divine Saviour has taught mankind.

remarked, 'The Master has been kind to us this evening; let us repose in his love.' Fearing the Lord, they 'spake often one to another, and the Lord hearkened and heard,' and gave them peace.

In March, 1819, the travellers, after suitably acknowledging the great kindness they had received from Lord and Lady Cathcart, and Sir John Wylie, took leave of the Vennings and their other beloved friends, and finally left Petersburg for Odessa and Constantinople, by way of Moscow. Travelling onwards, with three horses in the *kabitska*, or sledge; the course of the road shown only by branches of pine, stuck in at certain distances; the snow drifting and covering holes of above four feet deep, into which they often plumped without the slightest warning; sometimes, as at Novorogod, sleeping on a wolf-skin, for Russian landlords then provided no beds; sometimes obliged to pull up, and lie quietly by the road side till break of day; they at length reached Tver in safety. At this place, where they had letters to the governor, they remained a few days visiting prisons, and seeking to promote education. 'It has been a portion of our duty here,' says Mr. Allen, 'as in other places, to visit and to enter into feeling with the afflicted, and with the outcasts of society, by which our spirits have been much depressed; our service leads us to dungeons as well as to palaces, and we feel the force of those words of the apostle, 'We are debtors to all men.' It is a consolation, however, to know that this trial of our feelings is not in vain, and that our representations to the proper authorities *have* proved the means of alleviating much human misery.'

From Tver they proceeded to Moscow, where similar engagements presented themselves. The public institutions, chiefly through the zeal and energy of the empress-mother, were in admirable order. Of this extraordinary woman, Mr. Allen says, and he is not given to extravagance, 'I have not heard of any woman in the world, who is so heartily, so incessantly, and so extensively engaged in works of benevolence as the worthy mother of the good Alexander.' From Moscow a report was forwarded to the emperor, containing observations on what they had seen, and suggestions calculated to promote the great objects of their journey.

By the end of April they had left Moscow, and were on their way over the Steppes of Tartary, to visit the German Colonies of Mennonites on the banks of the Dnieper. It is pleasant to find that as they journeyed they observed, and not unfrequently in the villages, the women, neatly dressed, collected before their cottages in little groups, singing; and, whatever may be the disadvantages of Russian rule, it is satisfactory to learn that it

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rarely, if ever, happens that any body is so . . . For a single penny, a peasant can obtain as much black bread as he can eat.

On their arrival at the Colonies they were very warmly received by General Contineas, the military superintendent, a sensible and religious man, who kindly undertook to interpret for them at their religious meetings. This believing centurion, after their return to England, opened a correspondence with Mr. Allen, which was continued until his death, in 1830.

After leaving the Colonies they proceeded to Simferopol, to visit the 'Malakans, or Spiritual Christians.' Many of these had suffered persecution in consequence of their separation from the Greek church, and many, particularly the Cossacks, languished for a long time in prison. They, however, firmly maintained their ground. They prefer the Holy Scriptures to all other writings, considering them as the rule of their faith, and as containing the revealed will of God to man. Though not rich, they have paid as much as seventy roubles, (upwards of £18.) for a copy of the sacred volume. They acknowledge Christ as 'God manifest in the flesh,' who died on the cross for the sins of the world. They reject pictures or images, and the adoration of saints. In their assemblies the Bible is read and explained. Yet,—such is man, everywhere the same,—'though most of them love the truth,' they divide and separate on unimportant points, forgetting that love which is 'the fulfilling of the law.' With these people the two Friends held meetings, and, through an interpreter, exhorted and instructed them. From hence they proceeded through Cherson to Odessa, where they embarked for Constantinople.

On the 1st of August they sailed by the boat for Scio (then the most prosperous portion of Greece), and on the third day, about nine in the morning, came in sight of the island. The visit was a satisfactory one; the Greek archbishop consenting to become the president of a school society, and Professor Bambas undertaking to translate and print the scripture lessons. On the 14th they hired a boat to take them to Athens, and endured many privations and perils during a protracted voyage of eleven days. Here they were refreshed by the voice and welcome of Dr. Pinkerton. They remained a fortnight, doing what they could, and then set out for Corinth. From hence they proceeded to Patras and Zante, where, after a short quarantine they landed, and were heartily welcomed by Colonel (now Major-General Sir Patrick) Ross. Here Mr. Allen was attacked by fever, and, during a severe and dangerous illness of some weeks, received attentions from Colonel Ross and his lady, whose kindness he even after spoke of with love and gratitude.

remarked, 'The Master has been kind to us this evening; let us repose in his love.' Fearing the Lord, they 'spake often one to another, and the Lord hearkened and heard,' and gave them peace.

In March, 1819, the travellers, after suitably acknowledging the great kindness they had received from Lord and Lady Cathcart, and Sir John Wylie, took leave of the Vennings and their other beloved friends, and finally left Petersburg for Odessa and Constantinople, by way of Moscow. Travelling onwards, with three horses in the *kabitska*, or sledge; the course of the road shown only by branches of pine, stuck in at certain distances; the snow drifting and covering holes of above four feet deep, into which they often plumped without the slightest warning; sometimes, as at Novorogod, sleeping on a wolf-skin, for Russian landlords then provided no beds; sometimes obliged to pull up, and lie quietly by the road side till break of day; they at length reached Tver in safety. At this place, where they had letters to the governor, they remained a few days visiting prisons, and seeking to promote education. 'It has been a portion of our duty here,' says Mr. Allen, 'as in other places, to visit and to enter into feeling with the afflicted, and with the outcasts of society, by which our spirits have been much depressed; our service leads us to dungeons as well as to palaces, and we feel the force of those words of the apostle, 'We are debtors to all men.' It is a consolation, however, to know that this trial of our feelings is not in vain, and that our representations to the proper authorities *have* proved the means of alleviating much human misery.'

From Tver they proceeded to Moscow, where similar engagements presented themselves. The public institutions, chiefly through the zeal and energy of the empress-mother, were in admirable order. Of this extraordinary woman, Mr. Allen says, and he is not given to extravagance, 'I have not heard of any woman in the world, who is so heartily, so incessantly, and so extensively engaged in works of benevolence as the worthy mother of the good Alexander.' From Moscow a report was forwarded to the emperor, containing observations on what they had seen, and suggestions calculated to promote the great objects of their journey.

By the end of April they had left Moscow, and were on their way over the Steppes of Tartary, to visit the German Colonies of Mennonites on the banks of the Dnieper. It is pleasant to find that as they journeyed they observed, and not unfrequently in the villages, the women, neatly dressed, collected before their cottages in little groups, singing; and, whatever may be the disadvantages of Russian rule, it is satisfactory to learn that it

rarely, if ever, happens that any body is starved. For a single penny, a peasant can obtain as much black bread as he can eat.

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A sincere attachment to him was cherished by the colonel ; and a beautiful letter addressed by the daughter of Sir Patrick, twenty-five years afterwards, to one of the editors, describes the deep feeling with which he heard of his friend's decease.

After visiting Corfu and Malta, and subsequently Rome, Milan, Geneva, and Paris, Mr. Allen arrived at home on the 26th of February, 1820, having been absent about a year and a half.

The *third* journey was to Vienna and Verona in 1822, and was undertaken chiefly for the purpose of again meeting the Emperor of Russia, and endeavouring to interest him in the cause of the poor Greeks, and in the abolition of slavery. He reached Vienna on the 27th of September, and was immediately sent for by Alexander. The interview was long and satisfactory ; the emperor encouraged him to speak freely ; and in succession, the German colonies, schools, the slave-trade, and the condition of the Greeks were severally discussed. During a second visit the emperor urged him to go to Verona, where he again met him twice, and entered fully and warmly into his various benevolent projects. In the course of these interviews, entire hours were occupied in religious conversation and in social worship. The emperor spoke much of trials known only to himself and God ; of temptations under which he could find no relief except in the promise, ' My grace is sufficient for thee ; ' and of sorrows which drove him continually to a throne of grace. After these conversations they sat in silence, prayed, and parted. On the 31st of October, Mr. Allen waited upon him to take leave. After describing a lengthened conversation he adds, ' It was now between nine and ten o'clock, but we seemed loth to part. When I rose, he embraced and kissed me three times, saying, ' Remember me to your family, I should like to know them.' Ah ! when and where shall we meet again ! ' They never saw each other more ; the death of Alexander, which took place in 1825, putting an end to this singular friendship between a Russian emperor and an English tradesman, a powerful despot and a plain Friend.

During Mr. Allen's stay at Verona, Prince Esterhazy, the Crown Prince of Sweden, and the Duke of Wellington, all treated him with the greatest kindness and attention. The duke, who seems to have entertained a sincere respect for his character, asked him to dinner, to meet some of the eminent persons then assembled at the Congress ; but Mr. Allen, with characteristic humility, declined the invitation, stating that ' where duty did not call, he believed it was his place rather to remain in the shade.' The duke, who saw at a glance his reasons for refusing, imme-

diately told him with similar frankness, that he believed he was right. In following years Mr. Allen several times records with satisfaction 'the noble conduct' of the Duke of Wellington, to whom, as well as to Mr. Canning and Earl Bathurst, he always felt under deep personal obligations.

Leaving Verona, he next proceeded to Turin, where he found the British minister had just received instructions from Mr. Canning to report to the Duke of Wellington, then at Verona, on the state of the Waldenses, who were at that time exposed to severe persecution. It was soon agreed that the secretary should accompany him on a visit to the valleys. On their return to Turin, Mr. Allen addressed a letter, containing the substance of his observations, to the Emperor of Russia. The British minister accompanied it by a note to the Duke of Wellington, and a special courier was despatched with the documents. The result was important to the poor Waldenses, as they obtained by this means some important privileges. The letter to Alexander was forwarded to him as soon as the courier arrived. The emperor was out. On returning late at night he read it; Baron Wylie found him at two o'clock in the morning, sitting over it in tears.

Proceeding through Geneva;—where he met the Baron de Stael, and the Duke and Duchess de Broglie,—he passed on to Stuttgard, and obtained an interview with the king of Wurtemberg, to whom he was introduced by the Emperor of Russia. 'My visit to the Waldenses,' he says, 'naturally opened the way for conversation upon toleration in matters of religion. I remarked, in substance, that the business of civil governors was the protection of the people in their rights and privileges, but that they had nothing to do in matters of religion, provided that the good order of the community was not disturbed.' Both the king and queen fully assented to this doctrine. 'I had, then,' he adds, 'under the influence of duty, to make some remarks on the subject of religion, which appeared to be felt; and we parted, I believe, under mutual feelings of Christian regard and affection. They cordially took me by the hand, and the king said, that if there was anything in which he could gratify me at Stuttgard, he should be glad to do it.' This audience occupied from an hour-and-a-half to two hours. From Stuttgard, after paying a brief visit to the Pastor Oberlin, at Waldbach, he proceeded to Paris, and thence home.

The *fourth* journey, in 1832, embraced Holland, Hanover, Prussia, and Hungary. The *fifth* and last, in 1833, included Spain and the Pyrenees. We say the last, because the continental tours of 1839 and 1840 were unimportant. In all these engagements, facilities were continually presented for exercising

influence. The Crown Prince of Prussia, the King of Bavaria, the Grand Duke and Duchess of Weimar, Prince Esterhazy, even the King and Queen of Spain received him with cordiality, and expressed their willingness to forward his views. Everywhere he urged the rights of conscience, and pressed the importance of encouraging the formation of committees of pious and benevolent persons, to keep up a constant system of visiting the prisons, and reading the Holy Scriptures; laying it down as a great general principle, that measures for reclaiming could never be carried into full effect, but by persons who are themselves under the influence of Christian principle. Everywhere he sought to impress the advantages likely to result from the union of individuals in works of benevolence. A paper he drew up on this subject, when in Russia, embodies views at once sound and comprehensive, urges the beneficial influence which the higher ranks of society may exert in forming the minds and characters of the poor, and suggests the importance of creating and fostering a powerful and instructed middle class.

During the intervals which elapsed between these journeys, the ordinary employments of his busy life were pursued with the same intensity as ever. But they were now frequently enlivened by visitors from foreign parts. His house was almost always the home of some pilgrim from afar. Having himself met with much kindness abroad, he conscientiously improved the many opportunities afforded in the metropolis for showing hospitality to the stranger. Francis Martin, of Bourdeaux, (now minister of the French church in London *), and Emilien Frossard, of Montauban; Charles Vernet, of Geneva, and Alexander D'Junkovsky, of St. Petersburg, all write to him with something like filial affection; delighting to call to mind his counsels, and congratulating themselves on having lived under his roof. With others whom he had known in distant lands, he maintained a pleasant correspondence. Mariamne Vernet, of Geneva,—a deeply-tried, but most excellent woman,—her daughter, the Baroness de Stael; the family of M. Courtois, of Toulouse, and Professor Tholuck, of Halle, all wrote to him, occasionally, as to a Christian friend.

* During the 'hundred days,' this gentleman was working incessantly at Paris, in the establishment of schools of scriptural instruction, on the plan of the British and Foreign School Society. Napoleon had issued orders for such schools to be called into existence with all possible dispatch, and Mr. Martin was in the *bureau* of M. Carnot, both overcome with fatigue, when the news of the battle of Waterloo put a stop to their labours. The returning Bourbons had no sympathy with the movement.

In 1823, he lost his only child, and was deeply afflicted by the event. 'When thinking,' he says, 'of the probability of my dearest earthly treasure, in whom my tenderest affections were concentrated, being taken from me, I have prayed in an agony, and with many tears, that such a cup might pass from me; nevertheless, I dared only ask it in conformity with the Divine will.' When she died, he was enabled to say, 'The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord.' The Princess Sophia Mestchersky, Prince Galitzin, and other friends, sent him, on this occasion, letters of condolence, which prove how near he was to the hearts of the pious writers.

Two years before the event just alluded to, he mentions 'seriously thinking of giving up Guy's, in order to be more at liberty to serve the Great Master;' but the treasurer was so 'earnest' for his continuance, that he 'could not well get at liberty.' His lectures were still crowded with students, and his energy in delivering them was unabated. It was not till the year 1826, that he finally retired from the hospital, closing his connexion with it by an address to the students, which was printed, and widely circulated. In all his lectures, Mr. Allen had felt it right to urge the claims of revelation, and to avail himself of every suitable opportunity for directing the minds of his hearers to the Great Source of all wisdom and goodness; in *this*, he enlarges on the Divine justice, impressively urges the responsibility of man, and points to the compassion of God, as having provided 'in the person of the Redeemer for reconciliation with himself.' 'Can I,' he says, 'when speaking of the goodness so evidently displayed in the material world, forbear to advert to that greatest of blessings, which in his infinite love he has bestowed upon us by the coming of the Son of God in the flesh? Ought I to refrain from speaking out boldly upon subjects of such unspeakable importance? I know that the views which I take are, unhappily, in some quarters not very fashionable; that they are even humiliating to that philosophical pride, which spurns at everything beyond the comprehension of its limited capacity; but how far this is just, or reasonable, or really philosophical, we shall presently examine.' And then he proceeds with his argument.

The same year that saw him retire from Guy's, witnessed his anxious endeavours to free himself from another engagement, still more complicated and responsible. We refer to his connexion with Lanark.

In the year 1813, Robert Owen, then distinguished only for his benevolence, and especially honoured for the zeal and energy with which he had sought to ameliorate the condition

of the labouring and manufacturing poor, came to London, in consequence of some business arrangements, which involved the sale of the Lanark Mills. The importance of continuing the plans then in progress, for preserving the morals and promoting the comfort and happiness of the work-people, was strongly felt by Mr. Allen; and, 'after much conflict of mind,' 'yielding to the pressing solicitations' of beloved friends, who 'secured' him 'from loss for one year,' and engaged to take his shares, if he subsequently 'felt uneasy,' he became a partner in the concern. The articles of partnership indicate the views and feelings of the proprietors. They provided, by distinct agreement, for the religious education of all the children of the labourers employed in the works; and it is expressly stated, 'that nothing shall be introduced tending to disparage the Christian religion, or undervalue the authority of the Holy Scriptures,'—'that no books shall be introduced into the library until they have first been approved of at a general meeting of the partners,'—and 'that children shall not be employed in the mills until they shall be of such an age as that the labour shall not be prejudicial to their health.' The year following, Mr. Allen visited Lanark, 'found the arrangements with regard to the manufacturing part excellent, and even beyond expectation,' but he adds, 'alas! Owen, with all his cleverness and benevolence, wants the *one thing*, without which, parts and acquirements and benevolence are unavailing.' The 'painful conversations' he now had with Mr. Owen greatly depressed him; he could only find comfort in the thought, that all the other partners were, like himself, determined that Mr. Owen's views should not affect the instruction of the work-people. He speaks of 'a heavy parting' at Braxfield, for Owen was kindness itself.

Mr. Allen was now anxious to avoid the partnership, for the deed was not yet executed; but the reflection, that 'it would not be generous to desert some of the other parties,'—the wide field of usefulness afforded by the control of three thousand people,—the opportunity it gave of successfully opposing 'infidel plans,'—above all, the 'sense of duty felt in the engagement,' after prayers put up, night and day, that, if it were a wrong thing, some timely check might be felt,—decided him; and he felt peace in leaving the result in the hands of Infinite Wisdom.

As might have been expected, this connexion was a source of perpetual uneasiness and anxiety. Owen published his plans in the newspapers, and appeared, more or less, to identify his partners with himself. Allen was alternately vexed, grieved, and desponding. Long and excellent letters, conversations, entreaties—all were in vain. The once promising, and still

amiable son-in-law of David Dale, had become an avowed and determined infidel. With unwearied patience, Mr. Allen clung to the hope of winning him back again to the truth, and continued to receive him, when in London, as a guest. His apostolic mother, kindling with indignation when he appeared at her son's house, refused to remain in the same room with the denier of her Lord, and fled from his presence with grief and shame.

In the year 1818, fresh rumours of infidelity at Lanark reached London, and the partners at once determined to visit the mills, to spend a week or two among the people, and to ascertain, by strict personal investigation and inquiry, whether Mr. Owen's opinions had, or had not, spread amongst them. The visit, to a great extent, relieved their anxieties. They ascertained from the ministers in the neighbourhood that sceptical opinions had taken no root among the population,—they received very favourable accounts of the morals of the people,—and were delighted to discover in the general superintendent of the works, a truly religious man. They also found a Bible Society established, to which both Mr. Owen and his family subscribed. Before they left, the people were called together; an admirable address, which was afterwards printed, and freely circulated among them, was delivered by Mr. Allen, and a deputation from the people expressed their gratitude.

In 1822, fresh difficulties arose. Owen came to London with new schemes, and unabated, if not increased, hostility to revelation. Mr. Allen speaks of himself as being 'rendered miserable,'—makes up his mind 'to have no more discussions with Robert Owen, that being clearly a waste of time,' and again meditates withdrawing from the concern. Another visit of inspection now took place, followed by a kind and earnest letter to Owen, praying *for* him, but determining to part *from* him; an event, which, deferred from time to time by difficulties incident to the disposal of so large a concern, was at length, in 1828, happily accomplished.

Freed from the anxieties and cares of Lanark, Mr. Allen's mind, never at rest, turned with new interest to the condition of the agricultural population. As early as 1823, he is recording thoughts, as to the best method of 'making an inroad upon the present demoralizing system of paying agricultural labourers out of the poor's-rate, by building cottages for them, and giving them some land;' and, in 1824, we find him, while lodging at Brighton, going over to Lindfield to procure ground for the establishment of a school of industry. In 1825, he erected commodious school-rooms for boys, girls, and infants, with

workshops adjoining. To these schools, in which three teachers were employed, lending libraries were attached. Some of the elder boys were engaged, during a portion of the day, on the school-farm, under a skilful husbandman; some in a printing-office, and others in different works of manual labour. The girls were taught needle-work and knitting, and the infants learnt to make patch-work, and to plait straw.

Soon after the establishment of these schools, an old friend of Mr. Allen's, the late John Smith, M.P., of Dale Park, visited the place, and, approving the object, purchased the estate of Graveley, consisting of about a hundred acres, in the immediate neighbourhood of Lindfield, and subsequently built upon it eighteen cottages for labourers, with an acre-and-a-quarter of land to each. Seven other cottages, with from five to six acres each, were also erected, and a small house as an occasional residence for Mr. Allen. Here he spent no inconsiderable portion of his later years. It was his favourite retreat, the chosen spot to which he always retired when fatigued with the bustle and business of London. Here, too, he enjoyed a longer period of domestic felicity than had been his lot during any portion of his previous history. After the decease of his daughter, in 1827, he became, for the third time, a married man, uniting himself with Mrs. Birkbeck, a widow lady, of the Society of Friends, with whom he had long been on terms of intimate friendship. This union, which proved a very happy one, lasted for eight years, when it was terminated by her death, which took place in 1835.

A pamphlet 'on the manner of cultivating different articles, with directions for the rotation of crops,' which he published here, under the title of 'Colonies at Home,' has passed through several editions; and another, 'On the Means of Diminishing the Poor's Rate,' was favourably received at the time of its appearance. A 'cottage society,' which he succeeded in establishing, and which was afterwards entitled 'The Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes,' also effected much good. After long-continued effort, and many a struggle with prejudice and supineness, his persevering exertions at length produced an obvious effect upon the habits of the people. The appearance of the children became more orderly and respectable; the dwellings of the cottagers presented comforts to which the poor man had hitherto been a stranger; and many were withdrawn from dependence on the parish, in consequence of the allotment of land enabling them to provide for their families by their own industry. The Duke of Sussex, the Earl of Chichester, Lord Brougham, Lord John Russell, and many other noblemen and gentlemen, visited him at the cottage, and

expressed their interest in his plans. Mr. Allen himself always regarded the experiment at Lindfield as being, in an economical view, a successful one. Many of his most judicious friends considered it to be, in that aspect, a failure. The true state of things may probably be gathered from two very significant lines in his journal, under date of October 29, 1834. 'I leave Lindfield,' he says, '*this time* with a pleasing conviction that all the tenants are *in a way* to pay their rents.' Whether they did actually pay them, is not recorded. We doubt not that, under any circumstances, their slumbers were undisturbed by dread of ejection or distress warrant. When told that he was too sanguine and too enthusiastic, his reply was, 'It is very possible that I am too sanguine. I remember what Charles James Fox said in the House of Commons, when the friends of the slave-merchants within those walls charged the abolitionists with enthusiasm—turning to the Speaker he exclaimed, 'Enthusiasm, sir! why, there never was any good done in the world without enthusiasm.' We must feel warm upon our projects, otherwise, from the discouragements we are sure to meet with here, they will drop through.'

In the different visits Mr. Allen paid to Scotland and Ireland, during which he became acquainted with Professors Playfair and Jardine, Sir George Mackenzie, Lord Jeffrey, Dr. Chalmers, Leonard Horner, Dr. Brewster, Mrs. Brunton, Maria Edgeworth, and other eminent persons; he zealously sought to promote his favourite plans, sometimes overlooking their want of adaptation to the people. The following amusing, yet melancholy description of Irish impracticability, by Miss Edgeworth, is too good to be omitted:—

'Your plans of improved agriculture and economy appear most feasible and most promising on paper; but I fear that, in attempting to carry them into execution in this country, there would be found obstacles of which you can form no estimate, without a more intimate knowledge of the habits of the peasantry of Ireland, than a *first* visit to this country could afford, or, in short, anything but long residence could give. Their want of habits of punctuality and order, would embarrass you at every step, and prevent your carrying into effect those regular plans in which it is *essential* that they must join, for their own advantage. Your *dairy plans*, for instance, which have succeeded so well in Switzerland, would not do in this country, at least, not without a century's experiments. Paddy would *fall* to disputing with the *dairyman*, would go to law with him for his share of the *common* cow's milk, or for her *trespassing*, or he would pledge his eighth or sixteenth part of *her* for his rent, or a bottle of whiskey, and the cow would be pounded and *re-pledged*, and *re-pounded*, and bailed, and *canted*; and things impossible for you to foresee,—perhaps impossible for your English imagination to conceive,

would happen to the cow and the dairyman. In all your attempts to serve my poor dear countrymen, you would find, that whilst you were *demonstrating* to them what would be their greatest advantage, they would be always making out a short cut, not a royal road, but a bog-road to their own *by-objects*. Paddy would be most grateful, most sincerely grateful to you, and would bless your honour, and your honour's honour, with all his heart; but he would, nevertheless, not scruple on every practicable occasion, to—to—to cheat, I will not say,—that is a coarse word,—but to circumvent you; at every turn you would find Paddy trying to walk round you, begging your honour's pardon—hat off, bowing to the ground to you—all the while laughing in your face if you found him out, and, if he outwitted you, loving you all the better for being such an innocent.

'Seriously, there is no doubt that the Irish people would, like all other people, learn honesty, punctuality, order, and economy, with proper motives and proper training, and in due time; but do not leave *time* out of your account. Very sorry should I be, either in jest or earnest, to discourage any of that enthusiasm of benevolence which animates you in their favour. But, as Paddy himself would say, 'Sure, it is better to be disappointed in the beginning than the end.' Each failure in attempts to do good in this country discourages the friends of humanity, and encourages the railers, scoffers, and croakers, and puts us back in hope, perhaps half a century; therefore, think before you begin, and begin upon a small scale, which you may extend as you please afterwards.'—vol. ii., pp. 432, 433.

But we must hasten towards the closing scenes of Mr. Allen's life and labours. The year 1842 saw him fast breaking up. In the month of September, 1839, he began to complain of 'a feeling of sinking and great weakness.' He notes, about the same time, that he had been overdone. 'My memory,' he says, 'is failing. I have noticed it for some time past.' 'I feel the infirmities of age coming on. Lord, prepare me to come to thee.' Twenty years before this (in 1819), meditating, on the banks of the Neva, upon the vanity of the world, his thoughts found utterance in these words: 'O, how little are all the pleasures and honours of the world, compared with the presence of the Redeemer and Comforter, when the Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God!' Now, the world itself was receding, and the teachings of truth were about to be tested by the realities of eternity. *Then*, he had to complain of numberless occupations, of 'strong, inward trials,' of 'imperfections staring' him 'in the face every day.' Now, he is privileged to speak of 'retirement and sweet calm,' with 'praise and thanksgiving.' *Then*, he had to pray, 'Oh to be delivered from pride and self-seeking!' 'Oh for that state of mind in which I should not feel hurt if all the world alighted

me ! Still,—for grace seeketh more grace,—he is constrained to supplicate for ‘more humility,’ and to ‘wonder’ that he, so unworthy, ‘should feel peace in attempting publicly to advocate the Redeemer’s blessed cause.’

William Allen had now passed his seventieth year, and his declining strength compelled him to resign many of the public engagements in which he had so long delighted. But he could not be idle ; and he wished to avoid the peevishness and querulousness too often incident to the latter years even of Christian people. He bethought himself, therefore, of the very best method for making old age lovely. He determined to cultivate the acquaintance of all the young persons within his reach, and had fixed evenings for their amusement and instruction. He notices, with much satisfaction, the success of this pleasant device for securing sunshine in all weathers.

A year more rolls on, and the death of his beloved niece, Eliza Bradshaw, who resided with him, again brings eternity very near. ‘I am now,’ he says, ‘much oftener than the returning day, looking towards the end of all things here, and fervent prayers arise for an increase of faith and love. O Lord, make me and keep me thine, in time and in eternity. Strong cries ascend by night and day to our Advocate with the Father, through whose atoning sacrifice alone, pardon and reconciliation can be experienced.’ His beloved friend, Joseph John Gurney, hearing of his increasing weakness, writes to him in these terms : ‘Thou hast been a kind and faithful father in the truth to me ; and *heartily* do I love thee. So long as memory lasts, I shall never forget thy kindness ; and sweet is the hope, that, deeply unworthy as I am of the least of the Lord’s mercies, we shall spend an eternity together, in peace and joy unutterable. It is unspeakably precious to have this hope, and to know it to be as an anchor of our souls, sure and steadfast.’ How speedily were these blessed hopes realized !

Though not now often heard in public ministry, there were still times when he was thus engaged ; and ‘more than a few,’ say his biographers, ‘who were present at his last vocal prayer, at Stoke Newington Meeting, will long remember the solemnity with which it was accompanied. Amongst the fervent petitions which he offered in great brokenness of spirit on this occasion, were the following :—

‘Permit us, O heavenly Father ! we beseech Thee, to plead for the children of this people ; that Thou wouldest be pleased afresh to extend to them the visitations of Thy love. Draw them, and attract them to

Thyself, make them Thy children : stain, we beseech Thee, in their view, all the attractions of this world. Preserve those that love Thee, through all, and grant, that by Thy power, they may be kept from falling, and finally be presented faultless, before the throne of Thy glory, with exceeding joy.'

The 15th of October, 1843, was the last time he attended meeting. In returning home he visited an invalid, with whom he conversed cheerfully ; and the day being very fine, he walked into his garden and field. He observed to his niece, Lucy Bradshaw, how particularly comfortable he felt, adding, 'I am afraid, my dear, we are almost *too happy*.' He spent much of the evening in reading, but the next day became very seriously indisposed, and, from his sudden prostration of strength, little hopes were entertained of his recovery. During his illness, affectionate consideration for those around him strikingly marked his character, and though extreme weakness, at times, clouded his mental perceptions, humility and love were uniformly the *clothing* of his spirit. He enjoyed having the Scriptures read to him, and also the accounts of those who have fought the good fight ; and in speaking of early Friends, he said, that he felt comforted in the hope of being one day united to all those worthies for ever. He afterwards added, with tears, 'Oh ! how often I think of those gracious words of the Saviour, 'That they may *be with me*, where I am !'

On the 30th of December, 1843, he fell asleep. As the moment of dissolution approached, a heavenly serenity settled on his countenance ; and his hands, which had been raised in the attitude of prayer, gradually sank upon his bosom, as the redeemed spirit gently passed away.

In a former article,* incidentally alluding to Mr. Allen, we observed, that should his life ever be written, the great lesson to be gathered from it would be, the practicability of combining, through a long life, the obligations of trade, the pursuits of science, the enjoyments of philanthropy, and the duties of a gospel minister. And we remarked, that we could conceive of nothing better calculated to correct early and ill-directed ambition, to check youthful pride, or to cure unreasonable disgusts, than the observation of so healthful an example, as that of a man, whose varied honours were but successive developments of growing character, each appearing in its *appropriate* season, and each bringing with it its suitable reward. A careful perusal of the volumes before us has but confirmed the opinion we then

* Vol. xvii. No. 3. New Series, March, 1845.

ventured to express. But the task has not been undertaken. While, therefore, we are fully sensible of our obligations to the fair editors, for the care and labour they have bestowed on the work; we are bound to say, that in our judgment, the Memoir would have been greatly increased in value, had the extracts from the journal been *largely* curtailed, and an attempt been made, by grouping the material, to give a more condensed and complete view of Mr. Allen's life and character. As it is, the reader is left to gather, as he best may, the leading features of the man, from voluminous and minute details of his everyday life; a work, which we fear very few will take the trouble to accomplish. In the foregoing pages we have endeavoured—how imperfectly we are well aware—to meet in some degree this want; and we shall now close the review, by briefly adverting to two or three of William Allen's leading characteristics.

And the first thing that strikes us is, his *systematic and unwearied industry*. This was the secret of his success in life. It was not brilliant talent; it was not early advantages; it was not good fortune, that made him so useful and happy a man. It was *work*; patient and persevering toil, undertaken in the fear of God, and pursued steadily, under an abiding sense of duty. Mr. Allen wasted no time. He was moderate in diet and in sleep. He carefully gathered up, and appropriated, the crumbs of life which others fling under their tables. He always had work *at hand*; so that no one ever saw him loitering or lingering, in doubt as to what he should do next. He must have had naturally a quick apprehension; and he early acquired the power of steadily fixing his attention on any given subject. All his *habits*, both personal and mental, were good. His knowledge was accurate and well arranged. In later life—the habit of constant occupation surviving the power of attention—he attempted much, and accomplished little. But this was his infirmity.

A second, and scarcely less prominent feature in his character, was *extreme simplicity*. The child's heart clung to him through life. At fifty-six he mourns the loss of a little Norwegian horse, with the unsophisticated sorrow of boyhood. 'Poor Pony,' he says, 'came up to me to-day to be caressed. I had hopes of his recovery, but in the evening my dear little grandson brought me word that he was dead. I felt low at the loss of this poor animal; it was a beautiful, affectionate, and useful creature; I never had occasion to strike it with a whip in my life. I hope not to repine, but really the things which I set my affections upon, are taken from me in a remarkable way.' Sterne might have envied a sensibility so unaffected and sincere.

The third, and crowning distinction in his character, was *thorough disinterestedness*. The general unselfishness of his laborious life will not be disputed by any person capable of understanding and appreciating Christian goodness. But one remarkable instance of his inflexibility in what he deemed to be right, and his disregard of pecuniary interests when their promotion involved a questionable course, ought not to be unnoticed. We refer to his grateful but firm refusal to accede to the urgent request of the Emperor Alexander, that he would undertake the supply of drugs for the Russian army. The Royal Society, in recording Mr. Allen's decease, felt it right to state this circumstance in their obituary, and to add, 'To his honour be it spoken, he resisted a temptation *the value of which it would be difficult to estimate.*'

His *piety* breathes in every page of the Memoirs. Tholuck, who spent some time with him in 1835, refers with beautiful humility to a little incident which occurred just before he left Mr. Allen's house, and which is too characteristic to be omitted. There was a large company present when Tholuck took leave. Instead of accompanying him to the door, Mr. Allen withdrew with him and Thomas Shillitoe into another room. Here they sat down together in silence and had 'a sweet religious opportunity.' The two Friends addressed Tholuck in ministry, and they all felt it was a season ever to be remembered. Tholuck, referring to it in a letter to Mr. Allen, written after his arrival at home, says, 'My dearest fatherly friend, I thank you once more for all; I thank you more especially for the last holy quarter of an hour; we shall find it again with its fruits in eternity. Oh! my heart pants for more communion with aged brethren from whom I can learn, by whom I can be edified. Here I am surrounded by hundreds, who want continually to receive from *me.*' How beautiful it is to see the accomplished theologian thus sitting at the feet of an aged disciple of another communion, and what a testimony it bears to the piety of the man in whose house he had sojourned!

In the early part of his life, Mr. Allen was himself much influenced by this kind of private and personal ministry, peculiar, we believe, to the Society of Friends. Such communications were evidently regarded by him as, in a certain sense, authoritative. He speaks in one place, of Samuel Emlen being '*commissioned* by the Great Master' to say a word to him. In another, of Mary Stacey, after sitting for some time in silence, 'ministering' to him 'as if she had been acquainted with the workings' of his 'mind:' and he evidently receives her '*assurance*' that God was dealing with him in love, as a message from heaven. On another of these occasions the ministering

friend *predicts* his designation for service in the church; and again and again, are silent worshippers spoken of as receiving *sensible* manifestations of Divine favour, being ‘baptized together,’ ‘overshadowed with a precious covering,’ ‘encircled in the arms of Divine love.’

Yet Mr. Allen was no visionary; nor was he in the slightest degree tinged with fanaticism. Speaking of a fire which took place at Plough Court, and in which the escape of the family, and the preservation of the premises was, considering the nature of the accident, little short of a miracle; he only ventures to remark, ‘it was got under, I trust I may say providentially, *though I felt myself unworthy of such a favour.*’

His views of Divine truth (we pass no judgment on his peculiarities as a Friend) were sober and scriptural. That they were evangelical is evident from the terms he uses in his Diary, in relation to the merits, atonement, and justifying righteousness of Christ. Hence he rejoices in the declaratory minute made by the yearly meeting of the Society of Friends, in 1829, stating that they can have no fellowship with any persons or bodies of persons, who deny the fundamental principles of the Christian religion, and mentioning what those points are, ‘in some of the strongest passages of Scripture relative to the divinity and offices of the Redeemer.’

His habitual spirit and temper, allowing of course for human infirmity, was humble and devout. He shrank from strife, as an uncongenial element, and considered that he had no call to mingle in the struggles of party. When attacked by the press, as he frequently was, he could defend himself with point and vigour; but he considered, as a general rule, that the best way to overcome a bad spirit in an opponent was to ‘*starve it out.*’ Although much interested in public affairs, he was soon ‘oppressed by politics,’ and became ‘increasingly convinced’ that ‘the less Friends mingle in the politics of the world the better.’

In attention to the spiritual welfare of his household, Mr. Allen, even in his busiest seasons, was most exemplary. He frequently speaks of the contrition, peace, or joy experienced by himself, or manifested by others, at these seasons. Far be it from us to doubt the reality of this blessedness. We greatly prefer vocal prayer, yet we cannot doubt that many of these silent meetings of the family, broken only by the reverential reading of the Holy Scriptures, were in deed and in truth, ‘times of refreshing from the Lord.’ To all his dependents Mr. Allen was kind and attentive. Those who served him faithfully he loved with paternal tenderness, and watched with parental care. Nor did his interest in them cease when they

his house. He speaks of the discovery of an old servant of his mother's, who had been reduced to poverty by the misconduct of a brother, as almost providential. 'I was quite surprised,' he says, 'and blamed her for not letting me know; I was not aware that she was living.'

It we must conclude. There is one other point on which we should have liked to have said a few words, had not this article already extended to such an unreasonable length. We refer to the fact that Mr. Allen, acting on his principles as a Friend, undertook his journeys and other labours under the distinct impression of a *Divine call*. Whether he was always right, as to the character of these secret suggestions, may with some be matter of doubt. We are satisfied that he believed them to be from God; and we are sure that, whether agreeable to his inclination, or involving painful sacrifice, they would have been cheerfully regarded. At what point the strong conviction that there is a duty given us from above, is most likely to mingle with the whisperings of self-will or the desire of self-pleasing, it is always hard to determine. 'When the conscience is clear, and the man is lowly, when he has been subdued by discipline, the opposition (between the teachings of heaven and self-love) seems clear to him as between day and night; the testimony of his own heart is manifested to him, by the light which God has kindled there. But amidst the noise of human passions, the distinction, once so definite, vanishes; the pure and the vile become hopelessly mingled.'* This, however, we will say: Woe to the man who imagines he has no call—no revelation given him of God! Woe to the man—a still deeper woe—who, *having a call*, thinks himself at liberty to deny or to falsify its claims, to falsify it, or to fritter it away! Let earnest and thoughtful young men think of these things, and ponder their goings. If they doubt as to the promptings of God, let them remember, in this, as in every other perplexity, 'light is sown for the upright'—that 'before honour is humility'—that the path of lowliness is the path of safety, and the highway of wisdom, that which was trodden by Him of whom it is written,—*He pleased not himself*.

* Maurice, on the Religions of the World.

ART. VI.—*Histoire des Girondins* (History of the Girondists). By A. de Lamartine. 8 vols. Paris. 1847. Furne and Co.

THE National Convention, like its predecessors—the Constituent and the Legislative Assemblies—had its especial mission to fulfil; and, like its predecessors, in the performance of its task, was compelled to yield to popular impulse, and constantly did more than it, at first, intended to do; though hardly ever so much as the people required. The task of the Constituent Assembly was to save the nation from bankruptcy, and a tottering throne from the abyss on the verge of which the nobility, the clergy, and a profligate court insisted on keeping it. This task had been imposed upon it, both by the king's summons, and by the mandates of the electors. In the accomplishment of it, the Assembly not only experienced a most unjustifiable opposition, on the part of the two privileged orders, of the court and of the king himself; but also was threatened by them with violent dissolution, and even with subsequent penalties, for its strict adherence to the object of its convocation. The people rose in support of their representatives; and nothing less than the abolition of all the privileges of the two orders, and the restriction of the kingly authority within constitutional limits, and under national control, could satisfy them. The Constituent Assembly complied with the popular will; but within the limits of reason, of justice, and of the true interests of the country. The nobility, the clergy, and the court were deprived of their haughty, sordid, and injurious pre-eminence, and subjected, like all other Frenchmen, to the fiscal and civil laws, the whole weight of which they had hitherto thrown on the *Tiers Etat*—on the agricultural, commercial, and working classes. As to the king, notwithstanding his avowed duplicity, and his blind subjection to the hostile views and passions of his queen, the Constituent Assembly, with a forbearance—an indulgence which M. de Lamartine himself blames—left him on his throne, with prerogatives more extensive than those of the kings of England.

The mission of the Legislative Assembly was to watch over the due observance of the newly established constitution, both by the executive and by all the citizens: the adoption in concert with the king, of the measures best calculated to secure a regular and peaceful management of the domestic affairs of the country—the enactment and enforcement of such laws as were necessary against royalist or republican transgressors—the reconciliation of an old dynasty with the new institutions, and the consolidation of the constitutional monarchy in France. The legislators faith-

discharged their duties ; but the representative of the old y would not be reconciled with the new institutions. Far ; he openly exercised his constitutional prerogatives, to and paralyse the working of the constitution, by vetoing crees of the Assembly, by dismissing honest and liberal ers, and by selecting his advisers from among the enemies constitution ; while, at the same time, he was secretly en- ing, in the interior, the insurrectionary attempts of the y and of the clergy, and urging, too successfully, the ab- monarchs and the emigrants to hasten the invasion of , and the restoration of the monarchy to its former state. ople rose again, under the conviction that royalty was, like racies and state churches, irreconcilable with the liberty fety of a nation ; and to compel the Legislative Assembly ose the king, as they had compelled the Constituent bly to annihilate the privileged orders.

ave the country, to subdue the domestic and foreign foe, inflict condign punishment on all who had promoted ar and foreign invasion ; such was the mission of the ial Convention : a mission given by an indignant popula- o the deputies, in every department of France, after sanc- g the Revolution of the 10th of August and all its conse- es. The importance of the task cannot be conceived, the reader is reminded that, at the moment when the ns took place, thirty-six thousand Austrians were threat- the Belgian frontier of France ; eighty thousand Prussians ; twenty thousand emigrants had invaded Champain, had Longwy and Verdun, and were marching on Paris ; the mic empire was throwing on the banks of the Rhine one ed and thirty thousand combatants ; thirty-eight thousand ontese and sixty thousand Spaniards were ready for the , on the south-western and the southern frontiers ; England stening her warlike preparations, to join the coalition ; and, meanwhile, royalist insurrections were raging in the south at of France. The whole of the French army hardly amounted -third of the forces they were to encounter. To the most lable attack, that of the Prussians who, with the emigrants, ited to one hundred thousand men, Dumouriez could only : seventeen thousand soldiers. A frantic despair animated : citizens. The electors were tendering their votes, as the ill of men going to die, and were leaving the polling offices h on the frontiers ; and most of them, when quitting their , thus addressed the civic authorities : ' We are going to nd die in defence of our country ; but when marching t the foreign invaders, shall we abandon our mothers, our our sisters, our children to the mercy of our domestic

enemies? Let the accomplices of the tyrant be exterminated. Their death alone can secure the safety of our unprotected families.'

Before the Assembly, elected under such circumstances, had entered their hall, the work of extermination had already begun. Here, again, we must briefly relate, in their proper order, the events which took place from the 10th of August to the 21st of September, when the National Convention met for the first time. Without this preliminary *résumé*, the whole of the discords and measures of the Conventionnels are incomprehensible.

We have shown, in our preceding article, that the Legislative Assembly had constantly resisted the general irritation, and that even the triumph of the insurrection could not wrest from them a single measure in opposition to the constitution which they had sworn to uphold. Nothing could equal in irreflection and injustice the judgment pronounced by M. Lamartine,* on the character of this Assembly:—'Le peuple,' says he, 'au 10 Août, fût plus homme d'état que ses législateurs l'assemblée ne prenait par le gouvernail. Le peuple s'y précipita avec ce génie de la circonstance et cette témérité, de résolution qui risque tout, pour tout sauver quand tout est inévitablement perdu. Le mécanisme de la constitution ne fonctionnait plus. Un éclair de conviction il le démontra qu'on ne pouvait plus le réparer. Il lui le brisa; ce fût le 10 Août.' The people, *the better statesmen* (according to M. de Lamartine) set to work. They dissolved the municipal council, and appointed a new one. They re-organised in the same manner the committees of the sections of Paris. The manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick, proclaiming that all the honest men of the capital were ready to welcome his arrival, led them to establish a committee of *surveillance générale*, to watch over the plots of those *honest men*. The protest of Lafayette and some of his generals against the suspension of the king, and subsequently, the news of his flight, and of the bombardment and the surrender of Longwy, arriving at the same time in Paris: caused the Municipal Council to demand from the Legislative Assembly the organization of a court martial to try the accomplices of the court, of Lafayette, of the emigrants and of the invaders. The demand being rejected, a deputation of the Council was sent to the Assembly, on the following day, to insist on the organization of the tribunal; and the legislature yielded, but not without restricting the jurisdiction of the court to the crimes of the 10th of August.

The committee of *surveillance générale* had no sooner been established, than it assumed the right of arresting all persons

* Vol. iii. pp. 269—274.

suspected of royalism. The ministry appointed by the Legislative Assembly,* after the suspension of the king, could not see without alarm this usurpation of powers, which placed the liberty, and, probably, the life of all the citizens at the mercy of an irresponsible committee of the insurrectionary Communal Council. With a view to vindicate the supremacy of the executive, and to prevent or mitigate excesses which it was easy to anticipate, the ministers resolved to propose to the Assembly a decree, authorising them to order domiciliary visits, and take such other measures as were necessary to secure the persons implicated in the plots of the court. Danton, supported by all his colleagues, was the spokesman on this occasion, and said but a few words. The dangers of the country justified his application for extraordinary powers, which the Assembly granted, and the decree was unanimously adopted. It was carried into execution on the following day, and about five thousand persons (says M. de Lamartine) were arrested; more than the half of whom were almost immediately released. The others were sent to the several prisons of Paris, to be successively tried.

A few days had hardly elapsed, when, on the evening of the first of September, the news reached Paris of the bombardment and surrender of Verdun. The particulars of this event were made public on the following day. The civil authorities and the inhabitants, after three hours' siege, assembled, and insisted on capitulating. The military governor, Colonel Beaurepaire, vainly opposed a disgraceful surrender. He was outvoted; but when the pen was presented to him to sign the capitulation: 'No,' said he; 'I have sworn to surrender only as a corpse to the enemies of my country. Survive your infamy, if you can. As to me, these are my last words: I die a free man. I bequeath my blood to the coward, as an ignominy,—to the brave, as an example!' and placing the mouth of a pistol to his heart, he fired, and fell dead in the council-room. This patriotic suicide did not deter the others from their purpose. Not only did they sign the capitulation, but they also, with the principal inhabitants of the town, sent their daughters, in their best dresses, to welcome the king of Prussia, and strew flowers on his path.

The rage of the population of Paris, on reading or hearing these particulars, rose to its pitch. 'Death to the nobles, to the royalists, to the priests, to all the accomplices of the court, and of the emigrants who are preparing to do here what

* Roland (interior), Servan (war), Clavière (finances), Danton (justice), Monge (marine), Lebrun (foreign affairs), Grouvelle (secretary of the council). The daughter of the last-mentioned gentleman has been kept in prison, by Louis Philippe, for the last eight years, as guilty of conspiring against him.

they have done at Verdun! In six days the king of Prussia may be here: let him meet, instead of girls and flowers, the corpses of the traitors!’ Such were the exclamations of an infuriated multitude, filling the streets and all the public places; and, that very evening, the massacres in the prisons began. Horror-struck at these atrocious executions, the Assembly, the Ministry, the Commune, and the mayor of Paris, Pethion, endeavoured to prevent their continuance. The commissaries of the Assembly and of the Commune, however, found their entreaties, and those of Roland and Pethion, rudely unheeded. They had no military force at their disposal, to disperse or to seize the assassins. The national guard, disorganized after the 10th of August, did not answer to the call of the authorities, who vainly bewailed what they could not prevent. In many provincial towns, the example set in Paris was but too faithfully followed; and the continued advance of the Prussians threatened to extend those butcheries to all parts of France.

M. de Lamartine, when relating in all their heart-rending details these lamentable events, says, ‘*La pensée en appartient à Marat, l’acceptation et la responsabilité à Danton, l’exécution au comité de surveillance, la complicité à plusieurs, la lâche tolérance à tous.*’ By representing all the facts in their proper order, their connexion becomes evident, and we arrive at a contrary conclusion. The sudden and irresistible impulse of popular revenge was the sole prompter of the massacres. Their very beginning, as related by all historians, and by M. de Lamartine himself, proves that they were not the result of a preconcerted plot. Towards the evening of the 2nd of September, five coaches containing prisoners, and removing them from the *Hotel de Ville* to the prison of *L’Abbaye*, passed through the *Carrefour Bussy*, followed by an immense mob loading them with execrations. At that place, in a booth erected in the open air, some municipal officers were receiving the enlistment of numerous volunteers. At the sight of the carriages, the crowd which filled the space re-echoed the imprecations. ‘Here are the accomplices of the Prussians! these are the men to murder you all, if you let them live!’ These words, uttered by hundreds of voices, soon produced their effect. The prisoners were attacked in the carriages, while the coachmen hastened towards their destination, distant about two hundred yards from the *Carrefour Bussy*. The crowd followed, and arrived at the *Abbaye*, where the massacre immediately began.

It is not unlikely that, by his perpetual denunciations and his provocations to vengeance, in his newspaper, *l’Ami du Peuple*, Marat had contributed to familiarize the minds of his readers with the idea of such summary justice; and, so far,

the thought of it may be said to belong to him. We are inclined to think, though we do not know it, that, when apprised of the beginning of the butcheries, he approved of them, and encouraged their continuance, and that the Committee of *Surveillance Générale* acted in conformity with his views; but the responsibility of those atrocities cannot, with justice, be cast on Danton. It is true that most of the prisoners who perished had been arrested in execution of the decree of the Assembly, enacted on the proposal of Danton: but Danton spoke in the name, in the presence, and with the assent, of his colleagues in the ministry. Besides, it is certain that the object of the ministry, and of the assembly, was to put an end to the encroachments of the Commune on the authority of the legislators and of the executive; and to deprive the revolutionary sections of all pretence for agitation and new insurrections, by taking the initiative in measures which, however severe, were preferable to the *justice du peuple*, with which all suspected persons, the legislators and the ministers themselves, were threatened.

Danton, during the massacres, acted in concert with his colleagues to stop the effusion of blood; but, when the horrid tragedy ceased, he differed from them, not as to its character, but as to the measures to be adopted in consequence of it. Roland, Clavière, Servan, and all the Girondists, insisted on a prompt and strict investigation of those abominable transactions, and on the punishment of their authors and their accomplices. Danton told them that it was beyond their power to punish crimes which they had been unable to prevent or to restrain: that, without any armed force at their disposal, it was madness to attempt the thing, when eighty thousand armed inhabitants of Paris had, by their inaction, and notwithstanding the urgent appeal of the legislative and municipal authorities, if not sanctioned, at least amnestied, the murders. Seeing that his observations could not shake the determination of his colleagues and their friends, he pronounced those prophetic words, 'You will not succeed: you will only prepare your own ruin, and perhaps the ruin of the country. Let what is done be done, and let us hasten to bury the victims, and with them, if possible, all remembrance of their death.'*

Madame Roland, who was present at the discussion, concluded from the opposition of Danton that he feared an investigation, and that, therefore, he must have been in the horrid plot. She even went farther in her inference. A man like Danton could nowhere play a secondary part; he must have been—he was—the originator, the occult director of the massacres. She unfortu-

* These details were given to us, in 1826, by Garat, who had taken a part in the discussion, and supported the views of Danton.

nately prevailed upon her husband, upon Guadet, and most of the Girondists, to adopt her conclusions as realities. The complicity of Danton became the creed of a party, whilst the perpetrators of those execrable butcheries, mistaking his forbearance for approbation, rallied round him, and affected submission to his leadership.

Such are the circumstances under which the National Convention met for the first time, on the 20th of September, 1792.* All the members had been chosen by the electors among the men who, since the opening of the *Etats Généraux*, in 1789, had distinguished themselves by their attachment to the popular cause, in the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies, in the municipal and judiciary offices, and in the press. All the Girondists had been returned, and their ranks were re-inforced by the adjunction of most of the late members of the National Assembly, among whom we may name Lanjuinais, Rabaud, St. Etienne, and Fauchet.

The other members of the Constituent Assembly, sent to the Convention, formed a sort of neutral party, with the exception of Robespierre, Barrère, Herault de Sechelle, Lepeltier de St. Fargeau, and some few men who placed themselves at the head of the representatives of Paris, and of a large number of men who were elected for the first time; all of whom had been chosen on account of their ultra-democratic principles. The *Gironde*, the *Plaine*, the *Montagne*, were the designations generally given to, and accepted by, the three sections of the Convention. At the top of the *Montagne*, on a solitary bench, sat a man; his head wrapped in a dirty handkerchief, his neck and hairy chest uncovered, his dress of the coarsest stuff and in the filthiest condition; an object of disgust or of horror to all; and yet calm, impassible, or, sometimes, opposing a contemptuous smile to the marked aversion of his colleagues, as if conscious of his own unfathomable superiority.—It was MARAT.

On the very day, at the very hour, of the first meeting of the Assembly, the armies under Dumouriez were triumphing over the Prussians, at Valmy; whilst the news received that morning in Paris, representing his skilful movements as a continuation of the preceding disasters and a retreat, had spread consternation in the capital, and added new fuel to the popular fury. The first debates in the convention could not but be influenced by these adverse circumstances, and exhibit in all their animosity the conflicting passions of the two extremes of the Assembly. The abrogation of royalty, and the proclamation of the republic, were unanimously voted; but the unanimity of

* M. de Lamartine says (page 28, vol. 4) the 20th, and afterwards (page 77), the 21st.

the Convention ceased after this first deliberation. Since the massacres in the prisons, Roland, the minister of the interior, in all his circulars to the departmental authorities, and in the newspapers over which he had any influence, constantly demanded a severe inquiry into these abominable crimes, and the prosecution of their perpetrators; and the Girondists had done the same, during the last days of the Legislative Assembly. They all renewed their attacks immediately after the meeting of the Convention, in the presence of Marat, the instigator of those butcheries, and of many actors and approvers who had been elected by the constituency of Paris. Danton, who had also been elected, and who had resigned the ministry of justice,* to fulfil his duties of legislator, was included, though not named, in the accusations. It could not be expected that these men would patiently submit to the attacks of which they were the object. They all, with the exception of Danton, not only admitted their participation in the scenes of the first days of September, but also dared to declare enemies of the country, and auxiliaries of the emigrants and of the Prussians, all those who were so constantly condemning a great deed of popular justice, and threatening the best friends of liberty and of the national independence. Marat, in his *Ami du Peuple*, the Committee of *Surveillance Générale*, in their deliberations, the committees of the revolutionary sections, and the clubs of the Jacobins and the Cordeliers, denounced Roland, his wife, and the Girondists, and excited the people to murder them all, as the only means of saving the country.

The news of the victory of Valmy, and of the retrograde movement of the Prussian army, happily came in time to prevent another popular insurrection, and to justify the Girondists against the accusation of having, in concert with the court, provoked the declaration of war, to betray the country, and to restore the king to absolute authority. So long as the French generals and their armies had experienced reverses, the people were easily induced to believe those absurd charges; but now that the man who, as the head of the Girondist ministry, and minister for foreign affairs, had proposed the declaration of war, had, as general-in-chief, obtained a glorious success, and saved the country, all the accusations fell to the ground. The Girondists seized the opportunity to denounce the arbitrary arrests ordered by the Committee of *Surveillance Générale*, and to demand its suppression, and the repression of the encroachments of the municipality of Paris on the prerogatives of the government. The speech of Vergniaud, who made the motion, remained un-

* Garat was appointed to the office, on the resignation of Danton.

answered, and the Assembly decreed that the subject should be taken into serious consideration.

For a few days, the news received from the army of Dumouriez continuing to be very favourable, and giving the certainty of the entire evacuation of the territory, allayed the anxieties of the population of Paris, deprived the agitators of their main engine of insurrection, and promised to the true patriots the speedy restoration of order and security. Unfortunately, the invasion of the Belgian frontier of France soon rekindled the public indignation. The Duke of Saxe Teschen, governor of the Netherlands, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, marched upon Lille. On the 29th of September, he summoned the commandant of the town to surrender, and on his refusal, immediately began bombarding the fortress. The bombardment lasted seven days and seven nights without any interruption. During that time, thirty thousand red hot cannon-balls, and ten thousand shells of the weight of one hundred pounds each, were poured on the city. The Arch-duchess Maria Christina of Austria herself fired the heaviest mortar-pieces of a battery erected in her presence, and under her direction, against the most densely populated part of the city. Thus the sister of Marie Antoinette was adding to the already too intense hatred of which the captive queen was the object; and the clubs, the Sections, the most energetic part of the population, indignant at such barbarous warfare, openly threatened to repair to the Temple, and to put to death all the royal prisoners.

Fortunately, the accounts of the ultimate success of Dumouriez, of the disastrous retreat of the Prussians, of the rapid march of Beurnonville, with fifteen thousand men, whom the general-in-chief had dispatched to the relief of the bombarded city, and the arrival of Dumouriez himself in Paris, gradually appeased the popular fury, the violence of which was constantly regulated by the dangers of the country. The hasty raising of the siege of Lille, at the approach of Beurnonville, at last restored the security against foreign enemies, without which internal concord and tranquility could not be re-established.

During the few days which Dumouriez passed in Paris, to concert with the ministers the means of carrying into execution his plans to expel the Austrians from the Netherlands, he endeavoured to impress upon the minds of all, the necessity of union among sincere patriots of all parties, and made use, for that purpose, of the influence which his victory and his popularity had obtained for him. He first spoke to Danton, whose intelligence, energy of mind, and warmth of heart, were well known to the general, and requested him to make peace

with the Girondists, and with Roland; and, thus, strengthen their party,—the only one which could give to France a free, a just, and a humane government. Danton readily assented, and said that, he was as desirous, as the general, of acting with the Girondists; ‘but,’ added he, ‘you will not find them in the same disposition. *Parce que je crois dangereux de remuer le sang de Septembre, ils veulent m’en couvrir.* As to Roland, I am not his enemy. I saved him twice during the last three weeks, and he acknowledged it, until his wife put into his head that I had myself provoked the warrant of the committee of *surveillance*, and the attacks of Marat against him. At all events, do as you like, and I will ratify all.’

Vergniaud and Gensonné were the friends of Dumouriez. He represented to them the utter impossibility of their party resisting, for any length of time, the daily increasing violence of the Commune, of the Sections, of the Jacobins, and of the Cordeliers, who seemed all to act under the inspirations of Marat; unless they secured for the defence of their principles and their sound views, the support of men who had over the population of Paris a still greater influence than Marat. He entreated them, for the sake of the country, and for their own safety, to make friends with Danton, who was then at the height of his popularity; and even to conciliate Robespierre, whose integrity, and fidelity to the cause of the revolution, commanded the respect of all, and whose support would silence the Jacobins and the Commune. The two Girondist leaders promised to consider the matter, and to consult with their friends.

Dumouriez spoke afterwards to Roland, who at once admitted that the proposed reconciliation would enable the Assembly to establish its supreme authority over the Commune, and give to the executive the strength and freedom of action, without which it was impossible to carry on the government. But then added he, ‘This government must be the dictatorship of Danton.’ ‘Rather the dictatorship of Danton than that of Marat with his rabble,’ replied Dumouriez: ‘and mark my word, you have no other alternative.’ Garat, who was present, supported the views of Dumouriez, who, after a long discussion, told them, ‘I have but little time to spare. In a few days I leave to join my army. Do what I recommend you, and fear not. Before three months are elapsed I shall have freed the Netherlands from the Austrian yoke: let me not, on my return, again witness your fatal divisions.’

Nearly thirty years after this conversation,* Garat was re-

* Garat came over to England in 1821, and, during his stay, passed the greatest part of his time at Little Ealing, the residence of General Dumouriez, before his removal to Turville Park.

minding General Dumouriez of his patriotic intentions, and lamenting with him the causes and the consequences of the failure of their joint efforts. '*Cette malheureuse femme a tout perdu et s'est perdue elle même,*' said Garat, speaking of Madame Roland; '*au moment où, sans elle, tout pouvait être sauvé.*'

Like all the historians of the French revolution, M. de Lamartine devotes too many pages to this lady, and judges her with too great indulgence. '*Res est sacra miser,*' no doubt; and we should not stop to express an opinion at variance with that of all the contemporary writers, were it not that the elucidation of the most important events in modern history requires of every one giving his evidence, the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

Roland and his wife were, if we may say so, a *bourgeois* duplicate of Louis xvi and Marie Antoinette. Roland had but an average share of intelligence; his knowledge was limited to the administrative routine, and the imperfect political economy prevailing or attempting to prevail in 1780. His mind was deficient in activity, and its operations were slow and laborious. Cool, phlegmatic, no passion had ever disturbed the peace of his soul. His ambition had never dreamed of the possession of the important office to which he attained, with a well deserved character for integrity and patriotism. Madame Roland was much younger than her husband, her intelligence was much superior, her general information much more extensive; and the activity of her mind, the warmth of her feelings, the fire of her imagination, the readiness and strength of her language completely contrasted with the mediocrity of her husband in all these respects. Her beauty was as remarkable as her talents, and the energy of her character, perhaps, beyond what befitted her sex. Like Louis xvi, Roland was conscious of the superiority of his wife, and readily yielded to her advice. She had long contracted the habit of ruling in private life, when Roland was appointed minister of the interior, and she could not get rid of it in her new situation. The extension of her rule was, in her opinion, the necessary consequence of her elevation. She expected from all, the same deference and the same compliance which she obtained from her husband. Too many legislators, and more particularly the young Girondists, admirers of the beauty of the woman, encouraged her pretensions by submitting to them. She was their idol and their oracle; and soon arrived at the point of being astonished at the resistance of any one to her decisions, of regarding as enemies of the country all who questioned the soundness, the timeliness, or the efficacy of her measures; or the propriety of her openly avowed direction of her husband, in the management of the affairs of his depart-

ment; of her being present and taking part in the discussions at the cabinet councils. Robespierre had ceased to visit Roland, on account of her assuming manners, after telling her that, 'listening more and speaking less, would do her and her husband much good;' hence her hatred for Robespierre. Danton, who was less particular in the expression of his thoughts, wounded both the pride and the feelings of the woman; while, at the same time he threw an insinuation on the virtue of the wife. From that moment Danton was considered by her, and by most of the Girondists, as a monster. To a jest, rather coarse, they replied by virulent attacks and atrocious imputations, and they finished by so firmly persuading themselves of the truth of their charges, that they could not bear the idea of a reconciliation with such a man. Madame Roland said to Garat, '*Plutôt mourir que de rien devoir à une alliance avec Danton.*'

Dumouriez, however, made another attempt before leaving Paris; he invited to a dinner the principal of the Girondists, to meet Danton and Roland. After the dessert, the general addressed them all, entreating them, for the sake of their country, to forgive and forget their past discords, and to unite against the ruffians who had deluged and would again deluge Paris with blood. He expressed himself with such effect that Siéyes, Condorcet, Gensonné, Brissot, Pethion, and Vergniaud agreed to a reconciliation. The most devoted to Madame Roland, Buzot, Barbaroux, Ducos, gave a silent assent. Guadet alone refused. Danton vainly entreated him to offer to the country the sacrifice of his resentment. Guadet remained inflexible. In the hope of a more complete success, Dumouriez induced Roland to invite them all to his residence with Danton. At this second re-union, the general prevailed on Madame Roland to treat Danton with proper regard and kindness, and to set to her friends the example of reconciliation.

Robespierre had not been present at these re-unions. His simple and abstemious way of living had, from the beginning of his public career, kept him away from all convivial parties, and besides that, he thought them a waste of time. His refusal to meet the Girondists at Roland's was considered as a symptom of his implacable hostility. All that Danton could say to the contrary was of no avail, and his warnings against the danger of attacking a man who had, and deserved, the highest character for integrity, morality and patriotism, were ridiculed by Madame Roland and her friends. She could forgive a coarse expression, on the part of a man of impulse like Danton, but could not forget the disdainful advice of the grave and rigid deputy of Arras.

On the 29th of October, 1792, Roland, in a report on the

situation of Paris, presented to the Assembly, denounced the encroachments of the Commune on the executive and legislative authorities; the co-operation of some members of the Convention in the measures of the Committee of *Surveillance*; the atrocities already perpetrated, and the daily provocations to new atrocities. The minister concluded with a request that the Assembly should immediately pass the necessary laws to subject the Commune to the legislative authority; to inflict on the provocators and perpetrators of the crimes committed a condign punishment; and to devise the most stringent means for suppressing the existing agitation, and for subduing the agitators. No names were inserted in the report; yet the public clearly saw that it was a blow aimed at Robespierre, Danton, and Marat, who had the greatest influence over the Jacobins, the Commune, and the mob. Louvet, Brissot, Barbaroux, and their friends, encouraged by the apparent approbation given to the report, on the part of the Assembly, undertook, a few days afterwards, to complete the ministerial report, the work of Madame Roland, and brought at the tribune a formal accusation against Marat and Robespierre. Danton interposed for the last time, to prevent the Girondists from committing such a blunder, as to place these two men on the same line; and, thus bring upon themselves the joint hostility of two parties which had not hitherto acted together, and even of his own friends. They persisted in their rash attempt. Marat, whom Danton had, in some sort, pointed at, as deserving alone the accusation, contented himself with smiling at the eloquent tirades of Louvet. Robespierre easily confuted the indefinite charges brought against him; one of which was: '*d'avoir souffert qu'on le désignât comme le seul homme vertueux en France qui peut sauver le peuple.*' The Convention rejected the motion.

From that moment, the Girondists who regularly met at Madame Roland's,* and who, on that account, were considered as acting under her inspiration, and called *Rolandists*, were exposed to the incessant incriminations of all the parties whom they had so imprudently attacked in the persons of their leaders; and unfortunately these incriminations, though unfounded, had some semblance of truth—enough to mislead and irritate the people. We have seen how the Girondists and the Legislative Assembly resisted to the last, the demands which came from all

* Vergniaud, Grangeneuve, Gensonné, Condorcet, Ducos, Fonfrede, had their meeting at Madame Récamier's, who was superior in every respect to Madame Roland, without the pretensions of the latter. M. de Lamartine does not give the name of this lady, who is still living; and, till lately, continued to charm by her wit and her amiable qualities, all who had the good fortune of being admitted to her retreat, l'Abbaye au Bois, rue de Sèvres.

parts of France, for the deposition of the king; and even would not decree it, when the Commune, the Sections, the Clubs,—all the population of Paris—had *de facto* abolished royalty, and held the King and the Assembly itself in their power. It was easy to infer from the resistance of the Girondists, their predilection for monarchical institutions; and to ascribe to this predilection, their hatred to the Commune, the Sections, the Jacobins, and the leaders of the people, who had prepared and achieved the triumph of the 10th of August. Thus, an accusation of promoting anarchy subjected its authors to the charge of having, to the last, maintained on his throne a treacherous king, and of wishing for his restoration. The consequence was the universal cry: Death to the King, and to all who dare to undertake his defence!

In a work published in 1826,* it is said: ‘Ce ne sont pas, comme on l’a écrit, les discussions sur le sort de Louis xvi qui ont amené les funestes dissensions conventionnelles; ce sont, au contraire, ces dissensions qui ont fait de ces discussions une question de vie et de mort.’ M. de Lamartine now confirms this opinion, expressed twenty two years ago. He states, that neither Danton, nor Robespierre, nor even Marat himself, wished for the death of Louis xvi. ‘Marat, who was the first to demand the trial of the royal prisoner, proposed it as a challenge to the Girondists.’† The challenge once given, and, given in the terms above mentioned, could not be declined without danger, and, when accepted, could result only in the death of the doomed monarch. The first question, that of culpability, could not but be decided affirmatively; and the Assembly unanimously found Louis xvi. guilty. The constitutional inviolability could not be invoked by the prince for his personal acts in violation of the constitution; acts committed with the object of betraying the country, and of promoting a foreign invasion. For the same crimes, the laws of all nations, at all times, and to this present moment, pronounce the penalty of death. Finally, the Convention had been invested by its constituents with national omnipotence, and its decisions were not subject to an appeal to the nation. All these points, however, were questioned and lengthily debated by the Girondists, but without success; and the result of the trial, to which they had readily given their consent, in order to repel the charge of partiality to Louis xvi., was the proof, given by themselves, of their resolution to save the unfortunate prince, and of their inability to accomplish it.

* “Le General Dumouriez et la Révolution Française.”

† Vol. iv. pp. 249—251.

Dumouriez, who, on the opening of the campaign against the Austrians, had gained the battle of Jemmappes, and in six weeks had conquered the whole of Belgium, hastened to Paris at the beginning of the trial, with the intention of exerting all his influence to save the life of the King. He first applied to Danton, whom he found disposed to adopt his views, but who would not act before securing the co-operation of Robespierre, without which the attempt was sure to fail. Barrère, at the request of Dumouriez, undertook to gain over the deputy of Arras, who hesitated, and even pitied the misfortunes of the royal prisoner; but his hatred against Louvet, Vergniaud, and the Girondists, subdued his better feelings. He refused to do an act of mercy which would serve the views of his enemies, and would be regarded by them as a triumph. Garat, minister of justice, was equally unsuccessful with many other Montagnards; and after some equally fruitless attempts, Dumouriez saw, with despair, that his victories were of no avail to him; and a few days after the execution of the king, he resolved to resign his command. The Girondists dissuaded him from his resolve by representing to him, that his resignation would either be the signal of the disorganisation of his army, or place it under the command of some favourite of the Montagnards; and that in either case it would be the death-blow of their party and the ruin of the country. Dumouriez yielded to their entreaties.

Most of the Girondists had reluctantly voted the death of Louis XVI., with the hope that the sacrifice of their feelings would be accepted as a confutation of the calumnies of their accusers, and as a pledge of their unflinching patriotism; and that it would enable them to rally to their cause all those members of the Convention, who, although ardent republicans, rejected the anti-social and atrocious doctrines which were proclaimed by Marat, and adopted by the Sections and the Clubs of Paris. Their hopes were not entirely disappointed. The majority of the Convention soon evinced a disposition to stand by them, against both the Montagne and the Commune. They did not wait long for an opportunity of trying their strength. Marat, in his newspaper, *L'Ami du Peuple*, of the 23rd of February, openly called upon the people to plunder all the residences and warehouses of the capitalists and rich merchants, and to hang the owners at their own doors. The article concluded with an apology for the massacres of September, a menace against the Girondists, and a challenge to them which must be given here: 'Infamous hypocrites! ye who are endeavouring to undo the country, under the pretence of restoring the reign of the law, ascend the tribune! dare to denounce me! with this very newspaper in my hand, I am ready to confound you.' The challenge

was immediately accepted; but it was Barrère who first denounced the villanous provocation, and invoked against its author all the severity of the laws. The decree of accusation was passed almost unanimously; two members only, Tallien and Thirson, daring to defend Marat.

The Commune and the Clubs immediately prepared to avenge the insult proffered to their leader, by the proscription of the Girondists. They organized their bands; they presented petitions to the Assembly, demanding the expulsion of their enemies; and at last, on the 10th of March, they began an insurrection, for the publicly avowed purpose of claiming, and, in case of a refusal, of themselves cutting off the heads of the Girondists. They failed, thanks to the courage of the Assembly, but, above all, to the energy of Danton; and the only result of this popular attack was to restore a sort of harmony between the different parties in the Convention, for their own security.

The reverses experienced on the Rhine and on the Meuse, the invasion of the south by the Spaniards, the insurrection of Lyons, and the civil war in La Vendée, announced almost simultaneously, again threw the people of Paris into a sort of frenzy; and the revolt of Dumouriez against the anarchy which threatened France with dissolution having been unsuccessful, the domination of Marat and his bands had become certain. On the 24th of April, he appeared before the tribunal, only to be *honourably* acquitted, and to be triumphantly carried by the mob to the Assembly, which, in their presence, he treated with the arrogance of a dictator.

The majority of the Assembly, however, could not but be convinced by these disgusting scenes, that the Girondists were right in the opinion which they had long expressed, that the authority of the Convention would never be acknowledged, and that it would be vain to expect obedience to its decrees, so long as the Commune of Paris was allowed to exist in its actual organization, and to exercise the powers it had usurped. At last, Guadet proposed two decrees; the first dismissing all the civil officials of Paris, and re-organizing the municipality; the second enjoining the substitutes* of the members of the Convention to assemble at Bourges, and there to assume and exercise the national sovereignty, at the first news of any attempt against the freedom of the Convention. These decrees were not passed; but, on the motion of Barrère, a committee of twelve was appointed, with power to adopt all the measures necessary to preserve tranquillity,

* The electors, in 1792, had chosen as many substitutes as they had deputies; so that, under any circumstances, France should never be without a Legislative Assembly.

and to inquire into the conduct of the Commune. All the members of the committee were immediately chosen among the Girondists. On that very evening, the members of the Commune met, to take into consideration the last measures of the Convention. The most violent resolutions were proposed; to get rid, in any way, of the Girondists; to enslave the Assembly; to get rid of the Convention itself, if it did not give up to national justice the new tyrants of the people. Such was the determination adopted by the Commune and the Clubs; and a few days afterwards, on the 31st of May, another insurrection had dictated to the Convention the proscription of the Girondists.

Neither Danton nor even Robespierre, who had so frequently been attacked and denounced by the Girondists, and who, probably, would have soon been the object of a formal accusation on the part of the new commission, had any share in the organization of this insurrection. On the contrary, both of them would, with the majority of the Convention, have successfully resisted the violence of the insurgents, had not the Girondists, to the very moment when the Assembly was invaded by the armed multitude, again and again compelled them, in their own defence, to complete the work of Marat, whom they abhorred, and of the Commune, which they despised.

M. de Lamartine concludes his account of the overthrow of the Girondists with a rapid review of their political career as a party, and pronounces on them a judgment which we deem both unjust and severe. In his appreciation of their acts, the Author does not take into due consideration the circumstances in the midst of which they were acting, the violent passions they had to contend with, or their invincible horror of shedding blood, and of the cannibals of September; a horror which statesmen can dissemble or restrain, but which honest men cannot even silence in their conscience, until they have brought down on the perpetrators of such atrocities the penalties awarded by the laws, and the execration of mankind. Such were Vergniaud, Gensonné, Condorcet, Isnard, all the Girondists. They were right in their constant denunciations of the sanguinary Marat and of his accomplices; and, although they were wrong in including Danton and Robespierre in the same category, they would have succeeded in their attempt to avenge outraged humanity, notwithstanding the popularity of both and the power of the Jacobins had not the reverses of the French armies, the invasion of the country, the accession of England to the European coalition, and the spread of the civil war, again thrown the whole population of Paris into a state of frenzy, which made them mistake the true friends of France for her enemies.

Danton and Robespierre are the statesmen of M. de Lamartine. They went on in their revolutionary career, without stopping to look back, or to deplore and avenge crimes in which they had no share. The latter particularly, who was a highly moral and virtuous man in his private as well as in his political life,* suffered intensely at the sight of the atrocities perpetrated, and which he could not prevent. His statesmanship, however, did not allow him to yield to his feelings. When the death of the principal of the Girondists, and the flight of the others, began the reign of terror, of which the Committee of *Salut Public* was the hand, rather than the head, Danton and Robespierre, the two most influential of the committee, understood the necessity of the times, as M. de Lamartine says, and they complied with what the times required;—they showed themselves strong, inexorable, pitiless. They had the two qualifications indispensable to statesmen, '*pour diriger les grands mouvements d'opinion auxquels ils participent; — l'intelligence de ces mouvements, et la passion dont ces mouvements sont l'expression chez un peuple.*' † But, with these two qualifications, did the two statesmen found, did they save, the republic? Both, no doubt, when they were giving way to the *passion* of the people, when they were allowing themselves to be carried at the head of the *mouvement*, fully intended to calm, to direct, and to stop the *passion* and the *mouvement* at a proper time; and they hoped to be able to do what the Girondists could not,—'*comprimer les convulsions de la France au dedans; faire triompher la nation au dehors; et procurer l'avancement d'une république régulière, en la préservant des rois et des démagogues.*' The impressible and truly noble nature of Danton, however, at last revolts at the sight of the blood which covers his path; his eyes and his heart can find no relief, but in the green fields and groves watered by the limpid Aube. He repairs to Arcis; but, pursued in his solitude by visions of helpless and imploring victims, and by the sounds of alarm at the successes of the European coalition, he cannot long resist the generous impulse which urges him to fly back to Paris, and to devote all his energy to the cause of humanity. On his return, he dares to declare war against the Committee of *Salut Public*; and that Committee sends him to the very scaffold which he was determined to overthrow.

* No one can read the many pages devoted by M. de Lamartine to the biography of Robespierre, in each of the volumes before us, without a feeling of respect and a sort of admiration for that man, so long an object of universal horror.

† Vol. vi. p. 152.

Robespierre did not demand ; he only assented to the punishment of Danton. The impassible nature of the deputy of Arras did not permit him to assign to its real causes the sudden change of his only rival in popularity. He attributed to personal hatred and to ambition, that which was the effect of a commendable sensibility, and, perhaps, of remorse. A few months had hardly elapsed, before this other statesman was doomed to the same death, and for the same cause. It was not the heart of Robespierre, it was his reason which, at last, revolted against the implacable rigours of the Committee and of its agents in the departments. He meditated, he prepared the punishment of the most cruel of those men, and the repression of the system of terror ; and it was in the midst of his meditations and of his preparations, that those very men pounced upon him and his friends, and sent them all to the guillotine, as the authors and the only supporters of that system !

The three last volumes of M. de Lamartine's work fully explain (perhaps too minutely) all the vicissitudes of those dissensions which deprived France and liberty of their best friends, and paved the way for the re-establishment of despotism. The most important service rendered by the publication of this work, is, that the public may at last know something of most of the actors in that dreadful tragedy—the French Revolution. We have here their *portraits* drawn with ability of the highest order, and an impartiality which is without example. We must, however, confess that we do not agree with the Author in many of his judgments ; and, we have no doubt that, had M. de Lamartine written less hastily, reflection would, in many instances have led him to very different conclusions. For our own part, we maintain, that truth, justice, and morality are the only sound bases of statesmanship ; that the Girondists were the real statesmen of the Convention, and, decidedly, the best men. We will say more ; we are sure, that, had M. de Lamartine lived in those eventful times, and been a member of that Assembly, he would have chosen his place among the friends of Vergniaud, and shared in their glorious struggle, and in their lamentable fate.

We had just written the last words of the preceding sentence, when the news of the long anticipated revolution in France interrupted our labours, and drew our attention from meditations on the past, to absorb it in the contemplation of the present, and in the investigation of the future. One month has hardly elapsed since the day when a noble people, rising again after eighteen years of oppression, gave the death-blow to monarchy, and scattered all the members of a dynasty as a whirlwind disperses the dust ; and we already see all the

thrones of the Continent tottering, all the sovereigns prostrated and constrained to surrender, and all the nations of Europe unanimously proclaiming the glorious advent of the era of universal freedom. In the whole history of the world, there is not a parallel instance of such a spontaneous movement of the human race, of such a general triumph of intelligence over blindness, of right over might, and of the will of the Lord in heaven over the will of the lords of this earth. '*Deposuit potentes de sede, et exaltavit humiles.*'

And now, the historian of an already ancient revolution has become a principal actor in a new one. The censurer of the rulers of 1792 and 1793 is the prominent ruler of 1848; and a sort of providential retribution launches him, on a sudden, in the midst of the conflicting interests, of the opposite opinions, of the vindictive feelings, and of the convulsive passions, which were fatal to the generous men of whom he was so recently recording the virtues, the services, the faults, and the deplorable death. Like the Girondists, much more than the Girondists, M. de Lamartine belonged to the monarchical party, and had, to the last moment, striven to conciliate royalty with the free institutions claimed by the country. The insurrection of the 24th of February, 1848, seized him, as the insurrection of the 10th of August, 1792, had seized the Girondists, in the heat of the struggle against the treacherous and violent encroachments of the monarch, whom they wished to maintain, on the liberties and on the very existence of the nation; and the victorious people, repairing from the royal residence, deserted at their approach by its infatuated tenant, to the hall of the Legislative Assembly, announced to the legislators the overthrow of the throne, and intimated their will to have immediately appointed a Provisional Government, and to proclaim the Republic.

As on the 10th of August, 1792, so, in last February, a royal infant and a trembling mother took refuge in the Assembly, and begged for protection. The legislators of 1792, the Girondists who commanded the majority, had the hearts, the compassion, and the courage of men: they pitied, they protected the royal family, and, braving the menaces of the frantic multitude, who insisted on the immediate proclamation of the republic, dared to say, 'No! you may kill us; but you will not obtain from us a violation of our oaths, a dereliction of the duties imposed upon us by our constituents. They sent us here to defend the rights of all, as determined by the constitution. To decree the abrogation of the constitution, would be a usurpation of powers which belong to the nation alone. Let the nation decide that important question, and elect new

representatives to carry its will into execution, and we shall resign our powers; but, until that is done, we shall remain unshaken in our principles, and resolute in our duties.'

How different the conduct of the deputies of 1848! The majority of three hundred, so devoted, so brave, so arrogant on the 22d of February, hardly noticed, on the 24th, the helpless widow and the infant children in behalf of whom she appealed to their fidelity and to their pity. At the first symptom of personal danger, they all deserted their post, without even giving a thought to the safety of the innocent victims of their corrupt and oppressive policy; and left the people in possession of their seats and of their tribune. The people then elected by acclamation a Provisional Government, choosing all its members from among the leaders of the radical opposition.

The people of Paris now, mistrusting the Provisional Government as they mistrusted the Legislative Assembly in 1792, demanded that the Republic should immediately be proclaimed; and the Provisional Government, after some resistance, yielded to the popular clamour, and, less scrupulous than the Girondists, usurped the national sovereignty, and founded the Republic on the violation of the rights of the people.

M. de Lamartine and his colleagues are now in the very identical position in which the Girondists were placed by the revolution of the 10th of August. His mild disposition, his moderation, his superior reason, are already engaged in a doubtful conflict against the wild, violent, and mad pretensions, not of the people, but of many worthy successors of the bad men of 1792. It is not M. Ledru Rollin, it is not Carnot, it is not Garnier Pagés, that are to be feared. Beneath them there are already lurking the disciples of Marat, of St. Just, of Babeuf, of Fouquier-Tinville, and of Hébert. They have long been at work to undermine the foundations of social order; and they were materially assisted in their undertaking by the corruption with which the late Government inoculated the whole of the superior and the middle classes of the French people. We, therefore, cannot dissemble our misgivings as to the future.

The late Government is alone answerable for the consequences of the feud between the middle and the lower classes, which for eighteen years it so perseveringly fostered, and in which it chose to seek and found its only support. The despotism of the younger branch of the Bourbons was not merely supported, but was also exercised, by the more opulent portion of the middle class; not through any affection for the king, or any conviction of the soundness of his political system, but simply for their own selfish interest, the gratification of which was openly recommended by Guizot and all his colleagues, and zealously pursued by the two

hundred and forty thousand monopolisers of the political rights of the nation. The lower classes, after overthrowing the despot, are determined not to be again subjected to the domination of his tools. Unfortunately, they may be easily induced to think that, in order not to be 'subjected,' they must be 'masters;' and that if they be not the 'tyrants' of a class, they must again become its 'slaves.'

Re-actions are unavoidable in revolutions; we say more,—they are necessary, they are just: but they ought to be confined within the limits of necessity, of justice; and, above all, of the laws of humanity. This is the difficult task thrown upon the new government of France. The venerable Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Lamartine, Crémieux, Marie, Garnier Pagés, Ledru Rollin himself, the Danton of the new Revolution, as Crémieux is its Vergniaud, and Lamartine its Fauchet, will devote all their energies to the accomplishment of this task. We have long known them, and we are convinced that to avert the recurrence of the calamities of a dreadful epoch, is the object of their earnest and indefatigable solicitude; but we know as well the others, and some men besides whose names are not yet prominently before the public, and who will soon, we fear, obtain a dangerous ascendancy.

Before we drop our pen, we beg to say a few words on ourselves. Our constant advocacy of the cause of freedom, of the cause of the people, of the cause of the many against the few, has sometimes been considered as bordering on ultra-democratic principles and revolutionary doctrines; because, in the middle of the concert of praises which the whole of the English daily press had so long continued, to the glory of the abominable men who plundered, enslaved, and crushed France, we boldly raised a discordant, an accusing voice. Events have proved that there was no exaggeration in our appreciation of the doctrines, of the misdeeds, and of the men, of the late government. We had no personal interest to promote by our hostility; no personal resentments to gratify; no ambitious aim to attain. We can say of ourselves what we have said of M. de Lamartine, and with much more reason. By our past history, by our family, we belong to the party of the victims of the Revolution. When looking back on the times which we have endeavoured to appreciate in these pages, we find our parents, our relations, and their friends, on the scaffolds or in the dungeons of the Reign of Terror. We do not know what Providence has in reserve for us; but, in whatever circumstances and situation we may be placed, we will remain faithful to the principles which we have hitherto maintained, and be victims rather than executioners.

- ART. VII.—1. *A Tabular Display of British Architecture.* By Archibald Barrington, M.D.
 2. *Pocket Chart of British Architecture.* By the Same.
 3. *Pocket Chart of Foreign Architecture.* By the Same.

THESE are useful abstracts, somewhat roughly executed, but distinct and expressive. The examples are well selected, and if not sufficiently comprehensive and consecutive for the entire elucidation of a subject so wide and complicated, they will, in most cases, suggest the explanation, and direct the inquirer into the right track for obtaining more ample instruction. In our early days, when the love of the picturesque brought us into the presence of much venerable antiquity, with very slender means of ascertaining anything beyond its artistic qualities, such companions would have been of the greatest value; adding permanent to passing interest, and suggesting trains of thought and investigation that might have gone pleasantly hand in hand with lighter pursuits, and mingled profitably with more urgent studies. Then, however, such things were not; now they are in excess; and a diminution in the quantity might be advantageously compensated by an occasional improvement in the materials.

The plan of these manuals makes no pretension to originality. In the 'Tabular Display,' the examples of Saxon, Norman, Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular, stand in collateral columns, and exhibit with much distinctness the characteristic features of the different periods; the centuries are marked, and the typography is varied in conformity with date and fashion. All this is cleverly managed, and the fractional illustration is, perhaps, as complete as scale and space would admit. The 'Charts,' though inferior in size, and less ornamentally got up, have with us, in some respects, the preference: they give a fair proportion of details, but their chief interest will be found in the examples of construction, which place before the eye, in one view, the progress and mutations of architectural invention. In this way, we have, for England, beside plans and parts, entire views of Kilpeck, Skelton, and Rotherham churches, excellent illustrations of very different styles. The front of Eton College exhibits what is here called the 'Domestic Tudor;' a phrase not, we think, very characteristically applied to a picturesque mixture of the palatial, baronial, and ecclesiastical. Crewe Hall stands as a fantastic exemplification of the so-called 'Elizabethan.'

There is a fine instance of the 'broche' spire from Austrey church, Warwickshire; and a 'picture in little' of the steeple of St. Mary's, Oxford; than which there are few things finer in the whole range of constructive adaptation. It presents three striking features: there is, first, the plain, massive, yet not heavy, tower, with the slightest possible hint at decoration; on this rests the rich coronal of pinnacles, windows, and niches; and from the centre of these arises the well-proportioned spire. We are not aware that this noble structure has been adequately represented: the view in the 'Memorials of Oxford' is too much fore-shortened, and mars the fine proportion of the parts: the draught in Mackenzie and Pugin's 'Specimens,' has too much the air of a simple elevation, and fails in picturesque effect.

The 'Chart of Foreign Architecture' takes a wider scope of illustration; Egyptian, Cyclopean, Celtic, Indian, Greek, Roman. The lower and more modern department pleases us best. The Byzantine is exemplified in the very singular cathedral of San Ciriaco, at Ancona, described by Hope, but deserving ampler detail, as exhibiting the Greek cross under peculiar circumstances.* The Romanesque cathedral of Worms, and the 'Pointed or Gothic' church of St. Ouen, are fairly represented.

* Mr. Hope, in his description of this singular and very instructive edifice, gives rather more of detail and definition than is usual with him, and it may add something of practical usefulness to these cursory references, if we extract by way of annotation a portion of his observations, which would, however, have been much more effective had they been accompanied by sectional illustrations. 'Passing,' he says, 'along the shores of the Adriatic, from the north to the south of Ravenna, we find at Ancona, on the very apex of its soaring promontory, its ancient cathedral of St. Ciriacus, built at the end of the tenth, or beginning of the eleventh century,—when, as Muratori proves, Ancona still obeyed the Greek emperors,—one of the most perfect Greek crosses existing out of Byzantium. Four larger arches may here be seen, so insensibly approaching the pointed, as to leave it doubtful whether by accident or on purpose; and four small round arches, filling the angles between these, support a cupola ribbed internally: the transepts, each with a high crypt, containing, the one the tomb of St. Ciriacus, and the other that of St. Liberius, which cause the floor over them to be ascended by lofty flights of steps, and which end in semicircular absides. The pillars of the nave and transepts are of the red Verona marble, and the capitals, rude imitations, some of the Ionic, others of the Corinthian. The arches of the nave and transepts are all round-headed.' It is much to be regretted that the graphic illustrations to this in many respects admirable work, were not selected on a more strictly scientific principle. They supply 'elevations' in rather unnecessary abundance; the examples of ornamental parts are, though good, somewhat scanty; but of plans and sections, the return is, as nearly as possible, *nil*. In Moller's business-like work on Teutonic architecture, while the general effect is carefully exhibited, the principles of construction are clearly shown.

The villa and palazzo are illustrated by Florentine examples, but Italian architecture is a subject covering too large a space, both historical and territorial, for these meagre indications; it has not, in fact, hitherto obtained that searching and complete examination to which it is every way entitled. Much, however, has been done; Cicognara, Cresy, Woods, d'Agincourt, Gally Knight, and others, have collected largely and learnedly; but a survey, at once comprehensive and discriminating, of this various and productive region yet remains to be taken, and we could name one at least among our antiquarian *dilettanti*, whom we believe to be fairly competent to a task of which the difficulties are not to be met by common-places. That superficial sort of criticism which may be sufficient for average purposes, will break down in the attempt to carry out, fully and distinctly, such an investigation as that now suggested. The accumulation of facts and dates is a simple affair of learning and labour, and we have among us many well-informed men, to whom this part of the business is easy and familiar; but the combination of these indispensable qualities with critical sagacity and descriptive power, is a much rarer gift: that it exists we have no doubt, and when circumstances arise to call it forth, we shall give it a cordial greeting. As an illustration of the necessity for such a process, and of the uncertainty of opinion, not merely public, but professional, in the absence of all recognised authority in these matters; we need only instance the extravagant admiration lavished, both by contemporaries and successors, on that great school of Italian architects to which Palladio has given a somewhat hackneyed name, as contrasted with the neglect into which it has now fallen. Rejecting both extremes, we yet look in vain to the productions of these celebrated men, for decided originality or skilful imitation. They seem to have fluctuated between different systems, till they completely lost sight of simplicity and specific character. Palladio sometimes attempted to obviate difficulties and obtain effect from the exaggeration of a single feature, impressive in itself, but awkward in its misapplication, as when, in the church of the Redentore and other edifices of the same days, he flanked his central pediment, by a half-pediment on either side. His Olympic Theatre at Vicenza, outrages every element of taste and adaptation, in its accumulation of inappropriate and injurious ornament—'trumpery' is the term applied to it by Woods, a fair and moderate critic. After all, the painters and sculptors of Italy, those men of unrivalled and universal genius, seem to have originated some of the most impressive features of its architecture. To Bramante,

Michael Angelo, and others of kindred, if not equal mind, that glorious country is mainly indebted for the picturesque character of its palaces and its villas.

These expositions, with their diversified examples and orderly arrangement, have suggested to us thoughts and recollections not precisely within the scope of our original design. We have found difficulty in accounting for the steady progress of improvement up to a certain point, and its abrupt termination there, unless re-animated by the infusion of a new principle, or, at least, by some effective modification of an old one. We may, for instance, trace the primary characteristics of Greek architecture, the architrave and the column, from the elementary Hut to the magnificent ranges of the Olympeium: up to that point new and beautiful applications of the original principles were successively produced, but beyond it, so far as we recollect, improvement ceased and the art retrograded. With the introduction—we say nothing about the *invention*—of the arch, a new progress began, and in the effort to combine the two systems, a series of gorgeous and impressive erections resulted from the impulse thus given. The train of illustration thus briefly indicated, might be advantageously pursued throughout the successive periods of architectural development, and on some future occasion we may resume it, more especially in its application to present circumstances, but our actual limits are defined, and the publications before us are not precisely those to which a disquisition of this kind can be advantageously appended.

Each series is accompanied by a small pamphlet or 'Manual,' comprising much clear information in a small compass.

Brief Notices.

Views A-Foot; or, Europe seen with Knapsack and Staff. By J. Bayard Taylor. With a Preface by N. P. Willis. In Two Parts. London: Wiley and Putnam. 1847.

MR. WILLIS tells us, in his preface, that 'Mr. Taylor's poetical productions, while he was still a printer's apprentice, made a strong impression on the writer's mind, and he gave them their due praise accordingly in the newspaper of which he was then editor. Some correspondence ensued, and other fine pieces of writing strengthened the admiration thus awakened; and when the young poet-mechanic came to the city, and modestly announced the bold determination of visiting foreign lands, with means, if they could be got, but with reliance on manual labour if they could not; the writer, understanding the man, and seeing how capable he was of carrying out his manly and enthusiastic scheme, and that it would work uncorruptingly for the improvement of his mind and character, counselled him to go. He went: his book tells how successfully for all his purposes. He has returned, after two years' absence, with large knowledge of the world, of men, and of manners, with a pure, invigorated, and healthy mind; having passed all this time abroad, and seen and accomplished more than most travellers, *at the cost of only five hundred dollars, and this sum earned on the road.* This, in the writer's opinion, is a fine instance of character and energy. The book, which records the difficulties and struggles of a printer's apprentice achieving this, must be interesting to Americans. The pride of the country is in its self-made men.' What Mr. Willis says of 'the country' is true of *the world*; and we rejoice in the interesting narrative before us. Apart from its value to the many, in circumstances similar to the author's, who desire to undertake the same romantic journey, it is far superior to travels in general. The views are bold and free, if not always correct, and the style is brisk and vivacious. We do not wonder at Mr. Willis's sanguine expectations respecting the future fame of the author.

One Hundred and Twenty-nine Letters from the Rev. John Newton, late Rector of St Mary Woolnoth, London, to the Rev. William Bull, of Newport Pagnell. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

THESE names are well known, and the nature and qualities of the letters may be easily imagined. Mr. Bull took the charge of the Independent congregation at Newport about the time that Mr. Newton

became curate at Olney. They were soon acquainted with each other, and ultimately became attached and permanent friends. The letters are such as good and familiar men used to write in those days. Mr. Newton's epistolary ease and wisdom are extensively known and appreciated, and many will doubtless welcome these additional specimens of them.

The Life and Adventures of Zamba, an African Negro King; and his Experience of Slavery in South Carolina. Written by himself. Corrected and arranged by Peter Neilson. pp. 258. London: Smith Elder, and Co.

THIS professes to be the history of an African prince, born in 1780, whose territory lay on the south bank of the river Congo, and who was treacherously treated and sold as a slave by an American captain at Charlestown in South Carolina. As a narrative, is very interesting; and, as an exhibition of slavery, it is calculated to teach and stimulate the friends of those that are wrongfully held captive.

We have no reason to dispute the accuracy of the title, but certain parts of the story have an air of improbability. We bear in mind, however, that if fiction is often like truth, truth is often like fiction. But it is to be regretted as the editor remarks, that the statements of 'this poor African, have not been written throughout in his own phraseology.' We have a great abhorrence of corrections, and alterations, and additions, at all times, and in a case like the present, our dislike is increased by the peculiar nature and authorship of the narrative.

Discourses by the late Archibald Bennie, D.D., F.R.S.E. To which is prefixed a Memoir of the Author. London: Blackwood and Sons.

DR. BENNIE was a popular minister of the Church of Scotland, whose comparatively sudden removal, in the prime of life, left a large circle of admirers to mourn a bereavement of more than common severity. Judging from the specimens of his ministrations before us, for the most part appearing without the advantage of his own revision, he must have been 'an able minister of the New Testament.'

The sermons are on topics of primary importance, dealing, in general, with the first principles and broadest relations of the gospel. The sentiments are decidedly evangelical. The thoughts, if not profound or original, are clear and sound. The style is luminous and bold. Thus characterized, they are likely to be useful; and to the author's late hearers will doubtless prove a very acceptable legacy. May they bring to effectual remembrance many vital truths which, when heard from the pulpit, were perhaps heard in vain!

The Scientific Phenomena of Domestic Life, familiarly explained. By Charles Foote Gower, Esq. Second Edition. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1847.

THIS is a charming effort to make the objects of our familiar interest the texts of important instruction. The author takes the reader through the 'Bed-room,' 'Breakfast-parlour,' 'Kitchen,' 'Study;' accompanies him in the Morning Walk; stands with him on the 'Sea Shore;' contemplates the 'Summer's Evening,' &c., and expounds for his benefit the laws of the material world. It is just the book that multitudes of parents and friends would be glad to present to their offspring and acquaintance.

A New Solution, in Part, of the Seals, Trumpets, and other Symbols, of the Revelation of St. John: being an attempt to prove that, as far as they are fulfilled, they denote the Rise, Increase, and Maturity of the Man of Sin, and the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ for his Destruction. By the Rev. R. Gascoyne, M.A. London: Longman and Co.

WE have copied the title of this little work that our readers may have the benefit of the author's own statement of his general views. It would be ridiculous to attempt to discuss the merits of such a work in a few lines. We shall therefore content ourselves with saying that Mr. Gascoyne appears to have brought to his task intelligence, careful thought, and more freedom and independence of mind than are always displayed. Some of the opinions, as proceeding from a *churchman*, will probably surprise many readers.

Sketches of Eminent Medical Men. London: Religious Tract Society.

ONE of the Monthly Series, containing the lives, clearly and judiciously written, of ten medical men of great ability and fame, and, for the most part, decided and eminent piety.

Memoir of Lady Warwick: and her Diary. London: Religious Tract Society.

'LADY WARWICK,' says Dr. Walker, who preached her funeral sermon, 'had never been heard blamed but for two faults: 1, excess of charity; 2, defect of anger.' Without vouching for such blamelessness, it is plain that she was a very good and holy woman. At the same time, the 'Diary' might have been better if abridged.

Man's Right to God's Word. Translated from the French Prize Essay of M. Boucher. With a Recommendatory Preface by the Hon. and Rev. H. Montague Villiers, M.A., Rector of St. George's Bloomsbury. London: J. F. Shaw.

THIS essay obtained the prize offered by a French journal in 1840. It is, as Mr. Villiers remarks, 'correct in argument, and sound in doctrine;' but we cannot assent to the praise of the translator, who speaks of the 'power of its advocacy, and the eloquence and beauty of its composition.' It is sometimes very shallow, and never remarkably profound. So far as it goes, however, (within the compass no one could do justice to the theme) it will serve to suggest, in a popular and vigorous manner, the common topics of such an argument.

Sketches of Protestantism in Italy, Past and Present; including a Notice of the Origin, History, and Present State of the Waldenses. By Robert Baird, D.D., New York. Glasgow and London: William Collins.

THIS work consists of three parts. The first relates to the rise, progress, and suppression, of the reformation in Italy; the second describes the state of things in Italy since the reformation; the third contains a historical and descriptive account of the Waldenses.

The work has a peculiar value at the present time, and true protestants will peruse its pages with lively interest. The author has brought together much information with a careful hand, and presents it in a cheerful spirit. He is no *croaker*,—a very important fact in connexion with such a subject at this particular time. We commend the volume as a remarkably cheap account of grave and vital matters.

Desultory Notes on the Government and People of China, and of the Chinese Language; illustrated with a Sketch of the Province of Kwang-Tung, shewing its Division into Departments and Districts. By Thomas Taylor Meadows, Interpreter to Her Britannic Majesty's Consulate at Canton. London: Allen and Co.

THOSE who open this volume merely for the purpose of amusement, or of finding in it a general delineation, or even a few graphic sketches, of Chinese customs and manners, will be disappointed. The author's object is evidently far less to amuse than to instruct. He writes, throughout, like a person who, in grappling with the difficulties of the Chinese language, and diving into the real principles which regulate the government, and the conduct, both social and commercial, of the people, had left himself very little time or inclination for amusement. Evidently desirous that others should share with him in the benefits of his observation and experience, he is as business-like

in his authorship as, we have no doubt, he is in the discharge of his official duties ; and those who are studying the Chinese language, or about to visit the country, will find in his volume many practical hints of great value. Besides four beautiful coloured engravings of Mandarins in their native costume, the volume contains various grammatical and official tables, together with a coloured map of the province of Kwang-Tûng, of which Canton is the capital. Some of the author's observations on the opium and slave trade, as well as on religion, had far better have been omitted ; but, with these exceptions, we cordially recommend his work to our readers.

Thirty Sermons on the Life of David, and on the Twenty-third and Thirty-second Psalms. By the Rev. C. M. Fleury, A.M. Dublin: James M'Glashan.

WE have read this volume with sincere admiration of the fervent piety and evangelical faith of the author, and are satisfied of his desire to promote the eternal welfare of his readers. We cannot, therefore but deeply regret that sermons, so pure in doctrine, and so devout and practical in their tendency, should be profaned and disfigured by party politics of the most wretched kind. If members of the Irish Church have not sufficient courage at once to give up 'the wages of unrighteousness,' they ought, at least, in all decency, to keep silence on the subject. That those who are living on the wrongs of Ireland, should, in the prospect of a possible removal of those wrongs, begin to play the martyr, and speak of themselves as men who for conscience' sake are to be deprived of all justice and right, is more than we can well endure. We sincerely hope, therefore, that the author, who appears in every other respect to be well worthy of his office, will not suffer so foul a blot to sully the pages of his next edition.

The Pilgrimage : How God was found of him that sought him not ; or, Rationalism in the Bud, the Blade, and the Ear. A Tale for our Times. Translated from the German of C. A. Wildenhahn. By Mrs. Stanley Carr. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd.

WE candidly confess that we have never yet been able to reconcile religious novels either with our religious feelings or our literary taste. If religion does not spoil the novel, the novel invariably spoils the religion, by rendering it romantic and sentimental ; and nothing we have hitherto read has convinced us that the ' words of truth and soberness ' can be fitly conveyed to the mind through such a vehicle. It is but justice to our author to say that he has contrasted the proud egotism of Rationalism with the self-annihilating power of the Gospel, in a very striking and interesting manner. But

his readers, after all, are likely to learn from him quite as much romance as religion; and, if extraordinary adventures like those of his hero are necessary to conversion, the period must be very distant in which 'all men shall be brought to the knowledge of the truth.' The author's sentiments, moreover, though on the whole evangelical, are, in many respects, exceedingly narrow and contracted, and, in one or two instances, if we mistake not, both theologically and philosophically false. He seems to think that there is no such thing as political or religious freedom without what is technically called 'free-thinking;' he sneers at Englishmen who travel abroad without a knowledge of Continental languages, as if a German or Frenchman in England, without a knowledge of English, were a thing never known; and, though he admits that rationalism is no bar to confirmation or the ministry in the Lutheran Church, he seems to regard a disrelish for Lutheranism as tantamount to infidelity.

The fair Translator has discharged her office with great spirit and ability, if we except two or three Scotticisms, for the removal of which we hope the requisite care will not, in a future edition, be 'wanting.'

Discourses, Doctrinal and Practical. By the late Rev. James Jeffrey, Greenock, *With a Memoir of his Life.* Edinburgh: William Oliphant.

MR. Jeffrey was a minister of the Relief Church, and had a considerable share of popularity as a preacher, which, as appears from this volume, was chiefly based on the more solid excellences of pulpit address. The discourses before us are eighteen in number, on subjects of primary importance, they are marked by correctness and prominence of evangelical doctrine, perspicuity of style, and directness of tendency to affect the heart and conscience. They can scarcely fail to administer to the spiritual good of attentive readers.

Comfortable Words for Christian Parents, bereaved of Little Children. By John Brown, D.D. Edinburgh: William Oliphant.

THREE discourses founded on *Jeremiah xxxi. 15—17*, and composed on the occasion of the death of the Author's youngest daughter. They are in matter, manner, and spirit, eminently adapted to meet the case of the interesting class for whose consolation they are designed.

Zadoc, the Outcast of Israel; A tale. By Charlotte Elizabeth. Third Edition. London: Aylott and Jones. 1847.

ONE of the first and best of Charlotte Elizabeth's productions, and well calculated to excite interest in the welfare of the Jews.

A Jubilee Memorial; being the substance of Two Sermons, preached at Kingsland Chapel, June 16, 1844, on occasion of the Jubilee of that place of Worship, with a statement relative to its Origin, Founders, and First Pastor, &c. By Thomas Aveling. pp. 99. London: Snow.

THIS little work contains two faithful sermons on 'Joyful Recognition of the Divine Goodness,' and 'Revival of Religion,' with a brief, but interesting sketch of the history of a sanctuary in which God had given many and evident tokens of his presence.

Reality of the Gracious Influence of the Holy Spirit. By the late John Jamieson, D.D., F.R.S. and F.S., A.S. *With Memoir of the Rev. Andrew Somerville*, pp. 456. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

THIS work is 'the result of the cogitations of half a century.' Although posthumous, it was carefully prepared for the press by the author. It contains fifteen dissertations bearing the following titles—'On the Importance of the Doctrine of the Operation of the Spirit.' 'On the Promise of the Spirit to the Church, and the Design of this Gift.' 'Objections to the Doctrine of Divine Influence Considered.' 'Arguments from Analogy in Support of the Doctrine of the Spirit's Efficacious operation on the Heart.' 'On the Miraculous Gifts of the Spirit.' 'The Necessity of Divine Influence proved from Facts.' 'Miracles not the Foundation of Saving Faith.' 'On the Design and Use of Miracles.' 'On the Demonstration of the Spirit.' 'The Reality of Divine Influence proved from the Figurative Language of Scripture.' 'The Reality of Divine Influence proved from the Simple Language of Scripture.' 'The Reality of Divine Influence proved from Experience.'

Of the work thus divided, we cannot speak in the terms of Dr. Mitchell, one of the persons into whose custody it was committed by its author. We should hesitate to apply *all* the expressions 'original, acute, extended, discriminative, ingeniously critical, and powerfully argumentative.' Dr. Jamieson's mind was rather vigorous than profound, direct than comprehensive. He puts many things in a clear and forcible way, and always exhibits a strong attachment to the characteristic doctrines of revelation; but the work, though much superior to the general class of theological publications, does not, we think, sustain its pretensions. It is a sound, wise, and cleverly written doctrinal treatise, and that is all.

The profits of the publication are to be devoted to the benefit of superannuated ministers, and the orphan children of ministers of the Secession Church.

Biographical and Critical Notices of the British Poets of the Present Century, with Specimens of their Poetry. By A. D. Toovey. London: Kent and Richards. 1848.

WE question whether a cotemporary can ever so estimate the poetry of his age as to succeed altogether in such a work as the present. Mr. Toovey, then, need not be ashamed if he has to some extent failed. He has given us in a small volume many of the best known passages of the standard poetry of the last thirty years, accompanying his selections with bits of criticism, but he has not produced what he hints at—a successor to Thomas Campbell's specimens. That would have been valuable and popular. This is but a moderately comprehensive volume of elegant extracts—not always selected happily either as to authors, or as to the specimens chosen from each. Why, for instance, do Harris, Hannah More, Lord Robertson, Peter Still (!), Shee, and Emerson, (*British poets?*) figure in pages which have no room for Keble, Elizabeth Barrett, her husband Browning, and Bailey, the author of 'Festus;' all of whom have written poetry, and one of whom has been called the truest poet of the age?

A Harmony of the Four Gospels; in the Authorized Version following the Harmony of the Gospels in Greek. By Edward Robinson, D.D., LL.D. With Explanatory Notes, etc. London: Religious Tract Society.

DR. ROBINSON'S valuable 'Harmony' is already well known in England. The author's patient habits of research, large learning, and intimate knowledge of Palestine, have enabled him to produce a 'Harmony,' which, although it has had two hundred predecessors, 'contains some new views, and some new illustrations of old ones. This is true, especially in respect to the transactions during the last six months of our Lord's ministry.' We rejoice, therefore, that the present volume makes his labours available to many, to whom the original work would have been useless. We bear testimony to the care with which the editor has executed his part, but we regret that he has added to, and even altered, Robinson's text and notes, on some occasions by extracts from Gresswell and Wieseler, without distinctly marking each case as it occurs. The reader has a right to know whose opinion he is receiving; and the practice becoming prevalent of publishing 'amended' editions, without plainly indicating every amendment, and its source, we must regard as unscholarly in the extreme.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

Ideas, or Outlines of a New System of Philosophy. By Antoine Claude Gabriel Jobert.

The Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament unfolded, and its Points of Coincidence or Disagreement with prevailing Systems indicated. By Samuel Davison, L.L.D.

Revelations of Ireland in the past generation. By D. Owen Madden, Esq., of the Inner Temple.

A History of the Prices, and of the state of the Circulation, from 1839 to 1847, inclusive, with a general Review of the Currency Question, and Remarks on the Operation of the Act 7 & 8 Vic. c. 32. By Thomas Tooke, Esq., F.R.S. Being a Continuation of the History of Prices from 1793 to 1839.

The Magnet of the Gospel. By J. R. Balme.

Journal of an Expedition into the Interior of Tropical Australia in search of a Route from Sydney to the Gulf of Carpentaria. By Lieut. Col. Sir T. L. Mitchell, Kt., D.C.L., Surveyor General of New South Wales.

The Claims of the Hebrew Language, &c. By T. Hathaway.

Music and Education. By Dr. Mainzer.

The Modern Orator. Part 12. Charles James Fox.

Six Letters on Dr. Todd's Discourses on the Prophecies relating to Anti-christ in the Apocalypse. By E. B. Denison, M.A.

National Cyclopædia of Useful Knowledge. Part 14. *Castanospermum—Cheiromys.*

Pictorial Bible. Part 12.

Hints for the Times, on the Religions of Sentiment, Form, and of Feeling, contrasted with Vital Godliness. By Rev. George Smith, M.A.

Plain Facts for the People in Relation to the Tithes and Revenues of the Church. By J. Henry Tillett.

A Catechism on the Map of the Holy Land, in Connexion with the principal Events of the Old Testament, and in the Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Travels in Siberia, including Excursions northwards, down the Obi, to the Polar Circle, and southwards to the Chinese Frontier. By Adolph Erman. Translated from the German by William Desborough Cooley. 2 Vols.

Cosmos: A Sketch of a Physical description of the Universe. By Alexander Von Humboldt. Vol. 2. Translated under the superintendence of Lieutenant Colonel Edward Sabine, R.A.

Some further portions of the Diary of Lady Willoughby, which relate to her domestic history and to the events of the latter years of the reign of King Charles I., the Protectorate and the Restoration.

Arthur Frankland, or the experience of a Tragic Poet. A Tale.

Letters to a Mother on the Management of herself and her children in health and disease; embracing the subjects of Pregnancy, Childbirth, Nursing, Food, Exercise, Bathing, Clothing, etc.; with Remarks on Chloroform. By J. T. Conquest, M.D., F.L.S.

The History of the Church and Court of Rome, from the Establishment of Christianity under Constantine, to the present time. By the Rev. H. C. O'Donnaghue, A.M. 2 Vols.

The History of the Revival and Progress of Independency in England, since the period of the Reformation. By Joseph Fletcher. Vol. III.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR MAY, 1848.

ART. I.—*Memoir of the Life of Elizabeth Fry, with Extracts from her Journal and Letters.* Edited by two of her Daughters. In Two Volumes. London: Charles Gilpin; John Hatchard. 1847.

OF all the follies of literature and criticism, none surpasses the nonsense, published in the shape of denunciations against the number of biographies issued in these days. Were the life of every human being preserved in print, and profusely illustrated with portraits of visages and engravings of residences, the world would be vastly benefited. If the truth were told in each case, the collection would be invaluable; man's knowledge of man would be extended vastly. Really, something of this sort is the aim of nearly all literature. Blue books and statistical tables try to show us the condition of the masses; philanthropists try to exhibit the biographies of slaves and aborigines; travellers display their glimpses of the lives of distant nations and diversified races; Newgate calendars and horrific novels show the careers of criminals; and with respect to gifted persons, philosophy is their thoughts, poetry their feelings, science their discoveries, art their productions, and history their actions, which are all most chiefly interesting, biographically. In fact the biography of everybody is the great *desideratum*; and though we say this jocularly, we really and

soberly to a great extent mean it seriously. Invaluable experience has been lost for want of the habit of recording it and preserving it in print. Of late years, the upper classes have become aware of the value of biography as an affair of family importance. Hence many volumes of family papers find their way into print. But, for the preservation, saving, and using of human experience, we sincerely wish the practice were general. The Egyptians preserved the bones of their ancestors in mummies, and all their solemn family feasts were graced with the dreary presence of their forefathers' carcasses in boxes. Outside the cases were written biographies. However superstitious the custom may be deemed, the piety in it is beautiful. Many different erections embody this feeling in this island: the flat, unhewn stone which covers the Highland chief; the monumental brass above the buried crusader; the reclining effigy in stone of the British noble; the portrait, the bust, the broken column, the humble headstone, the equestrian statue. But in brief, we wish to say that piety towards the dead never can appear more reasonable, appropriate, useful, and beautiful, than in the form of biographical volumes, accurately written and illustrated with portraits of personages and engravings of residences. A family library of family biographies would be very instructive to all who had access to it. Of course, the final value would depend upon the amount of truth in it; but the custom, were it as general as the erection of tombstones, would be, we are ready to believe, the most beneficent and reasonable shape ever yet assumed by the sentiment of piety for the memory of the dead. The proverb, 'to lie like a tombstone,' might be changed into 'to lie like a family biography;' but the tombstones do not, and the biographies would undoubtedly contradict each other, and accessions of truth would result from the collisions. The custom would be favourable to virtue. When a father sends his children forth into the world, his desire is that they will do nothing of which it would be painful for him to hear. It would be a powerful motive to worthy conduct, for a son or daughter to feel a resolution never to do anything which would look ill in the family history. Addison mentions, as a truly beautiful epitaph on a family tombstone, one which said, 'All their daughters were virtuous, and all their sons were brave.'

The memoir before us is one of those family biographies which, in its present state, is better adapted for a private than a public circle. The fair compilers, though perfectly able to write a most interesting life of their mother, have, partly from modesty, partly from reverence for her, but chiefly, we fear, under a desire to get their task done quickly, filled the

volumes with extracts from the journal kept by their mother, attempting thus to make her her own biographer. Now, this is not a suitable course in her case. Mrs. Fry was remarkable for what she did, and not for what she said; and though as a woman whose faith was most sincere, her earnestness great, and her benevolence lively, she could not fail, if she had the power of articulating herself in words at all, to be an impressive preacher, Elizabeth Fry was not gifted with the faculty of expressing great truths in ever memorable combinations of words. Poets and orators combine words in ways which become mottoes of the heart. People of this kind are always throwing the best of themselves into words. Their life's blood becomes ink. Their souls remain on earth for ages in the shape of print. But Mrs. Fry belonged to a different order of genius. Omit all the actions from the life of her contemporary, Thomas Campbell, for instance, and leave nothing but his poetry associated with his name, and it would be none the worse. But were Mrs. Fry subjected to the same process, the result would be to annihilate her. There would be nothing left but an excellent quaker lady, like whom there are hundreds. Restore her actions to her character, and the life of the Elizabeth Fry of Newgate, of the heroic prison visiter, becomes visible to the mind, invested with a poetry of conduct, surpassing in sweetness and beauty anything we know of, thrown into words by all her poetic contemporaries. Mrs. Fry, in her journal, says very little of her own deeds. Her religious feelings and maternal anxieties are abundantly expressed, but comparatively little respecting the chief shape her life took—her labours for the reformation of criminals. Her journals omit herself.

Elizabeth Fry by her father was of Norman, and by her mother of Lowland Scottish blood. Unconsciously but truly, the Normans have symbolized their own qualities in the beasts and birds of prey which they have adopted as the heraldic symbols of their families. Royal and lordly strength, craft, audacity, and rapacity, are the qualities indicated by lions, eagles, wolves, and tigers. Gurneys or Gournays held fiefs in the reign of William Rufus in Norfolk, and from a younger son of the West Barham branch descended John Gurney or Gournay of Norwich, merchant, the great grandfather of Mrs. Fry. Her father was John Gurney of Earlham, who appears to have been an intelligent, kindly quaker. In 1775, he married Catherine Bell, daughter of Daniel Bell, a London merchant, and through her mother descended from the Barclays of Ury in Kincardineshire. The grandmother of Elizabeth Gurney was a granddaughter of Robert Barclay, the apologist for the quakers. These are not slight facts. Around her cradle Elizabeth Gurney

would hear of nothing more striking than the singular separation from the world and consecration to God of her forefathers. Her parents inherited blood long disciplined by a strict sect. In the latter end of the eighteenth century, when scepticism was nearly universal, it was the lot of Elizabeth Gurney to be brought up by parents fond of science and literature, yet living in their affections and their duties, and by precept, example, and instruction, devoting themselves to form their characters upon 'the broad, firm basis of Christianity.' Spending her winters in Norwich and her summers at Bramerton and Earlham Hall, she grew up until she reached the age of twelve. Earlham Hall, a large, old, irregular house, a seat of the Bacon family, about two miles from Norwich, is placed in the centre of a well-wooded park, past which meanders the river Wensum. Old trees form an avenue on the banks of the clear stream, and here, or on the noble lawn, Elizabeth Gurney played, one of a happy family of twelve children. Probably, her lot combined everything which is best in the moral and material elements of the world, in the happiest degree. One of the aristocratic homes of England, in which the most advanced form of Christianity (perhaps the safest for moral training of them all), was held by her parents, not repulsively and austere, but intelligently and amiably; not formally and interestedly, but simply and vitally. Her youth was fed on the cream of the universe. By 'the accident of birth' she might have grown up a pretty child, with her earliest recollections like those of Nell Gwyn, of being sent into the taverns near the theatres, to sell strong waters to the gentlemen. Most of the young ladies who grew up along with her in the country seats of England, saw Christianity practically regarded as only an excellent thing for the servants and the common people. 'The accident of birth' might have made her earliest recollections those of the evidences of the sin, shame, and crime of her parents; and the successive stages of the dawn of her intellect might have been marked in her consciousness and her comprehension of the black meaning of the facts. The caresses of her mother might have polluted her soul. 'The accident of birth!' Her father might have taught her that cunning is wisdom, and violence heroism. Of all the facts of life, none surpasses the appalling importance of the 'accident of birth,' when viewed as involving, not in one case a heritage of wealth, and in another a heritage of poverty; but an heirship of Christian training, or an heirship of crime.

Mrs. Fry herself does not appear to have been aware of some of her chief obligations to her birth. She indeed traces to her residence at Bramerton, a sweet place on a common, and to her

visits with her mother to the cottages of the poor, particularly 'one named Betty,' her love of scenery and her habits of visiting the poor; but she says her 'natural' affections were overwhelmingly strong from her earliest childhood. The thought that her mother might die would make her weep after she went to bed. Her childish wish was that all her family might be spared the misery of each others' death, by being crushed together by two large walls. But unquestionably, susceptible though her temperament was, and full of fearfulness, she never would have had a consciousness of these agonies of imaginative affection, had she known well what it was to be beaten, and scarcely ever experienced what it was to be caressed. Had her earliest recollections been of being left to cry outside a gin shop while her mother was within, and compelled to be quiet by a knock-down blow from the maternal hand, her fancies, after she crouched down for the night, would not have consisted of the terrors of filial piety.

In the best senses of the words she was well-born and well-bred. Few cultivated families in the last quarter of the last century escaped the contagion of the materialistic and sceptical philosophies. Norwich was noted for the charm and talent with which the ideas in vogue were invested in its social circles. Even the society of Friends felt the prevailing influences. Left without their mother's care, and with a father of a liberal turn, for one of his sect, the three elder daughters 'formed many acquaintances and some friendships with persons greatly gifted by nature, but fearfully tainted by the prevailing errors of the day.' 'Great pain and bitter disappointment resulted from these connections.' But they were not exposed to the temptations of anything which could properly be called 'the gaieties of the world.' Music and dancing are not allowed by this strict sect. However nature would break out, and the children would embody their mirthful spirits in untaught dances got up in the anteroom; and though almost entirely uncultivated, Elizabeth and her sister Rachel would warble duets delightfully. Elizabeth was tall, slight, and graceful, with a sweet face, and a profusion of soft flaxen hair. Gentle and quiet, nervous, self-willed, and determined, she disliked her tasks, but evinced a quick, penetrating, and original natural talent. She was too sensitive and nervous, not to be timid in her early years. Animal courage in early youth is seldom the characteristic of the truly brave—the brave whose courage is moral.

Of course the influences to which she was exposed, all more or less told upon her, and had their representatives in the persons and circumstances around her. A Mr. Pitchford, a Roman catholic, and Mrs. Schimmelpenninck, authoress of a

‘Tour to Alet,’ with the ‘decided friends’ they knew, brought Christianity in different forms to bear upon her mind. But she had her struggles with the vanities of the world. William Frederick, afterwards Duke of Gloucester, was quartered at Norwich when she was seventeen, and we find the young lady in her journal, questioning herself, ‘Why do I wish so much for the Prince to come?’ She felt that if she did not govern herself in little things, and gave herself up to worldly passions, she might become a despicable character and a curse to society. When she meets ‘the prince’ she ‘feels flat after this storm of pleasure.’

‘I have given way to my passions, and let them have command over me. I have known my faults, and not corrected them, and now I am determined I will once more try, with redoubled ardour, to overcome my wicked inclinations; I must not flirt; I must not ever be out of temper with the children; I must not contradict without a cause; I must not mump when my sisters are liked and I am not; I must not allow myself to be angry; I must not exaggerate, which I am inclined to do; I must not give way to luxury; I must not be idle in mind; I must try to give way to every good feeling, and overcome every bad. I will see what I can do. If I had but perseverance I could do all that I wish. I will try. I have lately been too satirical, so as to hurt sometimes; remember, it is always a fault to hurt others!’

Of the struggle of the different elements of the life which surrounded her, in her mind, when about eighteen, her journal presents a lively picture, and her biographers have completed it with the addition of interesting particulars. At the yearly meeting of the Friends at Norwich, on the 4th of February, 1798, an American, of the name of William Savery, preached. In his journal he mentions, that the meeting was the gayest assembly of Quakers he had ever seen. He felt inclined to be silent in sorrow. Among his audience, in the bloom of youth, sat Miss Elizabeth Gurney, with ‘purple boots on, laced with scarlet,’ the extreme smartness of which was an amusement to her sister Richenda. During the sermon she felt there is a God. The impression lasted until the Tuesday, when in returning from Norwich on horseback some officers looked at her with apparent admiration, ‘which brought on vanity.’ ‘I came home as full of the world as I went to town full of heaven.’ A visit to London brought the religious impressions into direct collision with the theatre, the opera, and the Prince of Wales.

‘Monday 26th, 1798. I went to Drury Lane in the evening. I must own I was extremely disappointed. To be sure the house is grand and dazzling; but I had no other feeling whilst there, than that of wishing it over. I saw Banister, Mrs. Jordan, Miss Dechump. I was not at all interested with the play, the music I did not much like; and the truth

is, my imagination was so raised that it must have fallen, had the play been perfect.

'7th. I went to meeting in the evening: I have not enough eloquence to describe it; William Savery's sermon was in the first part very affecting, it was from Revelations; he explained his text beautifully and awfully, most awfully I felt it; he next described the sweets of religion, and the spirit of prayer. How he did describe it! He said the deist, and those who did not feel devotion, looked at nature, admired the thunder, the lightning, and earthquakes, as curiosities; but they looked not up through them to nature's God. How well he hit the state I have been in! I trust I may not remain in it. His prayer was beautiful, I think I felt to pray with him.

'26th. This morning I went to Amelia Opie's and had a pleasant time. I called on Mrs. Siddons, who was not at home; then on Dr. Batty; then on Mrs. Twiss, *who gave me some paint* for the evening; *I was painted a little*, I had my hair dressed, and did look pretty, for me. Mr. Opie, Amelia, and I, went to the opera concert; I own I do love grand company. The Prince of Wales was there; and I must say, I felt more pleasure in looking at him, than in seeing the rest of the company, or hearing the music. I did nothing but admire his Royal Highness, but I had a very pleasant evening indeed.'

Religion gained the ascendancy in her mind. She gradually became a plain quaker. She had been described as 'a beautiful lady in a scarlet riding habit,' and became sombre in her colours and costume by degrees. The use of the 'thee,' and 'thou,' was difficult at first, but she adopted it. However, we shall see the love of grand company remained with her to the end of her days.

Elizabeth Gurney in her virgin bloom, painted and at the opera, spending an evening of delight, admiring the Prince of Wales, is a picture to suggest many reflections. We commend it to Mr. Thackeray, as an illustration of what may be called snob-worship. Of the generation to which they belonged, the prince was of all men, the one whose influences were most debasing and criminal, while the young lady was surpassed by none of her sex in beneficence; yet there was an evening in which she sat gazing at him, the best at the worst, with rapture, oblivious of music, dancing, beauty, rank, fashion, man, and God, and everything but him. She did not know what she did, she knew not what he was, and could not foresee what he became, neither did any other perhaps of the scores of young ladies betrayed by a similar admiration into the paths of death. In the Adonis they saw not the Apollyon.

Christianity gained the ascendancy among the opponents which contended for the possession of the heart of Elizabeth Gurney. She became a decided quaker, making the transition from the scarlet riding habit and purple boots, to a sober cos-

tume, and by scarcely perceptible degrees, and ultimately summoning up courage enough to surmount the formidable obstacles which opposed the use of the 'thee' and 'thou.' She married at twenty, and was the mother of six children at thirty. But the vividness of her impressions of the seductive influences which betray and destroy her sex, had unconsciously prepared her for knowing the hearts of the lost of Newgate and the convict ships.

By an inconsistency on the side of liberality, even the journals which peculiarly represent old English prejudices, have narrated the proceedings of Mrs. Fry, as a preacher, without a growl. It was very well for her. Success is allowed to vindicate her speaking in the church. While nothing is said by divines against women being allowed to dance *pirouettes* in theatres, little need be said about ladies who testify in favour of Christianity in meeting houses. Let every one be fully persuaded individually. Providence put Elizabeth Fry in the right. On 1st month, 1st, 1810, when she was in her thirtieth year, she is struck with the alterations made by the three prior months. 'First, a child born; second, the loss of nurse; third, my beloved father's death; fourth, my mouth being opened at meetings; and my heart says, what can I render for having been so remarkably and mercifully carried through these various dispensations of Providence?' Of Mrs. Fry as a preacher, though it is thirty years since we heard her, and heard her only once, and were but six or seven years old at the time, we have the most vivid recollections. We do not remember indeed any word she said. She had no genius for remarkable expressions. But her tall and handsome figure—the costume of the quakeress—the air of command and high breeding, never can be forgotten. She held her head aloft on her shoulders, as a feudal dame might have done, when defying marauders in the absence of her lord from her castle. Depend upon it, Joan of Arc had not more of the lion port and eagle eye, when lifting up her white banner, than had Elizabeth Fry, when charging sinners upon a Divine authority to repent or die. Her clear, full, strong voice could have given the word of command to a regiment. She stood up amidst an audience prepared to laugh at her. During an interval of silence some tittering took place, but ridicule had only to look at her to be subdued. She was one of three preachers on the occasion. It was whispered even to the youngest and most ignorant, that she was a lady distinguished for her goodness. Her brother preached like an eloquent gentleman, and brother and sister were both in the prime of life. An elderly gentleman who accompanied them, spoke sweetly and alluringly. But Mrs. Fry spoke like a heroine, whose strength lay in her

will. Since 1818, thirty years have elapsed. Of the audience in that town hall, with portraits on the walls, scarcely any remain, the scene is gone like a dissolving view, audience and preachers have nearly all passed into eternity. Neighbours, playfellows, and his father were in the audience on this memorable occasion, with the marvelling and listening boy, clouds of oblivion are gathering upon the details of the scene, and eternity has absorbed most of the personages of it, but no indistinctness obscures the full-length figure in the memory, of the queenly quakeress. Revolving time makes 1818 the year 1848, the lady preacher has a biography in two volumes, and the boy is the reviewer of it.

In 1813, Mrs. Fry visited Newgate for the first time. It is easy to see how the gifted and zealous lady preacher was led to visit the prison. Sir Samuel Romilly had been at work for about five years, trying to mitigate the ferocity of the criminal code. The frequency of public executions outraged the convictions of the Quakers of the sinfulness of capital punishments. So sanguinary was the criminal code at this time, that it was reckoned the enforcement of it would have averaged four executions a day in Great Britain and Ireland, and hung up a hundred wretches a year in front of the Old Bailey. Now, the Friends have a powerful argument against these savage atrocities. They say, life is the probation of the soul,—to curtail a life because it is very sinful, is to lessen the probation of the soul, because there is much need for prolonging it, and is, in fact, to destroy the soul. To this Mr. Carlyle replies, the sacred rage of the human heart against crime, dictates the swift extermination of the criminal. Our Scandinavian forefathers took the murderer and adulterer, and cast him into a moss, sinking him many fathoms deep, by driving a stake through his body. This is justice, or the sacred rage against crime translated into action. To this the Friends would reply, it all depends on the belief or disbelief of a Hereafter! The believer in the probation and immortality of the soul, cannot logically believe in capital punishments. If a man just believes that he does not know whether the soul is immortal or not, he may proceed upon the most savage impulses of 'the sacred rage.' From the commencement of the present century, some of the quaker acquaintance of Mrs. Fry had formed themselves into a little society for the mitigation, if not for the abolition of capital punishment. Mr. Samuel Hoare, Mr. Fowell Buxton, Mr. William Forster, and other philanthropists, were active as criminal reformers, some in reference to capital punishments, others in regard to juvenile depredators. Mrs. Fry caught the spirit of the benevolent circles in which she lived. She was induced personally to in-

spect the condition of the women in Newgate, as it is understood by the request of Mr. William Forster. Whatever may be Mrs. Fry's place in the scale of heroic worth, she was not unconscious of her own merits. The first notice of her prison labours consists of a prayer, that she may not be self-conceited, 'being engaged in some laudable pursuits, especially seeing after the prisoners at Newgate.' Anna Buxton, sister of Sir Thomas, accompanied Mrs. Fry. She found about three hundred women and children crowded together in a narrow yard, and four rooms which were overlooked by the prisoners in the state prison. A man and his son had charge of them by night and by day. Without clothing, these women were in rags and dirt, or so naked, that Mrs. Fry has stood before some of them when gentlemen have been shown the prison, for the sake of decency. They had no bedding, but slept upon the floor, with the boards raised for a pillow. In these rooms they lived, they slept, they washed, they cooked. There was a regular tap in the prison, and spirits were openly drank. Curses, and blasphemies, and obscenities, loaded and polluted the air. Military sentinels were posted on the leads of the prison. Safe custody was the only thing regarded. The governor was fearful the watches of Mrs. Fry and Miss Buxton would be snatched from their sides, and he advised them to leave them in his house, which they declined. They would not begin their labours by an exhibition of distrust. The sight of the wretchedness of the women and children affected Mrs. Fry profoundly; and her children retain a lively recollection of the stir they had to make, in getting up garments to clothe the most destitute of the prisoners.

'One, I beheld! a wife, a mother, go
 To gloomy scenes of wickedness and woe;
 She sought her way through all things vile and base,
 And made a prison a religious place:
 Fighting her way—the way that angels fight
 With powers of darkness—to let in the light:
 Tell me, my heart, hast thou such victory won,
 As this, a sinner of thy race, has done?
 And calls herself a sinner! what art thou?
 And where thy praise and exultation now?
 Yet, she is tender, delicate, and nice,
 And shrinks from all depravity and vice;
 Shrinks from the ruffian gaze, the savage gloom,
 That reign where guilt and misery find a home;
 Guilt chained, and misery punished, and with them
 All we abhor, abominate, condemn—
 The look of scorn, the scowl, the insulting leer
 Of shame, all fixed on her who ventures here,—

Yet all she braved ; she kept her steadfast eye
On the dear cause, and brushed the baseness by.
So would a mother press her darling child,
Close to her breast, and tainted rags defiled.'

Mrs. Fry, in 1817, formed a school in Newgate for the young criminals and the children of the poor prisoners. Her first intercourse with women under sentence of death, overwhelmed her with humiliation for human nature. The result of two visits to a poor creature who had murdered her baby, and whose life was to be taken away, afflicted Elizabeth Fry with distressingly nervous sensations in the night. Newgate became a principal object of her thoughts, and until she attempted the amendment of the plans for the women, she could not feel easy. By-and-bye she became rather less sensitive in reference to the hanging at Newgate, and learned to guard herself from the undue risks to her health from too much painful emotion. To estimate the good done by Mrs. Fry, it is necessary to recall to mind the disgraceful state of most British prisons, thirty years ago ; for counties as well as boroughs, an old gate house, or an old feudal castle, with its dungeons, damp, close, and narrow cells, was the common prison for offenders of both sexes and all crimes. Escape was provided against by heavy irons and fetters ; dirt and disease abounded ; the women were imperfectly separated from the men ; and the prison rang with idleness, gambling, drinking, swearing, and rioting. Prisons at best, we fear, are schools of crime ; but thirty years ago they resembled pandemoniums. Some attempts had indeed been made after the peace, to improve prisons by classification, employment, and instruction ; but these attempts were made only in exceptional instances, in the United States, on the Continent, and in Great Britain. In consequence of the example of Gloucester, the women of Newgate had a quadrangle of the prison assigned to them, which is now called the women's side ; mats were provided for them to sleep upon. To prevent close communication with their visitors, who were of both sexes, double gratings were put up with a space between. By-and-bye, however, the prisoners contrived wooden spoons fastened to long sticks, for the conveyance of the presents and contributions of their visitors across the space between the gratings.

Mrs. Fry set about the establishment of a school characteristically. She requested to be left alone among the women for some hours ; she read to them the parable of the Lord of the vineyard, told them Christ had come to save sinners, and warned them of the perils of the eleventh hour. When she had done, some asked who Christ was, and some feared their day

of salvation was past. The naked and ragged children were pining for food, air, and exercise. Addressing herself particularly to the mothers, she asked what their children were likely to become, growing up amidst nothing but depravity? Thus prepared by the impression she had made upon them, she proposed to establish a school for them. Some of the mothers received the proposal with tears of joy. Her sagacity led her to leave the plan of the school and the selection of the governess to themselves. She told them, without their steady help, she would not undertake it. On her next visit the women told her they had chosen Mary Connor, as schoolmistress, a young woman who proved eminently qualified for her task. She had been committed for stealing a watch; and she was assiduous in her duties, and never known to infringe one of the rules. Mary Connor herself became a devout Christian; and fifteen months afterwards received a free pardon. It is worth while to note, how the sagacity of Mrs. Fry led her to entrust the election of the schoolmistress to the suffrages of the women themselves; for she must have felt that no nominee could have received the sympathy which the women would give to the schoolmistress of their own choice; and this sympathy and co-operation were indispensable to the success of her scheme. The Sheriffs of London, the Ordinary, and the Governor of Newgate, thought the experiment almost hopeless; but they permitted the appropriation of an unoccupied cell for the schoolroom. Next day, Mrs. Fry, with her friend Mary Saunderson, and Mary Connor, the schoolmistress, opened the school for all under twenty-five years of age. Mary Saunderson, on this occasion, visited a prison for the first time, and shuddered when the door closed upon her, as if she were going into a den of wild beasts. From the door of the prison a female issued yelling into the area, and rushed round it, tearing the caps of all the women. By the way, this very woman, through the instruction of these ladies, became well-conducted, and apparently respectable and decorous for the remainder of her life. No little courage animated this little band of really noble women in enduring day after day the begging, swearing, gaming, dancing, fighting, singing, dressing up in men's clothes, and obscenities too bad to be described, which made it unsuitable to take young persons with them. The officers of the prisons, and the friends of the ladies scouted the notion of introducing order and industry into Newgate, as visionary. There was no slight amount of pain endured by a lady, delicately born and bred like Mrs. Fry, in scenes in which she had to come in contact with women under sentence of death, and hear the cries of condemned convicts become quite mad with horror of mind. But men in power were ready to applaud

her, and her success was almost immediate. In her journal, under date 4th month, 12th, we find her saying of the prisoners:— ‘Already, from being like wild beasts, they appear harmless and kind. I am ready to say, in the fulness of my heart, ‘surely it is the Lord’s doing, and marvellous in our eyes.’’

In the month of April, 1817, twelve ladies formed themselves into an association for the improvement of the female prisoners in Newgate. Encouraged and emboldened by the success of the school, the ladies resolved to attempt the reformation of the women. One Sunday afternoon, the sheriffs met the ladies at Newgate; the women were assembled in their presence, and asked by Mrs. Fry if they were willing to abide by the rules necessary to secure order, industry, and sobriety among them. The women assured her they were. The sheriffs addressed them, giving the plan their approbation, and then saying, ‘Well, ladies, you see your materials!’ To supply the women with employment, it struck one of the ladies that the prisoners might supply clothes, or, at any rate, stockings, for all Botany Bay. She called upon Messrs. Richard Dickson, and Co., and told them she wished to deprive them of this branch of their trade. They said at once, they would provide work. The laundry was turned into a workroom by the carpenters of the sheriffs, and cleaned and whitewashed. In a few days the ladies assembled all the tried female prisoners. Mrs. Fry delivered an address to them; she told them the ladies were not come there to command, nor the prisoners to obey. All were to act in concert. Not a rule should be made, nor a monitor appointed without the concurrence of their unanimous votes. Every rule was passed, and every monitor appointed by a show of hands of the women. The ladies’ committee soon after received a petition from the untried prisoners, to be included in the benefit of her plans. Mrs. Fry had resolved to make ‘hell above ground’ decorous, and she succeeded within a fortnight. The ladies performed the duties of a matron themselves; and by-and-bye they appointed one, and paid her with their own money. The matron and the yard’s women were appointed and paid by them—a fact highly honourable to them, and highly disgraceful to the wealthy corporation of London. On the first visit after she commenced her operations, the city magistrates were touched and astonished at the sight of decorum within those walls. On the 3rd of May, the Lord Mayor and the gaol committee of aldermen voted Mrs. Fry and her co-adjutors their thanks. She submitted her suggestions to them, and they were received gladly. The following heads will suffice to give the reader an idea of them, and of the degree in which her notions of prison discipline were in advance in 1817:—

‘1st. Newgate, in great want of room. Women to be under the care of women, matron, turnkeys, and inspecting committee.

‘2nd. As little communication with their friends as possible; only at stated times, except in very particular cases.

‘3rd. They must depend on their friends for neither food nor clothing; but have sufficiency allowed them of both.

‘4th. That employment should be a part of their punishment, and be provided for them by government. The earnings of the work to be partly laid by, partly laid out in small extra indulgences, and, if enough, part go towards their support.

‘5th. To work and have their meals together, but sleep separate at night, being classed, with monitors at the head of each class.

‘Religious instruction.

‘The kind attention we have paid us.

‘Great disadvantages arise from dependence upon the uncertainty and fluctuations of the sheriffs’ fund, neither soap nor clothing being allowed without its aid; and the occasional help of grand juries, or other respectable people.’

The expenses of their improvements soon exhausted the personal resources of the ladies, and they had to apply to relatives and friends for pecuniary assistance. Mrs. Fry’s brothers were unfailing supporters. Ere the end of the summer, Mr. Robert Owen, of New Lanark, made her labours publicly known in all the newspapers—a painful and an unpleasant circumstance. Newgate became a show place. Letters poured in upon her from all parts of the country. She had to write long and careful instructions to ladies who wished to follow her example. During the winter she had almost every morning to show the prison to ‘most distinguished and influential people.’ Letters begging money, advice, or employment, abounded; and misery made its existence constantly felt by her. She conceived the idea of a prison exclusively for women, and sent it into circulation. Before a committee of the House of Commons, on the 27th of February, 1818, she gave the following remarkable testimony respecting the immediate success of the first ten months of her labours :—

‘Order has been generally observed; I think I may say, we have full power among them, for one of them said, it was more terrible to be brought up before me than before the judge, though we use nothing but kindness; I have never punished a woman during the whole time, or even proposed a punishment to them; and yet I think it is impossible, in a well-regulated house, to have rules more strictly attended to, than they are, as far as I order them, or our friends in general.’

The women had made nearly 20,000 articles of wearing apparel, only three of which were missing, and these not owing to the women. The ladies never lost a single thing. The women who remained, begged that their share of a little common fund

might be given to those who were going to Botany Bay. One poor woman to whom money was lent paid it punctually and honestly, at the rate of 2s. a week. The women not only had the earnings of their work, but they were stimulated by a system of marks for good conduct. Nobody but the ladies would clothe a prisoner; and the city authorities refused to do it, though some of the women were not fit to be seen. The women voluntarily gave up their packs of cards. Mrs. Fry, on this occasion, summed up her evidence in these emphatic terms:—

‘In a prison under proper regulations, where they had very little communication with their friends, where they were sufficiently well fed and clothed, constantly employed and instructed, and taken care of by women, I have not the least doubt that wonders would be performed, and that many of those, now the most profligate and the worst of characters, would turn out valuable members of society. After having said what I have respecting the care of the women, I will just add, that I believe, if there were a prison fitted up for us, which we might visit as inspectors, if employment were found for our women, little or no communication allowed with the city, and room given to class them, with female servants only; if there were a thousand of the most unruly women, they would be in excellent order in one week; of that I have not the least doubt.’

The committee recorded the fact of a most gratifying change.

Mrs. Fry felt that until every unhappy fallen one, without exception, had the opportunity afforded her of repentance and amendment of life, England, as a Christian country, had not fulfilled the injunction of our blessed Lord—‘As I have loved you, that ye also love one another.’ The following is the account given of the formation of her refuge for discharged female prisoners:—

‘In 1822, a small house for sheltering some of the most hopeless cases of discharged prisoners was opened in Westminster, under the name of Tothill Fields Asylum. It owed its existence to the Christian benevolence of one lady, Miss Neaves. She has consecrated her time and purse to this important object, which was first suggested to her mind during a drive with Mrs. Fry, thus related by herself:—‘A morning expedition with dear Mrs. Fry made me at once resolve to add my help, if ever so feebly, to the good cause. I distinctly remember the one observation made. I can call to mind, at this moment, the look, and tone, so peculiar; so exclusively her’s who spoke—‘Often have I known the career of a promising young woman, charged with a first offence, to end in a condemned cell! Was there but a refuge for the young offender, my work would be less painful.’ That one day’s conversation upon these subjects, and in this strain, laid the foundation of our prisoners’ home.’

In conversation one day with her friend, Mrs. Benjamin Shaw, the idea occurred to her that she ought to do something for the

vicious and neglected little girls of London. Mrs. Shaw took up the idea, Sir Robert Peel patronised it, and the result was, the school of discipline, the value of which has been tested by the experience of years. The sight of the coast-guardsmen at Brighton suggested to her a plan to supply all the coast-guard stations with religious libraries. In fact, she lived to do good according to her light and opportunity; and it also must be admitted, in accordance with the modes of benevolence and philanthropy fashionable in the upper circles of the religious world.

We have gone minutely into the successive stages of her prison reforms, because they enable us to estimate her influence and appreciate her life. In the last twenty years she was carrying out the principles and plans we have described. She had no new ideas. Habit made her callous to the pain of the scenes she encountered; or rather, we should say, her pleasure at witnessing her improvements in regard to order, cleanliness, and industry, counterbalanced the pain inseparable from such scenes. She was too good a woman, and too natural a human being not to have a genuine relish of humour. We perceive this part of her character in a letter to her children from Armagh, in Ireland. She says, 'Pigs abound; I think they have rather a more elegant appearance than ours, their hair often curled; perhaps naturalists may attribute this to their intimate association with their betters. . . . Afterwards, by some accident, I went into a private house, thinking it was the inn: I ordered tea immediately, and begged to be shown to a bedroom for my sister to lie down, as she was but poorly; at last I discovered my droll, and, at first, disagreeable mistake; but such was Irish hospitality, that the lady of the house made us stay, gave us some tea, comforted us up, and sent us off, not knowing whom she had received, nor do we know her name.' Her brother and herself travelled over the three kingdoms, introducing decorum into prisons. We know not a more striking proof of the necessity for her labours, in reference to female prisoners and convicts, than the fact, that it was not until 1834 that she succeeded in inducing the government of the day to adopt so obvious an improvement, as the appointment of matrons for convict ships transporting females. She had much correspondence with Lord Melbourne, and several interviews and discussions, before the government would consent to substitute matrons for sailors in the care of female convicts. It was a work of nearly twenty years of incessant zeal and labour, on the part of a sensible and benevolent lady of the upper classes, before common decency could be introduced into a convict ship: such is the spirit of improvement among oligarchical rulers. We should say, not before decency was introduced

during the voyage, but before there was an attempt made to introduce it. The working of oligarchical rule in this case was, an attempt to put down horrors fifteen years after they had been accurately described, and then the attempt to suppress them was only made, because the pertinacious lady made their maintenance troublesome. In fact, not the least instructive aspect of the life of this lady, is that which regards it as an exposure and rebuke to the indifference and incapacity of the governmental officials provided by an oligarchical system. Undoubtedly, great progress has been made in regard to the extension of decorum in prisons and convict ships; but this has been effected, not because a Peel, a Russell, a Melbourne, or a Grey, has been Home Secretary, but because a brother and a sister of the quaker persuasion, and a few other volunteers, devoted themselves to the task, disinterestedly, judiciously, and perseveringly.

In 1836, prison inspectors were appointed for the first time; and these gentlemen occupied a portion of their first report in pointing out the defects still left after the labours of the ladies in Newgate. New brooms must make an appearance of sweeping clean; however, a dozen years have passed since the appointment of these gentlemen, and we have not heard of any improvements originating with them during the whole of this period; and judging from such of their reports as we have cared to read, another dozen will elapse of regularly paid salaries, before any are devised ever likely to rival those of Mrs. Fry. A few months ago, we visited several prisons, and especially Milbank Penitentiary. In this prison we saw nearly two hundred boys together, walking for exercise in a yard, and nourishing in each other, as any one might see from the expression of their eyes, the *esprit de corps* of crime. We were shown one large apartment in which they sleep, have their meals, and are educated; but we are not aware that any prison inspector has ever yet denounced this arrangement as, what it obviously is, a hotbed and nursery of crime. The prison inspectors seem to content themselves with keeping prison discipline up to the mark of public opinion which Mrs. Fry and Sarah Martin created; and certainly, they have not advanced beyond it.

The present generation can scarcely conceive the sanguinary character of the criminal code in operation thirty years back. But every one whose memory extends thus far will recall melancholy instances of its severity. Criminals were hung up, not merely for murder and rape, but for robbery and fraud, for stealing a sheep, or an article scarcely worth a crown. In all large towns criminals hung up by threes and fours were common spectacles. Had the law been carried fully into effect, it was calculated that there would have been four executions on every week

day throughout the year, in Great Britain and Ireland. Before the Old Bailey there would have been a hundred victims yearly. Mrs. Fry assailed this atrocious system, with all the strength of her quaker convictions, and somewhat of the vehemence of the female character. She detested laws, which valued property more than life: she saw that instead of securing property, they communicated their own recklessness of life to those full of the lust for property, and tended therefore to make robbers murderers, in place of reforming the hardened; that instead of deterring, they increased criminals and criminalities. A young girl of the name of Skelton, beautiful and simple, had been led by love for a man who deceived her to pass forged notes. Mrs. Fry, in her efforts to save her, spoke indiscreetly of men in power, had a quarrel with Lord Sidmouth, and gave umbrage even to the Bank directors. She used the fashion which made Newgate a show-place to inspire foreign travellers and noble ladies, clergymen, and dissenting ministers, dwellers in palaces and lordly halls with compassion for the victims of the criminal code. In her youth, when she flaunted in a scarlet riding-habit at Norwich, the Duke of Gloucester had been her companion in the dance; and she used her acquaintance with him to bring him to Newgate, and to the condemned cell of Harriet Skelton. He accompanied her to the Bank Directors; he applied himself to Lord Sidmouth; but it was all in vain; and Harriet Skelton was hanged. One woman, the day before her execution, said to Mrs. Fry, 'I feel life so strong within me, that I cannot believe that by this time to-morrow I shall be dead.' Skelton lost her life because she mistakenly refused to plead guilty to the minor count of the indictment.

A somewhat striking contrast was presented by the life of Mrs. Fry at this time. The prison visitor was taken by Lady Harcourt from the Home-office, where she had been grieved and wounded by Lord Sidmouth, to the Mansion-house, to be presented to her Majesty, Queen Charlotte. By some mistake Lady Harcourt and Mrs. Fry were conducted at once to the Egyptian-hall, and placed on the side of the platform; the hall was full of hundreds of poor children of different schools, and was lined with spectators, and the platform was crowded with waving feathers and sparkling jewels and orders. The little queen, in a glitter of diamonds, on seeing Mrs. Fry in her simple quaker's dress, went up to her, and spoke to her—a sight which produced a general clap of applause from two thousand people, and a shout of delight from the multitude outside. Our fathers were enraptured at the sight of royalty 'offering its meed of approval to mercy and good works.' Strange that though everybody could perceive the queenly dignity of the inherent royalty in Mrs. Fry,

There were so few, in that day, to perceive the impossibility of royalty doing any honour to benevolence ; the less cannot condescend to the greater. Mrs. Fry thoroughly belonged to her age, and dwells in her journal, on the buzz, and the clap, and the royal honour. Poor Queen Charlotte never recovered from the great fatigue she underwent in this visit to the city.

The removal of the female convicts for transportation next engaged the attention of Mrs. Fry and her friends. Having made 'hell above ground' decorous, she next attempted to make it embark for Botany Bay decorously. It was the practice of the female transports to have a riot before leaving Newgate, and a general breakage of windows, furniture, and everything they could reach. Conveyed to the waterside in open waggons, they went off shouting obscenities and blasphemies to assembled crowds. Mrs. Fry substituted hackney-coaches, and promised the women to see them on board if they were quiet and orderly. The hackney-coaches formed a procession which was closed by her carriage. The women behaved well. The ladies formed them into classes, with a monitor for each, and supplied them with coloured cotton to make patch-work and fancy-work during the voyage. The women were to have the things when done, to sell for their own profit on their arrival. By this means a double good was done. There being at that time not so much as a hut in which the women could take refuge when they landed, they were driven to vice, and left to lie in the street. The sale of the patchwork enabled them to get shelter until they got employment. The quilts of the women of one convict ship, which touched at Rio de Janeiro, were sold for a guinea each. Each monitor was provided with bibles, prayer-books, and religious tracts. The stern of the vessel was set apart for a school, where the children were taught to read, knit and sew. A convict was made schoolmistress, and a reward placed in the hands of the captain, to be given her if she persevered to the end of the voyage. During the five weeks that the ship lay in the river, the ladies made these arrangements. Just prior to its sailing, Mrs. Fry usually took a solemn farewell of the women ; while the sailors looked on from the rigging, and the women were placed on the quarter-deck, she stood at the door of the cabin, and, amidst profound silence, read a portion of the Bible in a clear and audible voice. The crews of the other vessels watched the scene, which usually concluded by Mrs. Fry kneeling in prayer on the deck, and commending the women to the care of God. When she left the ship, many of the women wept bitterly, and followed her retiring boat with their eyes and their blessings. Sir James Mackintosh records, that a person who witnessed one of these scenes could hardly refrain from tears in

speaking of it. No wonder that Lord Lansdowne said, Mrs. Fry had come into these scenes like the genius of good.

As a preacher she made tours, accompanied generally by her brother, over the three kingdoms; and, wherever she went, she carried with her the reforms of Newgate and the convict ships. We fancy we detect in a remark she makes on the suicide of Sir Samuel Romilly, one great source of her sympathy with criminals. She says, 'A more awful crime, surely, cannot be; but it is thought he was deranged, from the sorrow of losing his wife. Certainly, in times of deep anguish and distress, it calls for all our watchfulness and constant prayer, that our spirits be not overcome within us; *for we cannot keep ourselves*; but by depending alone upon Him who can keep us, we may humbly trust that we shall be kept.' 'We cannot keep ourselves:' by this link of sympathy, the applauded prison visitor found herself one with the female convicts, whose disorders she ameliorated, and for whose moral and spiritual well-being she laboured. In Plashet Cottage, 'surrounded by everything a poor body could wish for' its comfort and indulgence, she felt she could not keep herself, and trembled to think what she might have been in other circumstances—'Keep me, O Lord, and I shall be kept.'

The reward of doing good assigned by Providence, is more good to do. Mrs. Fry soon learned that the reformations of the prison and of the convict ship were destroyed, for the want of an asylum to receive the transports on their arrival. They were plunged into vices and crimes by necessity, and justified themselves by saying, 'I could not help myself, and must have starved if I had not done as I have.' She therefore urged upon the authorities the providing of a barrack for the reception of the convicts. Eventually she became a voluntary and unpaid inspector-general of prisons, for the three kingdoms. Her labours led to the erection of larger and better prisons, affording facilities for a system of strict surveillance, complete classification, unceasing superintendence, compulsory occupation, regular instruction, and religious influence. Nor did she confine her interest and attention to the prisons of her native country. She opened a correspondence with St. Petersburg, where the Princess Sophia Mestchersky and Mr. Walter Venning laboured to effect a similar reformation. In fact, wherever she could, all over Europe, she laboured in her self-imposed task, introducing decency and industry into prisons, and tried to fulfil her mission of making 'hells above ground' decorous. Her labours were always followed with immediate applause, and she was a rare instance of a philanthropist wafted along in her career upon the applauding breath of aristocracy and royalty. Royalty paid her with visits of honour, and hers was the rare fortune to do

good in a way which secured her the applauses of the rank and fashion of Europe. The circumstance, we think, is enough to place her in a lower niche in the temple of heroism than that occupied by the humble prison-visitor of Yarmouth, Sarah Martin, a milliner, whose benefactions to the prisoners, and whose ameliorations of their condition were done in hours snatched from the toils of the needle.

The ladies associated with Mrs. Fry visited not merely Newgate, but also the Borough Compter, Giltspur-street Compter, and occasionally Whitecross-street prison. Everywhere her plans were more or less carried out. She visited every convict-ship which left the Thames, with only one exception, and in fact, every transport which sailed from England with female convicts, from 1818, until her last illness, in 1841. Of course this self-imposed task cost her much fatigue, and exposure to the weather in open boats, and occasionally to danger. The harbour master at Ramsgate gives an account of the dangers she encountered on one occasion. On a fine summer day, in 1821, he was running up the Thames, in command of the Ramsgate steam-packet *Eagle*, to overtake his Margate competitors, the *Victory* and *Favourite* steamers. A sudden thunder-squall came on, increasing to a northerly gale, with a heavy rain. Just as he was pleasing himself with the notion that the *Eagle* was the fastest vessel against a head wind, and would certainly overtake his Margate friends, he saw a boat with two ladies in quaker dress, drenched with rain, which was labouring in vain against the gale. He admired quakers, and was somewhat gallant; but to stop would spoil his chase. However, a rope was thrown to the boat, and before the passengers were fully aware that the engines were stopped, the ladies were on board, the boat made fast to the stern, and the *Eagle* again flying up the Thames. One of the ladies whom he assisted on board, held his hand, saying, 'It is kind of thee, captain, and we thank thee. We made no sign to thee, having held up our handkerchiefs to the other packets; we did not think we should succeed with thee.' By-and-bye Mrs. Fry was distributing tracts among the crew, and touching the hearts even of the sailors with the spectacle of a beautiful and dignified gentlewoman devoted to works of piety. On another occasion, Mrs. Fry reached Bedford late in the afternoon of a very tempestuous March day; but a female convict-ship was to sail next morning, and she could not be deterred from visiting it. She had left the sick bed of one of her children, who was seriously ill, and darkness, wind, and rain, which had not prevented the convict visitor from going to the ship, could not prevent the anxious mother from encountering them, and returning immediately to her home. The account of her intro-

duction of her reforms into the prison at Jersey is very interesting; but space warns us that we cannot go into it.

But she had not merely to introduce improvements; she had to prevent those she had introduced from falling into desuetude, perversion, and neglect. The factory at Paramatta, in the first instance, was intended as a prison for women, and arranged for refractory, as well as unassigned prisoners. It was well disciplined and classified; but gradually, mismanagement became confusion, and instead of a place of punishment, the factory became a refuge for the idle and the dissolute. However, hard labour and strict discipline were re-introduced. Sir Richard Bourke tried to induce ladies to visit it, and instead of serving the cause of crime, reformation once more caused hopes of good from it.

Mrs. Fry visited all the three kingdoms, often different parts of the continent; and wherever she was, her work was the same. She moved in the best society, preached in meeting-houses of the Friends, or in other places open to her, and discussed subjects connected with prison discipline with every body she met. We hope we have done due homage to the moral worth of this excellent gentlewoman, and that we have portrayed truly the good for which mankind ought to be grateful to her. Her weakness was that of her generation, the idolatry of rank, wealth, and title. This made her blind to much injustice and oppression, and she must have maintained her association with some personages of rank, by hood-winking herself in reference to the oppressions for which they are morally responsible. Had she cared for righteousness above all things, she would have been less acceptable in grand company. But she had a moiety of regard for rank, and a moiety of regard for righteousness; and therefore she went about doing good in grand company. Under 28th, 1st day, 1840, she says:—

‘ Since I last wrote I have called upon the Duchess of Beaufort and the Duchess of Sutherland. The Duchess of Beaufort received me with much true Christian friendship; the Duchess of Sutherland in a remarkably kind manner; soon after I entered the room, the duke and his daughters came in. We had much interesting religious conversation. I felt the spirit of Christian love and prayer arise in my heart for them, that the blessing of God might rest upon them, that as he had given them so liberally of the fatness of the earth, he would also cause the dew of heaven to descend upon them. The next day, I wrote to ask the duchess whether she wished to attend a meeting, on account of the Anti-Slavery-Society at Exeter Hall, as I fancied she might like it. I had a cordial answer, saying that she would go. We sat near the Duke of Sussex and the French ambassador. To find my poor unworthy self thus placed in the face of this immense assembly, (I think three thou-

and persons) was rather fearful, and yet very interesting, from the cause we were engaged in, the numbers interested in it, and the honour of appearing on the side of the afflicted slaves.'

Mrs. Fry visited the north of Scotland more than once, but she never extended her travels to the county of Sutherland. Had she done so, she would have witnessed the lamentable results of oppressions, as contrary to righteousness as many of the deeds, and in fact, much more heinous than those done by the objects of her care in Newgate. The accusations against the family of her ducal friends, or their factors, she could not have been ignorant of; but she preferred, on these points, vague and charitable generalities to accurate knowledge. If she had investigated the history of the clearings in Sutherlandshire, she might have had the honour of appearing on the side of the afflicted slaves of Strathnaver, not less sufferers than the negroes on whose side she sat with the duchess, at the meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society in Exeter Hall. If she had inquired respecting the truth of the oppressions practised by the ducal house of Sutherland, in the county from which they derive their title, she, perhaps, would have prayed that in addition to the fatness of the earth and the dew of heaven, there might descend upon them, consideration and commiseration for the poor on their own estates. She might have listened, as we have done, to the accounts of the peasants whose homes were torn down before their eyes, while their children lay on bundles of straw in the open air, though ill of the fever. Mrs. Fry might have heard accounts from the lips of mothers, as devout, as loving as herself, of what it was to see the myrmidons of the law, in the name of the duke, drowning out the embers on the hearth, and threatening to fire the roof of the cottage; and we confess our respect for her would have been greatly enhanced, had we heard that she talked of these things until her hearers trembled, and penitently went to God for guidance, in repairing the oppressions of themselves and their fathers upon the thousands whose happiness were entrusted to their care. But an escapade of this kind would have spoiled her reception at the West End; and we must take the kind and fashionable quakeress as we find her. Writing, as we are, at the moment when the King of Prussia has made himself the most prominent figure in all Germany, it may not be uninteresting to recall to mind the visit that he paid to Mrs. Fry in this country, in 1842. He had come over to be a sponsor at the baptism of the Prince of Wales. Mrs. Fry, says her daughters, was grateful for the gracious reception he had afforded her in his dominions, and she admired the magnanimity with which he maintained the right, on all

subjects that approved themselves to his conscience. He sent her an intimation to meet him at the Mansion House, and though it was the Sabbath, she felt herself quite easy to go. When they met, she thought she had seldom seen any person more faithfully kind, and friendly. She spoke against the pomp of the christening, upon episcopacy and its dangers, on the marriage of the Princess Mary of Prussia, and intreated the Lord Mayor to have no toasts. The king arranged to meet Mrs. Fry the following morning at Newgate, and afterwards to take luncheon at Upton Lane. 'It was a day never to be forgotten while memory lasts.' How she went with the lady mayoress and many gentlemen to Newgate; how they waited so long for the king, they feared he would not come; and how, when she appeared at the door of the prison to meet him, he appeared much pleased; and how, after taking a little refreshment, he gave her his arm, and proceeded to one of the wards where sixty of the poor women were seated round a table; how she prefaced a reading of the scriptures by telling them that the King of kings and Lord of lords was present; and how, after her address, she felt constrained to kneel down and pray before all this most curious company:—

'I first prayed for the conversion of prisoners and sinners generally, that a blessing might rest on the labours of those in authority, as well as the more humble labourers, for their conversion. Next I prayed for the King of Prussia, his queen, his kingdom,—that it might be more and more as a city set on a hill, that could not be hid; that true religion, in its purity, simplicity, and power, might more and more break forth; that every cloud that obscured it might be removed,—then for us all, that we might be of the number of the redeemed, and unite with them in a never-ending song of praise. * * * There were difficulties raised about his going to Upton, but he chose to persevere. I went with the lady mayoress and the sheriffs; and the king with his own people. We arrived first, I had to hasten to take off my cloak, and then went down to meet him at his carriage-door, with my husband, and seven of our sons and sons-in-law. I then walked with him into the drawing-room, where all was in beautiful order—neat and adorned with flowers: I presented to the king our eight daughters and daughters in law (R—— E—— C—— only away), our seven sons and eldest grandson, my brother and sister Buxton, Sir Henry and Lady Pelby, and my sister, Elizabeth Fry—my brother and sister Gurney he had known before—and afterwards presented twenty-five of our grandchildren. We had a solemn silence before our meal, which was handsome and fit for a king, but not extravagant—everything most complete and nice. I sat by the king, who appeared to enjoy his dinner, perfectly at his ease, and very happy with us. We went into the drawing-room, after another solemn silence, and a few words which I uttered in prayer for the king and queen. We found a deputation of Friends with an

address to read to him—this was done; the king appeared to feel it much. We then had to part.

'The king expressed his desire that blessings might continue to rest on our house.'

In 1843, Mrs. Fry for the last time visited the Continent. In Paris, M. Guizot paid her marked attention. When Minister of Public Instruction, in 1833, he had seen the wisdom of the despotic policy of Austria and Prussia, in making national education government education. In this he was only a follower of Metternich; but good Mrs. Fry believed that he was an imperfection of benevolence and intelligence, and entertained a vast respect for a minister who had raised in an exceedingly short space of time, village schoolrooms in nine thousand communes, for the instruction of the poor:—

'Mrs. Fry believed that she should find in him the enlightened philanthropist, and the prudent yet fearless politician; one who taught in the school of the French Revolution, had marked and comprehended its horrors, without being blind to the benefits it had conferred upon his country and upon mankind, in sweeping away the accumulated tyranny and bigotry of centuries; one who, while he shrank from changes for the sake of novelty, was as capable of devising expedients for the remedy of real evils, as he was resolute in carrying them into execution. Unblemished in personal character, exemplary in private life, and professing the reformed faith in religion, Mrs. Fry looked to him as eminently calculated to receive and respond to her own opinions and experiences.'

Just now, the following account of her interview with the Duchess of Orleans will be read with interest:—

'On the 25th, Mrs. Fry waited by appointment, on the Duchess of Orleans, at the Tuilleries; but finding some difficulty in fully conveying her meaning, her daughter was sent for to interpret. In her letter to her sister, she describes herself ushered into an immense drawing-room, the size, and heavy crimson and gold magnificence of which, exceeded any room she had ever seen. On a sofa, about half way up the room against the wall, was seated her mother; by her side a young lady, in deep mourning, over whose white and black cap hung a large long crape scarf or veil that reached the ground on either side: her figure tall and elegant, her face and features small and delicate, her eyes blue, and her complexion very fair; a lovely blush came and went as she spoke. From her dress and appearance no one could for a moment doubt, but that it was the widow and the heir of France. Opposite to her on a chair was an elderly lady, the grand Duchess of Mecklenburgh, her step-mother, who had brought her up from childhood. These three were the only occupants of that vast saloon: its walls were hung with crimson velvet, embroidered in heavy gold columns, with vine leaves twisted round, and all things magnificent in proportion. The conversation at first was upon the Duchess of Orleans' affliction: they had each a Bible in their hand.

Mrs. Fry read to them a few verses, and commented on them, on affliction and its peaceable fruits, afterwards. They then spoke of the children of the House of Orleans, and the importance of their education and early foundation in real Christian faith; the grand Duchess of Mecklenburgh, an eminently devoted, pious woman, deeply responded to these sentiments. It was an hour and a half before this deeply interesting conversation came to a close.'

As a companion picture to this, we beg to quote the account of the dinner at M. Guizot's:—

'Seated by their celebrated host, this dinner was felt by Mrs. Fry to be an occasion of great responsibility. She was encouraged by his courteous attention unreservedly to speak to him on the subjects which had so long been near to her heart. It was no common ordeal for woman, weak even in her strength, to encounter reasoning powers and capabilities such as his; their motives of action arising probably from far different sources, but curiously meeting at the same point. Hers from deep-rooted benevolence, directed by piety in its most spiritual form; his, from reflection, observation, and statesmanlike policy, guided by philanthropy, based on philosophy and established conviction—yet in the aggregate the results the same: an intense desire to benefit and exalt human nature, and arrest the progress of moral and social evil, and an equal interest in ascertaining the most likely methods of effecting the most likely end. They spoke of crime in its origin, its consequences, and the measures to be adopted for its prevention; of the treatment of criminals; of education and of scriptural instruction. Here Mrs. Fry unhesitatingly urged the diffusion of scriptural truth, and the universal circulation of the scriptures, as the one means capable alone of controlling the power of sin, and of shedding light upon the darkness of superstition and infidelity.'

We have gone sufficiently into detail, we hope to give our readers an insight into the character and usefulness of Mrs. Fry. She had many relatives, who were all singularly united together by the ties of love and worth. Her foibles we have noticed, because we wish the influence of her life to extend for good purely, and not for evil. In her religion she did homage to oligarchy. We have not done her full justice, however, since we have not brought out one of the loveliest aspects of her character. She was admirable and beautiful in her domestic relations. She must have been an invaluable friend and nurse to her relatives in illness; her good sense, her keen sympathies, her watchful affection, and sagacity, animated, as they were, by piety and disinterestedness, made her nobly useful in the sick room as in the prison ward. Taken all and all, she left behind her an impress of good upon all Europe, and she was a successful missionary of decency at least, in most of the prisons of Europe. 'This heroine made the 'hells above ground' deco-

rous; she carried with her the kindness, and the consolation of Christianity—doubtless to the healing of many a broken heart, and the soothing of the agonies of many wounded spirits. During the summer of 1845, her health began to decline, and she went to Ramsgate for the benefit of the sea air. We end with the closing scene:—

‘About five o’clock, whilst her husband and daughters were consulting as to the best method in which medical help might be obtained, her bell rang. She was in her own room, according to her usual custom in the afternoon, lying on the sofa, whilst an attendant read to her. She had nearly fallen, in moving from the sofa to her chair by the fire, and help was wanted to accomplish it. After being placed in her chair, she leaned to one side, as if unable to hold herself upright. Her own maid, who was accustomed to her, was alarmed and uneasy; but the little dressing before dinner was completed without difficulty, and she was wheeled into the drawing-room, where it was proposed that she should dine, being nearer to her room than the dining-room. After her dinner, on attempting to move to the sofa, she twice sank to the ground, though assisted by two persons. With extreme difficulty she was removed to her bed, where she lay with a calm, almost a torpid, expression of countenance. She was quite willing to see a medical man, and answered his questions correctly. The attendance of one so kind and skilful was a great help and comfort; but her worn-out constitution forbade stringent measures, so that little was attempted either by him or the physician, who twice saw her in the course of the following day. As no fresh symptoms appeared, and she was herself very anxious for it, it was arranged that she should settle as usual for the night. Even at that period, the real seat of the complaint appeared doubtful. Diseases of the nerves are so varied in character, that they often, when quite unaccompanied by danger, bear the semblance of fatal maladies. A few texts were repeated to her, and her daughters left her to her husband’s care, who, throughout her lengthened illness, attended her by night; but scarcely had they reached their rooms, when her bell rang loudly. Throughout the night, though occasionally for an instant confused, the mind was there. Some passages of scripture were read to her, which she appeared to comprehend, and she entirely responded to any observation made to her. This was favourable, but other symptoms were not so—she lay so heavily, and the limbs appeared so wholly powerless. The morning broke at last, but it brought no comfort. About six o’clock she said to her maid, ‘Oh Mary, dear Mary, I am very ill!’ ‘I know it, dearest ma’am, I know it. ‘Pray for me—it is a strife, but I am safe.’ She continued to speak but indistinctly, at intervals, and frequently dosed, as she had done through the night. About nine o’clock, one of her daughters sitting by the bedside, had open in her hand that passage in Isaiah, ‘I the Lord thy God will hold thy right hand, saying, Fear not, thou worm Jacob, and ye men of Israel, I will help thee, saith the Lord, and thy Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel.’ Just there her mother roused a little, and in a slow distinct voice uttered these words, ‘Oh! my dear Lord, help and keep thy servant!’ These were the last

words she spoke upon earth; she never attempted to articulate again. A response was made by reading to her the above applicable passage; one bright glance of intelligence passed over her features, a look of recognition at the well-known sound, but it was gone as rapidly, and never returned. From this time entire unconsciousness appeared to take possession of her—no sound disturbed her—no light affected her—the voice of affection was unheeded—a veil was between her and the world about her, to be raised no more.

‘As the morning of Sunday advanced, all hope became extinguished. A messenger was dispatched to summon those of her absent children who might be able to come to look upon her once again in life; whilst they who were with her made ready for the conflict, to go down with her into the valley of the shadow of death; for they whose lot it has been to watch the dying bed, must be conscious that there is generally a given moment of anguish, when the tremendous conviction pierces the heart, that the ‘inevitable hour’ is come.

‘The difficulty of breathing, with convulsive spasm, increased; at first occasionally, but after midnight it became almost continuous. From three o’clock there was no pause, but such absolute unconsciousness to every impression, as satisfied those around her that the anguish was for them—not for her. Yet, as they marked the struggle, the irresistible prayer of their hearts became, ‘How long, O Lord, how long?’

‘Suddenly, about twenty minutes before four, there was a change in the breathing; it was but a moment. The silver cord was loosed—a few sighs at intervals—and no sound was there. Unutterably blessed was the holy calm—the perfect stillness of the chamber of death. She saw ‘the King in his beauty, and the land that is very far off.’

‘That night had been dark and lowering; but the morning broke gloriously, the sun rose from the ocean, commanded by her chamber windows, and as a globe of living fire—

‘Flamed in the forehead of the morning sky.’

‘The emblem was too beautiful to be rejected—one of the types and shadows furnished by the material world, to illustrate and adorn the Christian’s hope.’

- ART. II.**—1. *British Butterflies and their Transformations.* Arranged and illustrated in a series of Plates, by H. N. Humphreys, Esq. With Characters and Descriptions, by J. O. Westwood, F.L.S. Secretary of the Entomological Society. London: William Smith. 4to. 1841.
2. *British Moths and their Transformations, (&c).* By H. N. Humphreys and J. O. Westwood. London: Smith. 2 vols. 4to. 1843, 1845.
3. *Arcana Entomologica; or, Illustrations of new, rare, and interesting Insects.* By J. O. Westwood, F.L.S. London: Smith. 2 vols. 8vo. 1843, 1845.
4. *The Cabinet of Oriental Entomology; being a selection of the rarer and more beautiful species of Insects, natives of India and the adjacent Islands; the greater part of which are now, for the first time, described.* By J. O. Westwood, F.L.S. London: Smith. 4to.
5. *The Genera of Diurnal Lepidoptera: comprising their generic characters, a notice of the habits and transformations, and a catalogue of the species of each genus.* By Edward Doubleday, F.L.S., &c., Assistant in the Zoological Department of the British Museum. Illustrated with Seventy-five imperial quarto coloured Plates, by William C. Hewitson, M.E.S., author of "British Oology." London: Longman and Co. Numbers 1 to 18. Imperial 4to.

It is a characteristic of the works of God, that the more we look into them, the more irresistible is the impression that we are dealing with the infinite. The mere looking at them, though it may be slightly and cursorily, produces a sense of wondrous excellence, which is greatly deepened on examination. The universe is resolved into its varied systems; the systems into their worlds, all in perfect harmony; a world is composed of multitudinous forms, organised and unorganised, all in perfect order; these have their organs, or their angles and planes of crystallization; each organ is composed of its tissues, each tissue of its fibres; and when we can proceed no farther, we cease with the full conviction that we have not approached the elementary molecules of which all things are supposed to consist, but that our finite perceptions have been taxed to the limit of their present powers. A clever craftsman may produce a piece of work that shall sur-

prise us by the delicacy of its finish, or by the minuteness of its proportions: a cherry-stone, for example, turned into a box, and containing a dozen of spoons carved out of ivory. But if we bring it under a strong lens, we find that the polish is resolved into a series of rough scratches, and the curves are formed of numerous short lines forming angles of all imaginable degrees of irregularity. Let us increase the power: the sides of these indentations, and the edges of these outlines we now perceive to have a beauty and regularity, indeed, that we saw not before: but then this is God's work; we left man's workmanship, when we passed beyond the rough scratches and tearings; we are now looking at the structure of the original material, the cylindrical tubules of the ivory, or the spiral fibres of the wood. The difference is just that between the finite and the infinite; the extreme boundary of the one is soon reached; and then the other stretches onward illimitably.

There is this resemblance between the study of the immeasurably vast and the immeasurably minute, that in each the student is carried beyond the finite into the infinite; each brings him to a point where even his imaginings fail, and the mind stands abashed in the overwhelming sense of that which is Divine. Astronomy has been often lauded on this account; but microscopical investigations into the physiology of the atoms that evade our unassisted sense may dispute this palm with it. The invisible things of God are clearly to be seen, being understood by the things that are made; *even His eternal power and Godhead*: and if the glorifying of Him as God, is not the unfailing, not even the ordinary result of the study of His works (as surely it is not), this proves no defect in their testimony, but only shews more fully the alienation and pravity of man, and the solemn truth of the verdict, 'God is not in all his thoughts.'

The time is gone by in which the study of the minuter objects of Divine care was considered a fit subject for derision or pity; but its value is even now greatly underrated. Few are aware of the immense preponderance which annulose animals hold in the scale of animal existence, considered numerically. The whole of the mammalia, birds, reptiles, and fishes in the world, in all probability do not amount to, 20,000 species; but of insects not fewer than 100,000 distinct species are already in the cabinets of European entomologists; and considering the immense portions of the globe (particularly in the tropics, where these minute creatures swarm), that have been but very slightly, or not at all, examined, the estimate of half a million of living species is in no degree extravagant.

To the physiologist an acquaintance with entomology is indispen-

able. How imperfect would be his idea of the sense of sight, and the organs, who had studied it only as it occurs among vertebrated animals! How little would he imagine that in some creatures the eyes are simple glassy lenses, varying exceedingly in number, in arrangement, and even in form; that in others they consist of lengthened tubes with glassy tips, either fixed or moveable on a joint; that in others (as in *Phalangium*) a pair of eyes are inserted vertically in the sides of a projection or horn, which stands on a sort of pedestal on the back of the animal;—that in others, twenty or more lenses are crowded together on each side of the head; sometimes, as in a common centipede (*Lithobius forficatus*) arranged in parallel lines, with a single one of larger size, standing alone and behind the rest; or, as in one of our millepedes (*Julus*) placed in rows, diminishing by one, as shot is piled! Still less would he conceive of vision as it is exercised by the great majority of winged insects; whose compound eyes present an aggregation of polished lenses of hexagonal figure, immoveably set in a frame; each being the termination of a six-sided cell, and each of which is capable of distinct vision; while the number of these aggregated eyes is so immense, that more than 12,000 have been counted in each visual organ of a dragon-fly, and 17,325 in that of a butterfly; and there are beetles in which the number is still greater. Nor is this all; for very many of the insects which possess these complex organs of vision, one on each side of the head, are furnished also with simple lenses, usually three in number, placed triangularly on the top of the head: and hence we may reasonably infer that these tiny animals are endowed with the power of receiving more than one kind of impressions from light; but what is the nature of the difference, we of course cannot conjecture.

Scarcely less modified must be the impression produced by sounds upon creatures which have not only no aural conch, but no aperture answering to the ears of the higher forms of animate existence. The sense of hearing they surely have, for many species emit sounds, which are undoubtedly sexual calls; and the most prevalent and best supported opinion is that the *antennæ* are the organs of hearing. But how unlike are these to what we are alone accustomed to call ears! A series of slender joints, tapering to a fine point; or of round ones, resembling a string of beads, varying in number from two to forty; or, as in some of the cockroaches (*Blatta*), even reaching to nearly 150: sometimes the terminal joints gradually, or abruptly, thickened into a club or knob; which is often divided into *laminae*, like the leaves of a book, capable of being opened and shut; or into joints with short pedicles, as if a number of fisherman's net-

corks were strung upon a cord with a knot between every two; sometimes the club is very large and apparently inflated; now the joints have projecting angles, giving the whole organ a saw-like edge; now, each sends forth a stiff branch, imparting to the *antenna* the form of a comb; again, we find a double or single series of filamentous beards, gradually diminishing with a feather-like regularity: at other times, from a short bent club proceeds a single bristle, as is the case with the common house-fly;—such and multitudes more, in endless variety, are the forms of the organs of hearing.

In the vertebrate classes the apparatus for the reception and preparation of food, is formed upon one model, subject to no variation greater than the transformation of the jaws of the quadruped, or reptile, into the mandibles of the bird. But in insects the organs of manducation are formed upon a new type, which is subject to modifications so extensive, as to be recognizable only by the most careful process of induction. If we examine a beetle, in which the parts of the mouth are most strongly developed, we find in the front of the head, first a small moveable piece placed transversely, usually horny in texture, more or less inclined downward; this is the upper lip. On the inferior side of the head is a similar piece, usually bending upward, tending to meet the former; this is the lower lip: it is articulated to another transverse piece called the chin. Between the two lips, work the jaws, of which there are two pairs, the upper, termed mandibles, the lower, *maxillæ*. Instead of vertical motion, as in the *vertebrata*, these work with a horizontal motion; they usually resemble more or less, a pair of flattened hooks, or forceps, the incurved points of which play over each other. The inner edge is often cut into teeth, particularly in carnivorous species; and studded with close-set bristles. To the outer edge of the *maxillæ*, is attached a pair, or sometimes two pairs, of jointed organs called *palpi*, much resembling the *antennæ*, and another pair proceeds from the lower lip. These are delicate organs of sense, but their peculiar office is uncertain. Within the mouth is a small piece often more or less affixed to the lower lip, sometimes hard and horny, sometimes fleshy; frequently fringed with hair; this is the tongue.

How different is this apparatus from the long spiral tube of a butterfly! We should scarcely suspect the slightest analogy between the two; and yet in the latter may be detected the essential parts just described. The *maxillæ* are developed to an extraordinary degree, while all the other parts are diminished to mere rudiments, but just discernible; with the exception of the *palpi* of the lower lip, which, in our common butterflies stand

is conspicuously enough in front of the head, one on each side of the spiral tube. To form this tube, which is well worthy of an examination, each *maxilla* is greatly lengthened into a narrow cylindrical canal, along the inner side of which run two ridges forming a groove; when the tubes are applied to each other, the grooves, by means of a most curious apparatus of hooks, like those on the beards of a feather, inosculate into each other, and can be either united into an air-tight canal, or instantly separated, at pleasure. The ridges of the *maxillæ* are considered as the representatives of the tongue, divided longitudinally, and greatly elongated.

By the union of these organs, a threefold pipe is formed; of which the intermediate one alone is used for the pumping up of the nectar of flowers, the external tubes serving, as Cæmur suggests, for the transmission of air.

It would be too long to trace other modifications of the same parts; in the jointed and grooved beak of the *Hemiptera*, containing four bristles, which applied to each other form an air-tight tube, through which the juices of plants and animals are sucked up; or in the fleshy, flexible proboscis of the common flies, terminating in two swollen lips; or in the formidable array of needles and lancets, enclosed in a sheath, with which the horseflies (*Tabanidæ*) extract the blood of man and beast.

We might greatly enlarge our examples of the importance of the study of entomology to the comparative anatomist and physiologist; so exceedingly diversified, and often so unexpected are the phases in which the various phenomena of life exhibit themselves in these small but wonderful animals. How little qualified would he be to reason conclusively upon the subject of respiration, who was unacquainted with the fact, that an immense class of animals breathe by means of air-tubes which permeate every part of the body, and which receive and exhale the air, not through the mouth, but through orifices pierced serially in a row on each side of the trunk and abdomen! Or insufficient would be his acquaintance with muscular action, who did not know that there are creatures endowed with

kinds of motive power, exercised with a degree of energy and rapidity without a parallel elsewhere, which are entirely destitute of an internal skeleton, and all whose muscles find their points of attachment in the common integument. The interesting phenomena connected with generation, receive important light from the astonishing fact, that a single impregnation suffices to fertilize the eggs of successive generations of *Aphides*; and enlarged ideas may be formed of the processes of nutrition and secretion, from the investigation of them in insects, where

they take place without the aid of the circulating system and glands of the vertebrate classes.

Perhaps the most interesting phenomena in the whole economy of the animals under review, are those connected with their metamorphoses. Who, that had never heard of such facts, could believe that the large butterfly which he sees sitting upon a peach, opening and shutting its broad wings of velvet-black, banded with brilliant scarlet, to the warm autumnal sun, is identically the same being as a black, spiny caterpillar, which, a month ago, he observed, not without disgust, engaged with a dozen others, devouring the leaves of some nettles in a ditch? But more than this: the creature has experienced yet another state of existence, the form and circumstances of which have been as diverse from both of these, as either of these from the other. May we be permitted to enter a little into the details of these changes? We will narrate only what we have observed, for in past years we have found much delight and instruction in rearing these interesting creatures, and in watching their developments.

We will take as our example the beautiful butterfly just mentioned, called by collectors the Red Admiral (*Vanessa Atalanta*); as it is very common, and the phenomena in question may be easily verified. No sooner have the unsightly and vindictive nettles thrown up their new shoots, and expanded their young leaves in the spring, than butterflies of this and other kinds may be seen hovering over them, occasionally touching a leaf with the tip of the abdomen. These are females ovipositing; the great business of life to them, which being performed, they die. At each contact, a little oblong egg is left, stuck on the plant by one end, and adhering by a gummy secretion. The egg is sculptured with elevated lines, running from top to bottom, like the meridians of a globe. A considerable number are deposited on one plant, for the caterpillars of this species are social, feeding and living in company.

A minute caterpillar, in a short time, proceeds from this egg, with a body beset with spines, furnished with six short, horny, hook-like feet near the head, and ten fleshy tubercles, which act as clinging feet, beneath the hinder parts. It grows rapidly, for it devours the substance of the leaves with incredible voracity; but at the end of about a week it ceases to eat, appears first restless, then feeble and languid, and the colour of the skin is withered and livid. After a day or two's inaction, it may be observed moving its head from side to side as in pain;—now stretching itself, now contracting, and now forcibly swelling the second and third segments of the body. At length, the

skin of the back splits from these violent efforts, and a new skin may be perceived beneath, distinguished by the freshness and brightness of its colour; the caterpillar pressing its body into the opening thus made, speedily extends it down the back, and towards the head, and, at length, emerges from its old integument, which retains its form so unaltered, that it might, at first sight, be mistaken for the larva itself. Yet the exuviation has been so complete, that not only the skin that covered the body, but that of the head, the eyes, the jaws, the antennæ, the palpi, the legs, and, as insect-anatomists of the highest name declare, that which lines the gullet, the stomach, the interior of the tracheal tubes, and the intestines, is also left behind in the sloughed integument. The branched spines, however, are not hollow; those of the new condition being found lying flat beneath the old skin, the anterior pointing forwards, the others backwards, at the time of emersion, after which they are soon erected.

In a few hours the insect again begins to eat greedily; and the skin, which at first is much wrinkled, in order to allow of considerable extension, gradually becomes plump as the body increases in size. The integuments of the head are, however, unyielding; and hence, probably, the necessity of these moultings; as this part is susceptible of increase only at stated intervals, and while the skin is yet unindurated. Three successive exuviations, at intervals of a week or ten days, bring our caterpillar to its complete growth; and now it prepares once more to cast its skin, to emerge no more a caterpillar, but a chrysalis. For this end it frequently draws together two or three contiguous leaves of the nettle, and connecting them with a few threads of silk, forms a capacious tent, from the ceiling of which it must now hang suspended for many days.

It begins by spinning, from a peculiar organ in its mouth, a little conical knob of silk at the intended point of suspension. Into this it then insinuates the minute hooks with which the hindmost pair of clinging-feet are beset, and suffering the anterior part of the body to fall, hangs with the head downwards. Meanwhile contortions, contractions, and swellings of the fore parts go on as at the former moults, and are attended with the same results; for after about twenty-four hours the skin of the back splits, and the chrysalis appears projecting through the aperture. By continuing the tumefaction of the now exposed portion, the skin of the caterpillar splits farther and farther up towards the tail, and by the alternate contraction and elongation of the segments of the chrysalis, is at length rolled up in folds around the posterior extremity, like a stocking pushed down to the

ankle. 'But now comes the important operation. The pupa, being much shorter than the caterpillar, is as yet some distance from the silken hillock to which it is to be fastened; it is supported merely by the unsplit terminal portion of the latter's skin. How shall it disengage itself from this remnant of its case, and be suspended in the air while it climbs up to take its place? Without arms or legs to support itself, the anxious spectator expects to see it fall to the earth. His fears, however, are vain; the supple segments of the pupa's abdomen serve in the place of arms. Between two of these, as with a pair of pincers, it seizes on a portion of the skin; and, bending its body once more, entirely extricates its tail from it. It is now wholly out of the skin, against one side of which it is supported, but yet at some distance from the leaf. The next step it must take is to climb up to the required height. For this purpose it repeats the same ingenious manœuvre; making its cast-off skin serve as a sort of ladder, it successively, with different segments, seizes a higher and a higher portion, until in the end it reaches the summit, where with its tail it feels for the silken threads that are to support it.* The anal extremity is produced into a little protuberance, which is covered with minute hooks; these it entangles among the silk, and confirms its hold by several rapid whirlings as upon an axis; and the same motions usually displace and throw off the rejected skin.

During the hours that the caterpillar remained suspended before the change, its form had gradually become more conical, the tail being the apex; and the newly-excluded pupa does not greatly differ from it in form; the abdominal segments being much extended, while the anterior parts, and especially the integuments of the future wings are corrugated and thickened. But in the course of a few hours the proportions of these parts are reversed; the wing-covers are lengthened, are freed from wrinkles, and have assumed the form of the anterior wings of the butterfly; the thoracic segments are extended, and the abdominal ones are abbreviated and made much more compact. The integument also, which, at first exclusion, was soft and tender as wet paper, has hardened into a crustaceous shell; and the colour, which was pellucid green, has become dusky brown, with some spots of gold. A practised eye can now detect in this *swathed mummy*, all the external parts of the future butterfly. The eyes are marked by two prominences in front of the head; the wings are brought down on each side, in an

* Kirby and Spence.

opposite direction to that which they will assume when erect: the antennæ and legs are stretched upon the breast, and the sucking tube, not yet in its spiral curl, is extended between them. A few days before the birth of the butterfly, which may be, in summer, about three weeks after the assumption of the chrysalis state, the approaching maturity of the enclosed insect is announced by the increasing transparency of the pupa-skin, and by the appearance of the beautiful markings and colours of the butterfly's wing, perfect, but in miniature. If at this time we gently press the thorax with the thumb and finger, the skin will split down the back and may be readily peeled from the insect; and this will display in a very interesting manner, the beautiful arrangement of all the organs in the pupa, as in 'swaddling bands.' An insect thus prematurely brought to the birth will walk briskly about, curl up its sucking-tube, and flit its little wings up and down, but these will not increase in size; they will remain perfect in their coloration, but no larger than they were in the pupa.

But if it be allowed to remain till Nature's own moment of exclusion is arrived, the splitting of the now fragile and filmy pupa-skin, and the stepping forth of the new-born fly, drawing its limbs from their sheaths, will form one of the most interesting sights that a young naturalist can witness. The hollow nervures that pervade the wings receive a fluid from the body, which is impelled through their whole course, lengthening them, and at the same time expanding the membranes which are stretched over them. The effect is soon manifest: the wings, which at first were smooth, though thick and pulpy, presently begin to crumple up in a strange manner, so as to induce the fear in one who watches the beautiful process for the first time, that they are hopelessly spoiled. But wait awhile: they grow wider and longer; and at the same time more and more crumpled; at length, their full dimensions are attained, and now, imperceptibly but rapidly, the corrugations one by one straighten and soon disappear, and the gorgeous wings are expanded in all their unsoiled and unruffled beauty; not a wrinkle marring their even surface, nor a single scale of the elaborate mosaic displaced. They are still, however, soft and flaccid, like a wet cloth, and incapable of being erected; but every moment strengthens them, and in about an hour from the time when the first crack appeared on the back of the pupa, the lovely sylph begins to open and shut its broad pinions in the sun, and gathers courage to try its new born powers in the fields of air.

We have described the metamorphoses of a common butterfly as an example of the phenomena. It must not be supposed, however, that the details are the same in all cases; variations

occur in different species and genera ; more conspicuously in the families ; and when we compare the various orders we find a parallelism only in the great leading facts, but endless diversity in detail. Thus the entomologist has perpetually under his notice processes ever varying, and of the most interesting character.

To enumerate the multiform attractions which the study of insects presents, and the various claims which it puts forth to attention, would fill volumes. We shall confine ourselves to a word or two on their surpassing loveliness. The nursery prejudice, that these creatures are worthy only to be trodden under foot, as things repulsive and disgusting, is certainly decaying, though it retains its hold still in some minds. A glance through an entomological cabinet would prove how unjust are such notions. If brilliant hues, polished surfaces, sculptured chasings, graceful forms, and lively motions, can command admiration, these are displayed by insects, to a degree which we should in vain look for in any other class of creatures. We need not speak of simple colours ; these occur in profusion, of all hues, of all shades of intensity, and of the very highest degrees of brightness ; combined, too, in the most elegant manner, and very frequently, particularly in the *Lepidoptera*, presenting that peculiar charm which results from the association of tints that are complementary to each other.

Words are always felt to be too poor to describe the refulgence of the hues of many of the feathered tribes ; the metallic gloss of the Trogons and the oriental *Gallinaceæ*, the gem-like flashings of the humming-birds, and the birds of Paradise. Perhaps it would be deemed extravagant to assert, that these glories can be *excelled* by the tiny races we are discussing ; but equalled, *most fully equalled*, they assuredly are. To possess the glow of burnished metal upon the most varied hues, is in the order *Coleoptera*, a common thing. Most of the *Eumolpideæ* are remarkable for this ; of which we may instance *Chrysochus fulgidus*, a beetle from Bombay. The *Buprestidæ* have long been celebrated, for the same reason ; and portions of their bodies have been used in the toilet of ladies, in association with diamonds and rubies. Many of the *Chlamydæ* blaze with golden-crimson, purple, and the most fiery orange. The species of the small genus *Eurhinus* seem to send forth the coloured flames of the pyrotechnic art. The *Longicornes* display the same beauties, associated with gigantic size ; *Cheloderus Childreni*, for example, a large beetle from Colombia, is equal to any *Buprestis* for the radiance of the green, crimson, purple, blue, scarlet, and gold, that are all at the same time flaming from its singularly-sculptured surface.

. But there are impressions conveyed by the reflection of light

From the bodies of many beetles, which far exceed the metallic fulgor of which we have been speaking, beautiful as it is. We cannot hope to describe them intelligibly; we know of no combination of words which will give an idea of them. We mean the soft, almost velvety, radiance of some of the *Goliathi*, of many of the *Cetoniæ*, as the genus *Eudicella*, for instance; and of not a few of the *Phanæi*; in the former two, the hue is generally green; in the latter, this colour is associated with other hues, most glowing, yet of an indescribable softness. We cannot imagine anything of this sort more charming than the soft golden and orange hue upon the green of the magnificent *Phanaeus imperialis*.

Others again, as *Hoplia farinosa*, a little chafer from southern Europe, and many of the weevil tribe (*Curculionidæ*) are covered with scales of vivid splendour, but so minute and so closely set, that the whole surface reflects one soft but rich lustre of tints, differing according to the species. We would instance, of these, the noble species of the genus *Cyphus*. Others of the same great family, on a dark but still richly coloured ground, have the minute scales clustered in spots or bands, forming regular patterns in much variety; and in these they reflect rainbow hues, as if a sunbeam decomposed through a prism, had been solidified and pulverized; or if viewed through a lens, looking like powdered gems, each individual scale changing its hues with the slightest motion of the eye. Among these we may mention *Hypsonotus elegans*, *Cyphus spectabilis*, *Entimus splendidus*, and *E. imperialis*, commonly known as diamond-beetles, and the elegantly-shaped genus *Pachyrhynchus*, of which the *P. gemmatus*, from the Philippine Islands, is, perhaps, the most lovely of all earthly creatures.

And if we look at the *Lepidoptera*, the order more especially under review, we feel that beauty belongs to them rather as an essence than as an accident. Their broad, fan-like wings have an airy lightness and grace to which the painter and the poet pay homage, when they endow the sylphs and loves of their fancy with butterfly-pinions. They are clothed with minute scales, which are the vehicle of their colours, somewhat resembling in this respect, the beetles last spoken of; but they have beauties peculiar to themselves. Fine combinations and contrasts of colours are too much the rule in this order to need specification; and these are often shaded and blended with a downy softness, as in the sphinges and moths. As illustrious examples, we will mention the *Gynautocera*, a group of Oriental moths approaching in some points the butterflies, as exhibiting the most brilliant hues in bands and clouds; but softly blended and mingled, with exceeding chasteness and beauty.

Many species of the genus *Catagramma*, a group of butterflies marked on the inferior surface of the fore wings with scarlet and black, and on that of the hind with singular concentric circles of black on a white ground, have on the superior surface the metallic lustre common in the beetles, the wings being golden green or blue. The genus *Urania* has this radiance still more conspicuous; while the inferior surface of some of the *Theclæ*, as *T. imperialis*, *T. Actæon*, *T. Endymion*, etc., is covered with the most rich and varied metallic hues, as if powdered with gold, copper, and silver filings. Some butterflies, as several of our native Fritillaries, and more vividly an American species (*Argynnis passifloræ*), one from New Zealand (*Argyrophenga antipodum*), and the beautiful *Paphia Clytemnestra*, have spots of burnished silver on their inferior surface; and several of our own moths, as the genus *Plusia*, are so spotted on the upper surface. Others display a lustre between that of silver and that of pearl, as several species of *Charaxes* on one, and the magnificent *Morpho Laertes*, on both surfaces. But of this sort of beauty, perhaps nothing can excel the gemmaceous green, changing to azure, of *Papilio Ulysses*, or that of *Apatura? laurentia*; or, above all, of some of the great Brazilian *Morphos*. The blaze of silvery azure that flashes from *M. Adonis*, *M. Cytheris*, and *M. Menelaus*, is indescribable; the eyes are pained as they gaze upon it; yet there is said to be an unnamed species from the emerald mountains of Bogota, of which a single specimen is in a private cabinet in London, which is far more lustrous than these.

The change from one hue to another produced by the play of light in altering the angle of its reflection, has always been much admired; and this occurs in great perfection, and with much diversity, in the lovely insects of the *Lepidopterous* order. Some of the genus *Hætera* (as *H. piera*, and *H. esmeralda*), and many of the *Heliconidæ*, as *Hymenitis diaphana*, etc., have the wings nearly or quite destitute of the ordinary scaly clothing, presenting only a transparent membrane of great delicacy; over which the light plays with a beautiful iridescence. *Papilio Arcturus* and some allied species, are golden-green, changing to blue, or to glowing purple. Very many of the *Nymphalidæ* are distinguished for a flush of surpassing richness, that in one particular light gleams over the surface. Our own *Apatura Iris*, commonly known as the purple emperor, is a native example of this beauty, and still more *A. namoura*; but especially the species of the genus *Thaumantis*, as well as *Morpho martia*, and *M. Automedon*. *Diadema bolina* also displays a purple flush over and around the white spots, which is exquisitely

scientific descriptions from the pen of Mr. Westwood. The publication of this volume naturally led to the consideration of the more retiring, but not less interesting, children of the night, the sphinges and moths, which being far more numerous, occupy two volumes; the whole forming a pleasing and useful work on the *Lepidoptera* of Britain. The plates are in general nicely coloured, but the introduction of the plants on which the insects feed, and, in some cases, of showy flowers, often injures the pictorial effect. The letter-press is almost wholly technical: we think that it might have been advantageously relieved by introducing much more of the interesting details of habits. These, the following specimens from the preface of the second work induce us to think Mr. Humphreys could have gracefully traced:—

‘The British moths are not perhaps so gaily coloured as their more gaudy rivals, the butterflies; but when we consider the splendid sphinges, or twilight-fliers, by which they are linked to the day-flying butterflies, they can scarcely be deemed less beautiful. Indeed, in the larva stage, many moths surpass in their wonderful raiment of velvet and satin, of ermine and sable, jewelled over with gold and silver studs of various metallic tints, anything which the butterfly division can boast. . . . The gorgeous colouring and texture of the caterpillars frequently disappear in the perfect moth; but are replaced by intricate and graceful pencillings, and wonderfully elegant and varied markings, which amply repay the loss of glowing tints.’—*British Moths*, Preface.

‘The occupation of forming a collection of moths is more interesting than is the case with butterflies; inasmuch, as with the former many ingenious stratagems may be employed with the greatest success; whilst with the latter, watching for the insect in the broad sunshine, and capturing it by sheer dexterity of hand and speed of foot, is the only practicable mode of operation. Stratagem is certainly more interesting than this obvious mode of proceeding: for instance, when all appears utterly still in the insect world, on a balmy night of summer or autumn, the collector, by placing a light near his open window, may ensure the appearance of a variety of moths; indeed, on a favourable night they will follow each other in almost uninterrupted succession from dusk to dawn, attracted by the treacherous beacon to their capture. And how interesting is it to the naturalist to watch the punctuality with which each nightly traveller, or set of travellers, keeps to fixed and stated hours of flight; every period of the night having its peculiar visitants; so that a clock of moths may be imagined, as Linnæus formed a dial of flowers.’—*Ibid.* Preface.

The character of the two succeeding works is sufficiently indicated by their titles. They possess little interest to general readers, but to the scientific entomologist they are valuable. To such, Mr. Westwood’s high reputation in the science

pencil for successful study; because the distinctions of species in this order are very largely drawn from their diversities of colour, and from the irregular forms or patterns of its distribution; which no language could adequately convey. A sense of this importance, as well as the aptitude of the *Lepidoptera* for pictorial illustration, caused works similar to most of those before us, to be attempted as soon as science began to emerge from the darkness of the middle ages. Goedart's little volumes, printed in 1662, are accompanied by plates of Lepidopterous insects, which are even yet consulted by entomologists. In our own country, we may notice the 'Aurelian' of Moses Harris, for the beauty of his plates of butterflies and moths, published in 1778; and on the continent, the still more exquisite work of Sepp, on the insects of the Netherlands. Though commenced as early as 1762, the delineations of the *Lepidoptera* in these volumes from the egg to the imago, can hardly be surpassed in the present day for accuracy, chasteness, and elegance; and the style of engraving is admirably suited to express the softened shades of the originals. Two important works of the last century also claim notice, on account of their comprehensive character; the first was Drury's work on exotic insects, the figures of which were drawn by Moses Harris, and which has been recently re-edited by Mr. Westwood; the other the extensive work of Cramer, continued by Stoll, confined to the exotic *Lepidoptera*; a collection of coloured figures on 442 plates, the most comprehensive we yet possess.

We need not enumerate the multitudinous volumes that have appeared in our own times, both in this country and on the Continent; nor more than allude to the general increase of accuracy, now considered indispensable, in the delineation of anatomical details, such as the jointing of the antennæ, the forms of the palpi, the tarsi, the spines of the tibiæ, the neuration of the wings, and other matters, which formerly were little regarded.

The first of the works mentioned at the head of this article, includes all the diurnal *Lepidoptera*, or butterflies, of these islands; with a coloured figure of each species, in its states of egg, larva, pupa, and imago, as far as these are known. The book owes its origin, as Mr. Humphreys informs us, to the impression made on his mind by the number and beauty of the butterflies he observed during a visit to Italy, and which, on his return, he was somewhat surprised to find to a great extent identical in species with those which had escaped his notice in his own country. Presuming that many others were as unconscious as he had been of the beautiful creatures that flutter over our fields and woods, he collects their graceful forms, and presents them to his countrymen, accompanied by

scientific descriptions from the pen of Mr. Westwood. The publication of this volume naturally led to the consideration of the more retiring, but not less interesting, children of the night, the sphinges and moths, which being far more numerous, occupy two volumes; the whole forming a pleasing and useful work on the *Lepidoptera* of Britain. The plates are in general nicely coloured, but the introduction of the plants on which the insects feed, and, in some cases, of showy flowers, often injures the pictorial effect. The letter-press is almost wholly technical: we think that it might have been advantageously relieved by introducing much more of the interesting details of habits. These, the following specimens from the preface of the second work induce us to think Mr. Humphreys could have gracefully traced:—

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The character of the two succeeding works is sufficiently indicated by their titles. They possess little interest to general readers, but to the scientific entomologist they are valuable. To such, Mr. Westwood’s high reputation in the science

is sufficient recommendation. One of the most important features in the 'Arcana Entomologica,' is the introduction of occasional monographs of intricate groups of insects, as the *Paussidæ*, and others, which Mr. Westwood has elaborately worked out with much diligence and acumen. In the plates, we again find what we cannot but consider the questionable taste of introducing flaunting flowers, often to the effect of *quenching*, if we may use the term, the colours of the insects, to which, of course, everything ought to be subordinate. The author has felicitously diversified the barrenness of systematic details, by throwing, now and then, on the scene a wreath from the muses. Out of such quotations, we select the following, for its pleasing turn of thought, though the last sentiment does seem somewhat innocent of meaning:—

‘TO A BUTTERFLY.

(From HERDER.)

- ‘ Light and lovely thing of sky,
Butterfly !
Fluttering ever amidst flowers,
Fed on buds and dewy showers,
(Flower, thyself, or leaf with wings !)
Say, what finger rosy red
Thy rich colour brings ?
- ‘ Was’t some sylph, that o’er thee threw
Each bright hue ?
Raised thee from morn’s fragrant mist,
Bade thee through thy day exist ?
Ah ! beneath my fingers pressed,
Palpitates thy tiny heart,
E’en to death distressed.
- ‘ Fly away, poor soul ! and be
Gay and free !
Thus, no more a worm of earth,
I shall one day flutter forth ;
And, like thee, a thing of air,
Clothed in sweets and honeyed dews,
Each sweet floweret share !’

Quoted in Arc. Entom. ii. 16.

The ‘Genera of Diurnal Lepidoptera’ is, however, a work of a far higher rank than those we have noticed above. Naturalists appear to have shrunk from the task of arranging this very beautiful, but confessedly difficult order of insects. Latreille was accustomed to say, that the classification of the *Lepidoptera*

according to their true affinities, would be the highest test of entomological knowledge. To this herculean labour, Mr. Doubleday applies himself; and with the highest prospect of success, if success be possible in the present state of the science. The acquaintance which this gentleman possesses with the *Lepidoptera* is certainly not inferior,—probably superior,—to that of any living naturalist; he has studied them systematically for many years; he has familiarized himself with their habits by personal observation, both in Europe and in America; and by his official connexion with the British Museum, he enjoys the immense advantage of a daily consultation of the noble collection in that institution, probably the finest ever formed, of which he has the superintendence; as well as free access to the large collections of manuscripts and drawings in its library, including many of great value made by Mr. Abbott, in Georgia, never yet published, and by the late General Hardwicke, and other naturalists in India.

The characters of the families and of the genera are given at length, including (what is of much importance) those of the larvæ and pupæ, wherever these are known. The diagnosis, though full, is clear and expressive; and it possesses the great advantage of arrangement,—an advantage which those will know how to appreciate who have laboured in the investigation of groups or species from recorded characters. Mr. Doubleday first characterizes the *head*, under which follow the eyes, the maxillæ, the palpi, the antennæ; then the *thorax*, followed by the anterior wings, the posterior wings, and the legs; then the *abdomen*; and, finally, the *larva* and *pupa*. To this order of arrangement he adheres, so that the eye can, in a moment, rest on the character of any particular organ, without having to search through half a page of technicalities heaped together promiscuously. After the diagnosis, follow any observations that are required on peculiarities of structure, and a digest of whatever information is known respecting transformations and habits. A list of the species of each genus completes the letter-press, with habitats, synonymes, and a notification of such species as exist in the national collection. The labour, knowledge, and skill required to form these lists of species, can hardly be imagined by those who have never waded through the intricate and involved synonymy of authors and cabinets; but these qualities are possessed in no ordinary degree by the accomplished entomologist who has undertaken the task.

Of the habits of the exotic *Lepidoptera*, but little has as yet been observed. Mr. Doubleday has carefully availed himself of all that has been recorded, both by continental and English travellers, and has gained materials also from private sources of

information. We extract the following curious notices of a phenomenon, which is as interesting as it is unique, in the beautiful order before us. The butterfly spoken of is *Ageronia feronia*, inhabiting America, from Mexico to Brazil:—

‘The perfect insect has a short, rapid flight, and constantly alights on trunks of trees. All the species whose history is known, produce in flying a sound, which I have heard compared by a good observer, to the rustling of a piece of parchment; to which, also, M. Lacordaire compares it.’

‘In his paper on the *Diurnal Lepidoptera of Guiana*, published in the second volume of the ‘Annals of the Entomological Society of France,’ he remarks, that the species of the genus ‘présentent le phénomène unique dans l’ordre, de produire en volant un bruit pareil à celui d’un parchemin très sec qu’on froisserait entre les mains.’

‘Mr. Darwin, in his ‘Researches in Geology and Natural History,’ has the following passage in regard to one species of this genus. ‘I was much surprised at the habits of *Papilio feronia*. This butterfly is not uncommon, and generally frequents the orange-groves. Although a high flyer, yet it very frequently alights on the trunks of trees. On these occasions its head is invariably placed downwards; and its wings are expanded in a horizontal plane, instead of being folded vertically, as is commonly the case. This is the only butterfly I have ever seen that uses its legs for running. Not being aware of this fact, the insect more than once, as I cautiously approached with my forceps, shuffled on one side, just as the instrument was on the point of closing, and thus escaped. But a far more singular fact, is the power which this insect possesses of making a noise. Several times, when a pair, probably male and female, were chasing each other in an irregular course, they passed within a few yards of me, and I distinctly heard a clicking noise, similar to that produced by a toothed wheel passing under a spring catch. The noise was continued at short intervals, and could be distinguished at about twenty yards distance. I cannot form a conjecture how it is produced; but I am certain there is no error in the observation.’

‘After having carefully examined every species of the genus which has been recorded as producing this noise, I can discover no structure which seems intended to produce it. All of them offer one peculiarity. Immediately above the costal nervure, quite at its origin, on the under side of the wing, is a small round cavity, smooth inside, covered with a very delicate membrane, stretched across it like the parchment of a kettle-drum, which the cavity resembles in shape. Another peculiarity occurs in the swollen part of the costal nervure, in *Ageronia Arethusa*. This part of the nervure is divided by numerous transverse membranaceous diaphragms, placed obliquely, so as to present, when the nervure is rendered transparent, the appearance of a screw, with a very loose worm enclosed in the nervure. I cannot imagine any connexion between either of these peculiarities in structure, and the sound produced by the insect.’

‘Gen. of Diurn. Lepid.’ p. 82.

The illustrations are in every way worthy of the text. They are drawn with the most scrupulous fidelity, and with exquisite taste, by Mr. Hewitson, who adds to his artistic skill a scientific acquaintance with the subject. No other object withdraws the attention from the beautiful insects, which are invariably depicted of the size of life, and coloured with a care and finish that liken them to water-colour drawings. In general only one species of each genus is figured; but in extensive genera, where the forms are very varied, as *Papilio* and *Pieris*, for example, a sufficient number of figures are given for their illustration.

The work is issued in monthly parts, of which eighteen have appeared, embracing the families *Papilionidæ*, *Pieridæ*, *Ageronidæ*, *Danaidæ*, *Heliconidæ*, *Acræidæ*, and part of *Nymphalidæ*. When completed, it will form one of the most important contributions to entomology, that the science has ever received.

ART. III.—*Narrative of Events in Borneo and Celebes, down to the Occupation of Labuan.* By James Brooke, Esq., Rajah of Sarawak, and Governor of Labuan. *Together with a Narrative of the Operation of H. M. S. Iris.* By Captain Rodney Mundy, R.N., with numerous Plates, Maps, Charts, and Woodcuts. London: Murray. 1848.

IN most recent books of travel the skill of the workman is employed to conceal the poverty of the materials; but in the case of Mr. Brooke's journals, the process may be said in some measure to be reversed, the manner of the writer being plain and simple, while the materials at his command are of the richest description. When a man of great abilities finds himself in new countries and among new races, he feels by a species of instinct, that he stands in no need of artifice or eloquence to excite a powerful interest in the public. He has but to describe faithfully his own position, to explain his relations to the natives, to delineate their character and manners, and to enumerate the means by which they may be brought within the circle of civilization. Mr. Brooke perfectly comprehends this truth, and is content in every part of his journals with relating facts, or pleading for the pacific interference of Europe in developing the resources of the Indian Archipelago. As a rule he abstains from generalizing. No doubt we meet with evi-

dence throughout his book that he has meditated upon the subject as a whole, discussed with himself and others the conflicting claims of Great Britain and Holland, examined treaties, and invoked the aid of history in his attempts to arrive at just political conclusions. But we are not made parties to the investigations. He contents himself for the most part with details, and insinuates rather than asserts his opinions. At the same time it is altogether impossible to go patiently through his work, without arriving at the conviction that the influence of Great Britain is needed in the further East, and that we could scarcely possess a better representative than Mr. Brooke, in the attempt to establish an authority, whether, in the great island of Kalamantan, or in the scattered groups which extend eastward to the longitude of New Guinea.

Mr. Brooke's journal is therefore a book of details, of pictures, of incidents, of adventures, of anecdotes, occasionally interspersed with pages of speculations modestly thrown in here and there, to enhance its intrinsic value, without diminishing its chances of popularity. Captain Mundy, also, in his continuation of the work, has pursued the same plan with much success. He keeps strictly to the narrative form, and relates what he saw, instead of dissertating upon what he believes. The reader will, consequently, meet in these volumes with an immense fund of amusement while engaged in acquiring instruction. Some new tribe is constantly presenting itself, with characters, manners, and creed, altogether peculiar, for in the Archipelago, the islands themselves are scarcely less extraordinary than the multiplied and varied races by which they are inhabited. Every province, nay, almost every mountain and valley have their distinctive superstitions, which Mr. Brooke patiently collects and describes. From the form of composition which he has adopted, you behold the growth of his opinions on nearly all subjects, because he states his first impressions, and afterwards relates with frankness the means by which they were successively modified, or the reasons for which they were abandoned altogether. This circumstance greatly enhances the value of the work, for it is seldom that a traveller enjoys the advantage of a protracted residence, and is enabled to explode the errors into which haste almost necessarily betrays men.

The narrative embraces an account of Mr. Brooke's proceedings from the moment he quitted England, free as a pirate, in his own little yacht, and is brought down to the present year. Those events, however, related in the work published by Captain Keppel, are, of course, omitted, sometimes without even a mention. The best way to criticise a work fairly, is to give an abstract, however imperfect, of its contents, and this to the

best of our power, we shall proceed to do. Shortly after his first arrival in the Sarawak river, Mr. Brooke started inland on an expedition, which is only mentioned in the present narrative, as its details were given in the former work. On his return to Muda Hassim's capital, he resolved to leave the country, and visit it again only when some considerable period had elapsed, during which he hoped it would settle down into a more peaceful condition, as it was then in a state of apparently hopeless anarchy and confusion. The native Rajah expressed many earnest wishes that the British flag should often appear upon his waters, and in return our countryman assured him he would do all in his power to foster and encourage lawful commerce. With this they parted, the prince to resume his endeavours towards the pacification of his kingdom, and Mr. Brooke to steer the Royalist yacht towards Singapore, in order to refit and get fresh provisions. From thence he proceeded to Celebes, and after many negotiations had been entered upon, obtained leave from the Rajah Pangawa of Palette, to visit the interior of that island, so little known and so seldom explored. The interview between Mr. Brooke and this chief, took place some little distance out at sea. A large number of prahus, of every size and shape, were collected together on the occasion, paddling or sailing round the English cutter, which lay motionless in the midst, with her swivel guns well charged with grape and canister, in order to guard against treachery. Her little ensign floating in the middle of this motley assemblage; the hundreds of athletic Bugis boatmen; the crowded craft; the gay dresses of chiefs and followers, the dark outline of the shore clothed with rich vegetation and shaded by dense foliage, from which at intervals flights of screaming cockatoos would emerge; the distant hill-ranges of Celebes, fading from view in the dim light of evening; all these conduced to render the scene of a peculiarly striking nature, and at once impressed the traveller with the idea of a distant and little known land.

The conference terminated on the whole to Mr. Brooke's satisfaction, though he could not obtain the wished for permission to visit the great cavern temple at Mampo, of which so many marvellous tales had reached his ears. However, he did not despair of being able to accomplish this also, and therefore landed with a good heart on Celebes, at the village of Doping, where he was witness to a deer-hunt, which we must pass by, to give an account of the extraordinary government of Wajo, of which the world scarcely affords a parallel.

That community presents the aspect of a barbarian republic, or a free constitution, with a powerful public opinion. The government consists of six hereditary rajahs, three civil and three

military, one military chief being attached to each civil one. These six officers elect the head of the state, who under the title of the Aru Matoah, exercises during his reign the functions of chief magistrate, checking and controlling the feudal chiefs, and conducting the foreign policy of the kingdom. Below the six great lords is a council composed of forty nobles, of inferior rank, who are appealed to in cases of importance or difficulty. The rights of the people are watched over by three pangawas or tribunes, elected by popular vote, and possessed of considerable power. They can object to the appointment of the Aru Matoah, and their command alone is a legal summons to war. Mr. Brooke arranges the government thus :—

‘ ARU MATOAH (President)

Elected by

THE SIX HEREDITARY RAJAHS,
The Council of Forty.

PANGAWA, PANGAWA, PANGAWA,
General Council.’

This general council consists of the heads of villages and all the respectable freemen, who are convened on occasions of great emergency, to state their opinions and discuss public business, without, however, having the power to arrive at a decision. If the council of forty be not unanimous in its decrees, the three pangawas call a meeting of the people, who refer the question to the Aru Matoah. Perhaps some of our neighbours might take a hint from the republicans of Wajo.

Many lively and interesting details of Bugis manners and customs are given. Mr. Brooke enjoyed ample opportunities for observation, during his excursions into the interior and along the coast. In ascending rivers and crossing lakes, native canoes were made use of, ‘ forty or fifty feet long, and only two and a half wide, covered with a small hajang or mat. In this narrow space our party was ranged one behind the other, seated cross-legged, somewhat to the discomposure of us all.’ Packed closely in this incommodious craft, the travellers and their native companions ascended a moderate sized river, passed several towns and hamlets, and at length arrived at Tempè, a village situated on the shores of the Taparkerajah or Royal Lake, an extensive sheet of water, belted in by lofty mountains and undulating meadow lands. Here they witnessed some Bugis rifle practice.

‘ On my return I found the rajahs practising rifle-shooting at a target, at the measured distance of one hundred and twenty yards. They sat, with their followers, in a line, each man’s rifle being laid on props close

by him, and by turns they rose and fired. Their motions are most slow and particular—the rifle is pointed upwards, the marksman gains a steady footing, brings his piece slowly to the point, then feels it with his fingers to be sure of his grasp, and, after a wearisome aim, discharges his bolt. They shoot well, but this false practice of dwelling too long on the aim, must in action cause them to lose much of their precision. It is their usual amusement, and I am told they seldom omit it in fine weather. Small bets were laid for the first shot in the bull's eye, and I am told, two or three had struck it.'—Vol. i. p. 87.

The Royal Lake is described by Mr. Brooke, as presenting a most striking appearance. Scattered in profusion over its surface were numerous green floating islands, if we may be allowed the use of the term. These are composed of masses of the luxuriant vegetation everywhere abounding, and are covered with flourishing shrubs and flowering plants, in lavish abundance. Here and there, in the more shallow portions of the lake, are large fields as it were, of bright water lilies, among the dark leaves of which are found the nests of the aquatic birds, which are continually seen running or flying over the water. Some of these fields extend for four or five miles.

A striking example of the extent to which the practice of kidnapping is carried in the Wajo state, is related by Mr. Brooke, and as we could not hope to present it correctly to our readers in a more condensed form, we shall make a short extract:—

'A follower of the rajah Karain, who had assumed the character of a physician, came to the house of a relative of the nakodah; and, after sitting some time in converse with the lady of the house, said, 'I wish you would let somebody carry my bundle to Nepoh, where I am going, (Nepoh was about three miles off). The poor woman immediately said, 'My nephew shall do it for you,' and the boy (about ten years of age) went with the pretended physician, as was thought, to Nepoh. Some days, however, elapsing, and the boy not coming back, his aunt grew uneasy; and, setting some inquiries on foot, found that the man with whom he had gone was at Tempè. On being applied to, the miscreant coolly replied, that the boy came back the same evening; the real fact being that he had sold him as a slave, no one knew where. Under these circumstances the nakodah, applied to me to use my influence with the datu Lampola, in order to recover the boy, and I immediately applied to him, and received the fullest assurance that if the boy was alive, he should be found. A week, however, passing, and no news being obtained, I renewed my instances more warmly; and urged that if the man would not disclose what he had done with the boy, he ought to be put in confinement.'—Ib. p. 111.

This appeared, however, to be altogether out of the question, for the miscreant was a follower of the Aru Karain! On

further inquiry it was discovered that the *very rascal* who had stolen and sold the boy, had been sent to repurchase him, with 25 reals of the datu's money. Our countryman was very ill satisfied at the time, but had afterwards the satisfaction of learning from the nakodah the intelligence, that the poor boy who had been sold in Si Dendring, was to return home immediately.

During Mr. Brooke's stay in the country, he witnessed the installation of a new Aru Matoah, the one then reigning wishing to resign, and retire into the seclusion of a country life. Great rejoicings were made on the occasion, and a vast body of the people were assembled. The new dignitary, with affected modesty, urged his unfitness for the kingly office. 'I am foolish,' he says, 'I am cowardly, I am poor.' To which was replied, 'Wajo is wise, Wajo is brave, Wajo is rich.' Allegiance was then sworn to the newly elected monarch.

The old rajah, whose love of retirement induced him to resign the chief magistrateship, was no sooner at liberty, than he invited our countrymen to accompany him to his hunting residence at Akutaingan. Mr. Brooke willingly accepted the offer, and stowing the great man and thirty other rajahs in his long boat, dropped down the Doping river, and soon entered the Akutaingan, seventeen miles up which is situated the village of that name. Here, on the borders of a forest, and in the midst of a jungle swamp, stood the old chief's house, large and commodious, but without furniture, and tenantless. Here the ex-Aru Matoah lived, though seldom entering his own dwelling, as he preferred—

‘To drive the deer with hound and horn,’

and to sleep in sheds or huts, as occasion served. Horses, dogs, and fighting cocks, hunters and hunting implements, were the only pleasures of his life, if we except—

‘A mistress, young and beautiful, who follows the fortunes of this old hunting chief, and perhaps the link which binds him to her is the participation in his pursuits. She hunts with him, wanders with him, lives with him, and even smokes opium with him. It grieved me to see so pretty a creature lost to better things, for the expression of her face bespoke so much sweetness and good temper, that I am sure she was intended for a happier, a better fate.’—Ib. p. 128.

With these extraordinary companions, Mr. Brooke enjoyed the exhilaration of a deer hunt, partook of the feast of the bloody heart, and observed much that was characteristic and novel. From Akutaingan he proceeded to Boni, where after encountering many disappointments and much difficulty, he at

length obtained leave to visit the cave of Mampo, whither he at once directed his course.

Mampo cave is a natural formation, though rumour had caused Mr. Brooke to expect to discover in it the vestiges of some ancient religion, practised by an extinct race of men. The first glance at the entrance destroyed those hopes. It was low, irregular, and dark, evidently not the work of man's hands. Yet the interior well repaid the explorers for the fatigue and dangers they had undergone.

'The various halls and passages exhibit the multitude of beautiful forms with which nature adorns her works; pillars and shafts, and fretwork, many of the most dazzling white, adorn the roofs or support them, and the ceaseless progress of the work is still going forward, and presenting all features in gradual formation. The top of the cave here and there, gives gleams of the most picturesque light, whilst trees and creepers, growing from the fallen masses, shoot up to the level above, and add a charm to the scene. Yet was I greatly disappointed, and enjoyed the sight less than I should otherwise have done.'—*Ib.* p. 141.

It may easily be supposed that our traveller should have been disappointed, at discovering what he expected to find an artificial temple, to be merely a natural cavern. However, on close inspection, the exaggerated tales of the natives were easily accounted for, by the numbers of grotesque masses of stone scattered in profusion, in every direction. 'That fallen pillar,' said they, 'is a rajah; that is a dog, that a horse, that a loom, these are growers of rice.' Various shrines, with burning tapers placed before them, were seen in the darkest and most obscure recesses, and the paths leading to them were well trodden, showing that they were much frequented by religious devotees.

But if we stay longer in Celebes, we shall allow ourselves but limited space for that portion of the narrative which refers to Borneo, and which is by far the most important feature of the work, as well in point of interest, as in the prominence of its position. Mr. Brooke, soon after his visit to Mampo, sailed for Singapore, and in a short time again found himself floating on the waters of the Sarawak river. Muda Hassim now made the proposal to cede the province to our countryman, in consideration of his assistance in the task of putting down the insurrection which just then ravaged the country, and threw it into a state of the utmost turmoil and disorganization. Mr. Brooke weighed this matter well in his mind, now feeling inclined to accept the rajah's offer, and then coming to the determination of quitting the country for ever.

At length he resolved, whatever might come of it, to aid Muda Hassim, and then to decide on a future course of opera-

tion. An army was led into the field, batteries were erected, artillery blazed away; forts were captured, the rebels were routed, and victory declared for the rajah's forces. Treaties were signed, stipulations were entered into, and peace restored.

A lengthened description of Borneo, its people, its climate, its various provinces, its mountains and hills, its valleys, its plains, its forests and jungles, its mineral and vegetable resources, its animal kingdom, and its religious beliefs, follows, together with a sketch of its recent history. In this latter portion of the narrative, a curious anecdote is related. Rajah Api, about twelve years before Mr. Brooke's arrival, had ruled in Borneo. His sway was heavy, harsh, and unjust. A faction was formed against him, headed by his sister, the mother of the present Sultan. Rajah Api was subdued, and driven to take refuge in a solitary prahu, in which, surrounded on all sides by a crowd of enemies he remained, every moment expecting death.

'A pangeran, a friend and partisan of Rajah Api, then found his way to the boat with some provisions, professing that his fear of discovery was overruled by his attachment and desire to serve him, and proposed their flight in a small sampan or canoe, the rajah being disguised as a woman. Desperate as was the proposal, it was agreed to, as the only remaining chance, and Rajah Api, having covered himself with his sarong, worn like a woman's over his head, proceeded with Muda Hassim, and a few other men of rank, as pullers, towards the mouth of the river. The pangeran who had decoyed them, being an agent of the Sultan's party, had every thing prepared, and they were seized beyond the trees, by an overwhelming number of boats. Rajah Api demanded a conference with his sister, and the Sultan his nephew; but it was refused, and orders were given, the following day, for his immediate execution. He received the intimation with firmness, called for some *ciri*, which having eaten, he threw off his jacket and allowed the fatal cord to be put around his throat; and his last remark aloud to all in the boat was, 'Observe well on which side I fall—if it be to the right, all is well in Borneo, but if it be to the left Borneo will be involved in many troubles.' The cord was made fast, and Rajah Api, as life departed, reclined from his sitting posture to the left side, and dying thus, bequeathed the prophecy of evil and misrule, which probably, living, he had long foreseen.'—*Ib.* p. 186.

Mr. Brooke now started on an expedition, with the object of seeing and shooting the ourang-outang in its native woods. Embarking in boats the party, consisting of himself, Mr. Williamson, Mr. Williams, Mr. Mackenzie, a mate and three seamen, with a large number of native followers, proceeded up the Sadong river. Here they had an opportunity of witnessing the coming in of the 'bore,' which indeed was very near

swamping their boats in one instance. It came rushing up the stream in one huge wave, twelve feet high. Many small canoes went down to meet it, and when its loud and sullen voice was heard, they lay on their paddles with tremendous shouts, and were the next instant whirled along in a cloud of surf and spray, with incredible velocity. Another remarkable spectacle was presented on the banks of this river. Soon after sunset, the shrubs and trees which bordered the stream were seen floating, with the radiance of millions of fire flies resembling fireworks, from the constant motion of the light. Mr. Brooke says that he has seen both banks of the Samarahan river, illuminated by a perfect blaze of these beautiful little insects.

Shortly afterwards they entered the confines of a great forest lake, where the course of the stream ran through an intricate channel, along which they with difficulty made their way, in small canoes. Presently a loud crashing noise was heard in the trees above, and on looking up, they perceived a huge ourang-outang seated among the branches. A hot pursuit was immediately commenced, the animal being from time to time discovered, as he slowly passed from tree to tree in advance of them, whilst they struggled through the jungle beneath. Having crossed a slight ridge of elevated ground, they were stopped by a dark, deep, ugly looking swamp, and the chase likewise paused, and from the top of a tree kept up an occasional grunting bark.

‘Our hesitation was only momentary, for, throwing off my trousers and shoes (which I repented), I took water, followed by Rajah Ali and many Malays and Dyaks, and soon found myself struggling up to the shoulders, with the rifle in one hand and the ammunition in the other.’ —Ib. p. 218.

Volley of shots rattled through the wood in every direction, shouts were uttered, while the devoted brute kept moving slowly in front. The Dyak hunters waved their spears and discharged their pieces with no definite aim, but merely to increase the excitement and clamour of the chase. At length Mr. Brooke and Rajah Ali fired together, at a moderate range, and it was evident that one or both balls had taken effect, for the huge animal went more and more slowly from one tree to another. Our countryman again loaded and fired. The ourang-outang fell splashing into the water, and the chase was ended. The height of the animal was four feet one inch, and it was said not to be a large one.

During the progress up this river, they passed a burying ground of the Dyaks, the first Mr. Brooke ever visited. It was situated on a gentle slope near the stream, in a shady spot, overhung with lofty trees. Each grave was entirely covered

with a bundle of sticks, two feet in height, and over these were placed sword sheaths, armlets, and other ornaments, with jars of food and water. The native guides appeared to dread a close inspection of this burying-ground, and wished to hurry the travellers away.

Further up, the party took up their quarters for the night, at a village of the Sibuyows, composed of a house of vast dimensions. After a supper of rice cakes, fried crisp in vegetable oil, the travellers retired to a corner of their host's apartment, and lay down to rest on clean mats spread out for their use. In another part of the chamber lay the chief and his lady, screened from view by a curtain. The sword and shield of the warrior hung near his bed's head, while the simple household furniture and implements were suspended around, but no heads were seen :—

‘ I rose from my mat, in order to inspect the long room or gallery, and there found the men and boys stretched on the bamboo floor, covered with their clothes formed from the bark of the Ippu tree. A few, more wakeful than the rest, raised their heads as I walked past them, and having taken a glance by the expiring flames of the damar torches, sank back again to slumber, without disturbing my promenade. They keep no watch, and trust to their dogs to warn them of the approach of enemies. Their house is partially fortified with logs of trees, and they live always in expectation of an attack from their implacable foes of Sarebas. Having satisfied my curiosity, I returned to my couch, stretched myself with a feeling of secure satisfaction, and whilst the drowsy god flitted over my eyelids, the plumes of the Argos pheasant, which ornamented the sword of the Dyak chief, waved to and fro, and assumed many fantastic shapes, till my senses were lost in sweet oblivion.’—*Ib* p. 232.

We next find Mr. Brooke engaged in calculating the resources of Sarawak, and carrying on tedious negotiations with Muda Hassim. That prince seems to have been weak and irresolute in the extreme, swayed now by one set of principles, now by another. There was a strong anti-English faction at work, whose whole conduct was regulated by an unchanging routine of deceit, cunning, and intrigue. The rajah was balanced between the two parties. He was afraid to offend the English resident in his dominions, who had done him such good service, and had power to do him still more, and he feared the revenge of the adherents of Makota, and the other chiefs inimical to British influence. Constant bickerings and unpleasantness were the result. Muda Hassim had promised our countryman the favor to work the antimony mines. He now delayed the final settlement. Mr. Brooke bought a schooner, and having put a cargo on board, prepared her for sea. The rajah detained it long beyond the time it was intended to stay. The native chief had

aged to do all in his power to suppress piracy, and on the 1st of August 1841, Mr. Brooke had the mortification to see a flotilla of above one hundred prahus, manned by three thousand Dyaks and Malays, sweep up the river for the purpose of laying fire and sword among the peaceful villages on both banks of the stream, as far as the mountains. A strong and remonstrance, however, was sent to the rajah, which had effect. The expedition was prevented, and hundreds of lives were saved.

In the intervals which occurred between these negotiations, Mr. Brooke employed himself in collecting information concerning the manners and modes of life amongst the various tribes. The way he spent his time is characteristic. Routine, it has been said, is the soul of business, and he observed this maxim exactly:—

My spare hours are devoted to studying the language, reading, charting; and my companions are constantly employed, some stuffing mammals and birds, others in teaching our Bugis and Dyak youths their letters, and instructing them in copying my vocabularies. Nine is the breakfast hour; four, the time for dinner, after which we stroll out till six, and drink tea at eight. Of wine and grog we have none, and I believe we are all better without it, retiring happily to our beds about ten, ready for that repose which will fit us for the labour of the morrow. I also engage myself watching some of the head men playing chess, in which they are really skilful, after their own fashion.'—*Ib.* p. 249.

Among the curious customs which Mr. Brooke describes in a portion of his narrative, is one which, we observe, obtains in many parts of the world. When a man dies, an universal invitation is given to all his friends and relatives, who meet together in the best room of the house, and take their usual meals. The deceased is then borne in, attired in the gayest apparel, and seated on the mat he most used when alive, with a box of areca and betel-nut placed at his side. The assembled friends then converse with him as usual, giving him wholesome advice as to his future proceedings, and sundry hints as to the best manner of behaving himself, on his way to the happy country. The body is then enclosed in a large wooden coffin, which is kept in the house during several months. The friends then meet as before, and carry the coffin out, until they find a tree standing in some particular direction. The corpse is then lifted up and placed among the branches, after which the deceased is repeatedly cautioned to beware lest he lose his way. 'Follow the road,' they say, 'if it branches in three directions; be careful in selecting the centre path, for this will conduct you to your own country,

whilst that to the right leads to Borneo, and that to the left to the sea.' The assembly then separates.

On the 24th of September, 1841, Mr. Brooke, irritated beyond measure by the hostility of Makota and his factions, and by the duplicity and double dealing of Muda Hassim, determined, at all events, to bring affairs to a crisis. He had spent time and capital and energy, in endeavouring to plant the seeds of a future commerce on the fertile soil of Sarawak, and was not prepared to relinquish his hopes, without a struggle. No alternative now remained, but that of availing himself of the rajah's oft-repeated offer to cede the province; otherwise the enterprise must have been abandoned altogether. The yacht *Royalist* was therefore hove opposite the rajah's dwelling, her guns charged with grape and canister, and brought well to bear. Muda Hassim had for three weeks feigned himself ill, and refused to grant an audience. Our countryman, however, was resolved, this time, not to be so trifled with. He pursued a course of operations which we regret. Putting himself at the head of an armed detachment, he marched straight up to the doorway of the rajah's palace, demanded and obtained an interview.

He now, in few words, explained himself, exposed the villainy of Makota, his tyranny and oppression of all classes, and furthermore stated, that he would attack and drive him from the country:—

'I explained to the rajah that several chiefs and a large body of Siniawan Dyaks were ready to assist me, and that the only course left to prevent bloodshed, was immediately to proclaim me governor of the country.

'This unmistakable demonstration had the desired effect: a resistance, indeed, on his part, would have been useless, for the Chinese population, and the inhabitants of the town generally, remained perfectly neutral. None joined the party of Makota, and his paid followers were not more than twenty in number. Under the guns of the *Royalist*, and with a body of men to protect me personally, and the great body of all classes with me, it is not surprising that the negotiation proceeded rapidly to favourable issues. The document was quickly drawn up, signed, sealed and delivered; and on the 24th of September, 1841, I was proclaimed rajah and governor of Sarawak, amidst the roar of cannon, and a general display of flags and banners from the shore and boats on the river.'—*Ib.* p. 271.

From the moment of his accession to the rajahate, Mr. Brooke turned his whole energies towards developing the resources of his settlement, and improving its condition. Large increases of population flowed in, a visible change immediately appeared on the face of affairs, head hunting was prohibited, trade and industry declared free, the Dyaks were protected, and preparations made to regulate the revenue and

currency of the province. The new rajah prepared for himself a permanent residence at Sarawak, spacious and convenient, with a hall of reception, a library, and other rooms, surrounded by a beautiful and picturesque garden. He also established for himself a country-house at Santah, in the midst of a pretty farm planted with nutmegs, figs, etc. The building is situated on the banks of a small stream rushing through a rocky channel, over-arched with sombre foliage. Near this is another dwelling, built on a spot called the 'Fairyknoll,' where diamond mines have been discovered.

Two noted pirate chiefs with their followers had long ravaged the province, obstructing trade, and injuring the processes of industry. Their atrocities were without number. Blood and plunder alone delighted them, they cared for no honest gains, and were never satisfied unless engaged in some predatory excursions. Mr. Brooke determined, at any rate, to seize the men and their companions, and to bring them to justice. It was well known, however, that they were desperate and ferocious, and that it would be almost an impossibility to take them alive. However, it was resolved to make the attempt, and to enter on no hostile measures, unless as a last resource :—

'I found the patingi waiting till the pangawa and the Illamons par-glinna came to the beach; and, to prevent suspicion, my party kept close in the boat, whence I could observe what was passing without. The pangeran and Illamons walked down, both well armed, and the latter dressed out with a variety of charms. Once on the beach, retreat was impossible, for our people surrounded them, without, however, committing any hostile act. The suspicion of the two was, however, raised, and it was curious to observe their different demeanour. The Borneo pangeran remained quiet, silent, and motionless—a child might have taken him; the Magindanao Illamon lashed himself, to desperation. Flourishing his spear in one hand, and the other on the handle of his sword, he defied those collected about him: he danced his war dance on the sand; his face became deathly pale, his wild eyes glared; he was ready to *arnok*, to die, but not to die alone. His time was come, for he was dangerous; and to catch him was impossible.'—Ib. p. 309.

Mr. Brooke's native ally, Patingi Ali, therefore, by a sudden and dexterous movement, killed the pirate by a blow of his spear. After he had received his mortal wound, the desperate man attempted to inflict vengeance on his enemies, and attacked one of them furiously with his weapon. Before he could drive it home, however, he fell and died.

The other buccancers were captured, and two put to death; the rest, seven in number, were chained and placed in confinement.

After this bloody and wretched business was over, Mr. Brooke set himself with increased vigour to the task of ameliorating the condition of the unhappy Dyak races, and drawing forth the fatness of the land. Makota and his turbulent party were quelled, and some show of peace and prosperity began to appear ; ambassadors came in from distant tribes, with offers of friendship and alliance : ‘ They had heard,’ they said, ‘ the whole world had heard, that a son of Europe was a friend of the Dyaks.’ Mr. Brooke never failed to receive the embassies with urbanity and kindness. He knew of what advantage it might prove to the course of commerce and civilization, that a proper knowledge of the British character should be instilled into the native mind. Formerly, when any one asked a group of children which they would most dread meeting in the woods, ‘ a tiger, a serpent, or a white man,’ a yell of fury at the last name would soon dispel all doubt on the subject:—

‘ For the country,’ says Mr. Brooke, ‘ what shall I say ? I could not wish a richer : its soil is fine and admirably calculated for the culture of rice, coffee, nutmegs, or cotton. There is a noble river flowing through the territory. The southern boundary is defended by a range of mountains, of an elevation which affords an European climate ; and the climate generally is healthy and cool : the mineral productions are rich. Then we have woods which would supply all the dockyards of Europe, and of the finest quality ; for though we do not boast of teak, we have other timber equally hard and durable.’—*Ib.* p. 325.

There was one tribe of Dyaks, however, the Singé, which was the cause of much annoyance to our countryman, from their continual depredations and love of plunder. Two men, Parimban and Pa Tummo, headed them, and these Mr. Brooke resolved to reduce to obedience. Their stronghold was situated at the top of a mountain, and so defended with bamboo spikes and piles of staves ready to be hurled at the head of a besieging party, as to constitute a formidable position. In spite of these difficulties, however, Mr. Brooke pushed a large force up the hill, and met with no further opposition than a loud and continued clamour, the clashing of sword and spear, and the yells and vociferations of the enemy, who, however, though they uttered much defiance, fled directly there was any chance of coming to close quarters. Mr. Brooke’s native followers were not yet thoroughly drilled in the usages of civilised warfare, and destroyed and burnt, mercilessly. The stately cocoa and the graceful betel palm yielded their slender trunks to the edge of the axe ; ‘ but this,’ says Mr. Brooke, ‘ is the licence of war, and may not be resisted entirely.’

Parimban and Pa Tummo, the robber chieftains, closed their earthly career on the 7th of September, 1841 :—

‘ They were taken out to the rear of my house, and despatched by the knives of the rajah’s followers. I could not help being shocked, though the necessity was a stern one, and their death merited. Besides, their release would have entailed the destruction of numbers of my friends and supporters.

‘ Parimban died with courage ; Pa Tummo shrank from the execution of the sentence. Both were laid in one grave.’—*Ib.* p. 333.

We are then, in the opening portion of the second volume, hurried rapidly through various scenes, which, for want of space, we must not touch on. Our author discusses the morality of Dyak women, relates his negotiations with the Home Government, gives an account of the Dyak bear-hunting expeditions, unfolds before our mind’s eye the state of affairs at Borneo, presents us with much curious information on the subject of piracy, and describes the upward progress of Sarawak, all with a minuteness and vigour totally surprising. We must, however, pass by these events to make one extract, which will lay before the reader some striking and characteristic features of Dyak civilisation :—

‘ I find the Dyaks tractable and quiet, and daily improving in prosperity ; and I have lately had much further opportunity of noting down their various customs, many of which are harmless and inoffensive, though ridiculous and absurd. White cloth, I find, is a mark of cold weather or prosperity, as when I seat myself on a mat, one by one they come forward and tie little bells on my arm ; a young cocoa-nut is brought, into which I am requested to spit. A white fowl is presented ; I rise and wave it, and say, ‘ May good luck attend the Dyaks ; may their crops be plentiful ; may their fruits ripen in due season ; may male children be borne ; may rice be stored in their houses ; may wild hogs be killed ; may they have cold weather ! ’

‘ This exhortation over, the dance begins : men and women advance, take my hand, strike their own faces, utter a wild, indescribable shriek, and begin a slow and monotonous twisting and wriggling movement, with arms extended, the measure being occasionally faster when the old ladies feel inclined to indulge in a jump. When this occurs, the music becomes gradually more furious, and the dance proportionably animated ; then may be seen a sly boy or girl stealthily mixing in the crowd, and perhaps some proud mamma will bring her little child of six or seven, and put her into the circle, and the tiny creature will move her tiny hands in unison to the music.’—*Vol. ii.* p. 43.

On one occasion, while Mr. Brooke and his friend, Captain Bethune, were being entertained by an exhibition of this kind, the wife of the principal chieftain, a young and pretty woman, displayed so much vanity, by continually frisking about directly

in front of the English visitors, that the economy of the dance was greatly disturbed. Observing this, the head man (who was chief and master of the ceremonies at once) said, in a loud and somewhat reproving tone, 'Why don't you dance fair? There you are, dancing before the great man, and the great man can see no one but you.'

Intelligence about this time reached Mr. Brooke, of a most atrocious act of piracy committed by the Kanowits, an inland tribe. Mustering all their available force, to the number of four hundred men, they had surrounded Palo, a cluster of houses, each built on piles forty feet in height. The first dwelling attacked was of the largest size, and contained fifty desperate men. No shouts were raised, no missiles thrown, no flames of fire applied. The besieging army, if we may be allowed the expression, slowly crept along the ground, under a compact bulwark of shields. Stones were cast on them, arrows shot, spears hurled, boiling water showered down in profusion; every implement that could be collected was thrown upon their heads; every means that despair could devise was made use of, but in vain. The supporting props of the huge building were gradually hacked through. Just as this was nearly completed, fire was applied, and the mass of timber, with its inhabitants and furniture, fell with a tremendous crash, and was soon wrapped in flames. Nearly all were killed, and those that remained, with the exception of a few who escaped into the jungle, remained slaves in the hands of the victorious pirates.

Mr. Brooke, on the receipt of this intelligence, immediately resolved to wait his opportunity, and then to inflict heavy retaliation on the barbarous pirates of Kanowit and Siriki, whose acts had long devastated the country. Meanwhile, he employed himself in various ways, and we find him, a day or two after, catching a crocodile, in company with some hundreds of natives. The mode of taking the animal is curious in the extreme. A cat or monkey is attached to a stick, as a bait, and to this is fastened by a cord a long rattan. In the vicinity of this floating bait a dog is secured, out of reach of the monster, who approaches the spot with caution, attracted by the howling of the miserable terror-stricken creature. When he seizes his prey (the cat or monkey) the long cane annoys him much, and he vainly endeavours to get rid of it.

In this instance the crocodile, after devouring the bait, pulled the rest of the tackling along with him, and secreted himself among the bushes of a small creek, from whence he was hauled by the natives, placed between two canoes, and floated down to the landing-place at Sarawak. Rather an amusing discussion arose among the natives, as to the proper course of dealing with

the captive monster, and as the debate gave rise to much harmless fun, Mr. Brooke warmly encouraged it.

One party stoutly maintained that all honour and praise ought to be bestowed on the kingly brute, who was a rajah, and had been brought to meet the new English rajah. Praise and flattery, they said, were just the things to suit a crocodile, and if such were lavished on him, he would conduct himself with all due decorum and gentility.

On the other side it was argued, that though it was certainly true that in the present instance rajah met rajah, yet the crocodile chief had misbehaved himself, and was not entitled to honours. It was also urged, that if the practice were entered on, of praising and flattering such a monster, the consequence would be, that the crocodile community would become vain, unmanageable, puffed up with pride. Each animal would take to killing his man and eating him, in order to vindicate to himself the like favours :—

‘ Having maturely weighed,’ says Mr. Brooke, ‘ the arguments on both sides, taking also into deep consideration the injury which so unwieldy a captive might do in roaming over my garden and grounds, followed by a host of admirers, I decided that he should be instantly killed, without honours. He was despatched, accordingly, at the common landing-place on the opposite side of the river, his head severed from the trunk, and the body left exposed, as a warning to all other crocodiles who may inhabit these waters.’—*Ib.* p. 73.

In the stomach of this delicate gentleman were found the legs and head, and the jacket and trousers, of a Malay fisherman, who must have been attacked while occupied with his lines.

We now pass on to that portion of the narrative in which our countryman describes his feelings, on receiving intelligence of the horrible catastrophe at Borneo. Sultan Omar Ali, irritated with himself for having formed an alliance with the English, and influenced by the artful machinations of Der Makota and his party, whose interest it was to foster piracy and discourage legitimate commerce, resolved to wreak his vengeance on the family of his uncle, Muda Hassim, whom he had recalled from Sarawak, in order to confer on him the post of wuzeer. This resolution taken, was soon carried into effect. Muda Hassim, Budrudeen, the steady friend of the English interest, their families, with numerous other unfortunate men, whose only crime consisted in having remained steadfast to their principles, were treacherously surprised. Budrudeen, surrounded by enemies, and despairing of effecting his escape, blew himself up with many of his brothers, by setting fire to a cask of gunpowder. Muda Hassim shot himself through the brain with a pistol ball.

‘ Oh ! ’ writes Mr. Brooke, ‘ how great is my grief and rage ! . . . My friends, my most unhappy friends, all perished for their faithful adherence to us ! Every man of ability, even of thought, in Borneo, is dead, sacrificed ! . . . But the British government will surely act, and if not, then let me remember, I am still at war with this traitor and murderer—one more determined struggle—one last convulsive effort,—and if it fail, Borneo and all for which I have so long, so earnestly laboured, must be abandoned and ’ . . . —Ib. p. 94.

The British government did act, and that vigorously and on the spur of the moment. Hostilities were immediately entered on against the Sultan of Borneo, who, far from seeking to deprecate the anger of his insulted ally, with insolent self-reliance prepared measures of defence, raised batteries, mounted guns, stored up ammunition and provisions, and when the *Hazard* arrived in the river, attempted to seize her officers and put them to death by treachery. It was also openly declared, that the first time the English flag made its appearance off the city, it should be fired upon. Peace, under such circumstances, was not possible. It was no war of aggression or aggrandisement that we then entered upon. It was purely a measure of necessity.

A squadron of British vessels was therefore soon anchored off the mouth of the Borneo river. Steamers and cutters and gun-boats assaulted the city, carried its batteries, drove their defenders into the jungles, took possession of all the sultan’s artillery, and compelled him, also, to seek safety in flight. The details of these operations are well known. Sir Thomas Cochrane’s excellent despatches have already been widely circulated. We therefore avoid dwelling on the graphic and exciting narrative of Captain Mundy, in which he describes the attack and fall of Borneo, and pass on to accompany him into the interior, in his expedition in search of the fugitive sultan.

At the head of five hundred men, the gallant author of the present narrative started on the 10th of July, 1846, and proceeded many miles up the Borneo river in boats, until they reached a small creek, where their progress was so much obstructed by the overhanging boughs of trees, that whole crews of pioneers were obliged to be employed in opening a passage. For seven hours the expedition pushed its way, and at length landing, struck into the jungle, and commenced marching towards the village of Damuan. Here it was reported the sultan had concealed himself, with a great portion of his wealth. On the way they passed a cluster of large houses, built on piles in the Dyak style, and well stored with valuable property, arms, and ammunition. Here they also discovered, in the upper story of one of the dwellings, a man and a woman, secreted under a pile

of mats, from whom they learnt that the owner of the place, one Hajji Hassim, had been sent forth by the sultan from Damuan two days previously.

However, advancing some miles further, swampy morasses presented themselves in succession, through which it was at length found impracticable to struggle. The leaders of the expedition, therefore, at once fell back on head-quarters, and made a fresh start a day or two after. On landing at the head of another creek, they entered a marshy country, where the beaten track was three feet deep in mud;—

‘ But the depth being uniform, and large forest trees in view on the opposite side, our whole force passed over in an hour, and a mile’s tramp in the jungle brought us to the village of Tanjary, where we found a white flag suspended from the largest building, but the women and children and greater part of the inhabitants had fled.’

‘ Here we learnt that all these spots of higher and cultivated ground, surrounded by morasses, were termed ‘ islands ’ by the natives. They were luxuriant in foliage, covered with fruit and cocoa trees, and many shrubs and creepers, of great freshness and beauty. There were also several houses fitted up entirely as granaries, each built on the top of posts, about ten feet from the ground, having sliding doors at one end, through which the grain was carried. We found a large stock of rice everywhere, and apparently in good condition. Rigorous orders had been given to respect private property, as we passed through the different villages, which were well observed, and we continued our march alternately, through swamp and jungle, blazing* the paths in every direction, to secure our retreat, should the guides desert us.

‘ About noon, we suddenly came upon a larger building than any we had hitherto seen, erected close to a running stream, at the foot of a lofty and well-wooded bank. The house was evidently new, and, on examination, found to have been lately inhabited. A strict search was instituted for arms and ammunition, and two shields were brought forth, the largest of which, five feet long, ornamented with gold figures, having an imperial crown at the top, supported by two lions not badly executed, was immediately recognised by Mr. Brooke, as belonging to the sultan, the sword-bearer having carried it before his highness at the audience given last year to the admiral, at the capital. The usual quantity of arms and ammunition was found, and several exquisitely worked mats, thirty feet in length, with furniture to correspond—the whole arrangement of the interior giving evidence that the sultan had lately been the occupant.’—Ib. p. 166.

Further on they discovered the Damuan river, rolling through a broad channel, and so flooded by the late incessant torrents as to be completely impassable. The narrow bridge, which was the usual means of crossing, was now three feet under water. Pioneers were

* Notching the trees with axes.

immediately employed to cut down the largest trees on the bank, which were thrown across and well knit with creepers, so as to form a compact bridge, over which the whole force moved, and soon found itself close upon Damuan, a considerable village, completely surrounded by water, so as to resemble a mass of floating houses. Wealth of all kinds was here discovered. English goods, guns, powder, ball, cartridge, and various other sorts of ammunition. Not a living soul, however, was to be seen. The place was deserted, as if famine had swept it of its inhabitants. The surrounding palm and cocoa-nut groves were silent and lonely, no smoke curled upwards from the habitations, though it was evident that they had been but recently and hastily evacuated.

No one now knew which way to turn. That the sultan had lately been at Damuan, there was no doubt, but as to what direction he had taken none could give the least information. Provisions were short, and the country was totally unknown. Nothing, therefore, remained but to burn the village and all it contained, and to return. This was accordingly done. Every vestige of Damuan perished, and the expedition was in a few days again quartered in the British vessels off the Brunè river.

In this one instance we have transposed the course of events, thinking it better to follow up the operations of the admiral against the capital city of Borneo, without making any digressions. We must now, however, recur to a former portion of the narrative. Whilst the *Phlegethon* was on its way from Sarawak, to join the British squadron off Borneo, Sir Thomas Cochrane, who was on board, determined to pay a visit of warning to the piratical communities of Siriki and Kanowit, the latter of which, it may be remembered, committed the atrocious outrage at Palo. In pursuance of this resolution, the *Phlegethon* at once steamed up the Rejang river, and in about twelve hours came upon Siriki, a village owning the sway of Patingi Abdulrahman, a notorious pirate. The dwelling of this chief himself was an extraordinary building, erected on a lofty mound a hundred yards distant from the landing place. Its main support consisted of the trunk of a large straight tree, sawed off about twenty feet from the roots. The people of this place were thrown into a state of the utmost consternation by the appearance of the British steamer, evidently expecting it would lead to the destruction of their dwellings and property. However, this was not the case. Sir Thomas Cochrane contented himself with recommending the chief to abstain for the future from his buccannering expeditions, and then pushed his progress up the river.

The cultivation on both banks of the stream, showed signs of a wild and barbarous state of things, of the fear of robbery, of turbulence and confusion. As they ascended, however, the

scenery improved in point of attraction. The low jungle and many rivers and swamps were relieved and varied by groves and green fields, until

‘ Our guides pointed out the neck of land round which, in a small bay, was situated the village of Kanowit, and above the trees we caught sight of numerous flags, and the matted roofs of houses. The admiral now ordered the steamer to be kept as close as possible to the overhanging palms, and with our paddle-box just grazing their feathery branches, we shot rapidly round the point, and the surprise was complete; so complete, indeed, that groups of matrons and maidens, who, surrounded by numerous children, were disporting their sable forms in the silvery stream, and enjoying under the shade of the lofty palms its refreshing waters, had scarcely time to screen themselves from the gaze of the bold intruders on their sylvan retreat.

‘ It would be difficult to describe the horror and afright of those wild Dyak ladies, as the anchor of the *Phlegethon* dropped from the bows into the centre of the little bay, selected for their bathing ground. The first impression seemed to have stupified both old and young, as they remained motionless with terror and astonishment. When conscious, however, of the terrible apparition before them, they set up a loud and simultaneous shriek, and fleeing rapidly from the water, dragged children of all ages and sizes after them, and rushed up their lofty ladders for refuge.’—*Ib.* p. 122.

The tom-tom was now heard loudly beating to arms, sounding the Kanowitian rappel, and in every direction, on the housetops, under the platform, among the groves, along the summit of the little heights, the warriors were seen strapping on their wooden and woollen armour, and making ready their warlike weapons, the spear and the sumpitan or blowpipe, used for casting poisoned darts at an enemy. The *Phlegethon* swinging round to the flood, brought her stern to bear well on the huge dwelling, which, though containing three hundred brave men, rendered doubly bold by despair, was entirely at her mercy. Both sides, however, were anxious to avoid hostilities. One of Captain Mundy’s linen sheets was hoisted out as a friendly signal, and it was explained to the savages, that the strangers they so much feared were the white men of the west, who had come to visit Kanowit in a smoke ship. It was also said, that the great sea lord (Sir T. Cochrane) wished to receive a visit from the chief of the tribe, who had nothing whatever to fear from coming on board. These pacific demonstrations had the desired effect:—

‘ In a moment, from the large verandah, and from every window, stripes of white cloth were hung out, and, amidst loud shouts of joy, the men rushed down the ladders, some bringing the flags with them, and others, launching the canoes, pulled straight for the steamer, without any apprehension.

‘The chief, who was a very old man, with about thirty of his followers, then came on board; he was profusely tattooed all over the body, and like the rest of his savage crew, was a hideous object. The lobes of his ears hung nearly to his shoulders, and in them immense rings were fixed. Round his waist he wore a girdle of rough bark, which fell below his knees, and on his ancles large rings of various metals. With the exception of the waist cloth, he was perfectly naked. We knew that this old rascal and the whole tribe were pirates, downright and hereditary.’—Ib. p. 123.

When the British admiral had finished the lecture on piracy and pirates, with which he entertained the Kanowit chieftain, the whole party of officers paid a visit to the houses which were perched on lofty piles, forty feet in height, so as to command a view of the surrounding jungle and palm groves. One of the buildings was enormous, and was literally crammed with men, women, and children, and ornamented with numberless pendant skulls, rattling as the wind shook them. Round the whole ran a gallery, level with the summits of the trees, and Captain Mundy says he could fancy himself walking among the top-masts of the steamers. A brisk barter was entered upon between the crew of the Phlegethon and the Kanowittians, the former exchanging old tin pots and tobacco, for the primitive weapons of the savages.

The party remained two hours at this place, and then steaming as speedily as possible down the river, was soon out on the open sea.

We must pass over the account of the capture and destruction of the pirate towns of Pandassan and Tampassuk, whose inhabitants to the last defied the British power, and fled shouting threats and obstinate refusals to give any promise of amendment. We cannot, however, refrain from extracting one little passage from Captain Mundy’s description, which in few words presents us with a pleasant picture :—

‘We marched into the jungle, and after crossing a large tract of marshy ground, emerged into a fertile and very pretty country; the detached houses, gardens, and quantity of poultry, pigs, and goats, evidencing much personal comfort, and a clear proof that the trade of piracy was at any rate a very profitable speculation. The positions taken up by the pirates were charming. The soil appeared to be excellent, with sugar cane, bananas, and Indian corn, growing in great luxuriance; and there were signs of numerous cattle, which probably had been driven off, at our approach. In short, nature had showered her blessings upon these people with a prodigal hand, and had held out inducements to honest industry, which nothing but a deep rooted love of plunder could have resisted or overcome.’—Ib. p. 195.

We will now accompany Mr. Brooke and Captain Mundy on an expedition up the Mambakut river. Of this journey we can only give a brief outline, with a few scattered extracts, though it is one of the most interesting described in the volumes.

A large force of native allies accompanied the English boats, which were manned by about seventy marines and seamen. The latter led the advance, the war prahus followed. Dashing through the surf which breaks upon the bar of the Mambakut river, they pushed rapidly on, until the first symptoms of an attempt to oppose their progress appeared in the shape of heavy rafts of bamboo floating down, and before long, guns were heard firing in the interior. Mr. Brooke and our author moved to and fro in their light gig, directing the movements of the whole :—

‘ At the time we met the rafts, the gig was some distance a head of the leading boats; and at a sudden bend of the river, which was here about twenty yards wide, with a current of three knots running down, we discovered a long line of thick bamboo stakes fixed across the stream, with an immense boom attached to them, but which owing to the bushes had swung athwart. Facing these defences, distant about eighty yards, a small fort had been erected, which immediately opened fire upon the gig. The pinnaces under Lieutenant Little coming up close astern, passed on to the attack, followed by the barge and rocket boats under Lieutenant Heath, and in a few minutes the action became general. The current was so strong, that it was with great difficulty the boats could force their way through the narrow passage, and during a quarter of an hour a brisk fire was kept up on both sides.’—*Ib.* p. 217

Hajji Saman, one of the most notorious and atrocious of the pirate chiefs of Borneo, was recognised commanding the battery in person. He it was against whom the expedition had been undertaken. It may readily be conceived, therefore, that our countrymen’s endeavours were not slackened by seeing the buccaner so close. The battle lasted some time longer, until the boats reached a spot available for landing, upon which the enemy’s defences were instantly abandoned, and taken possession of by the English marines.

The first signs of habitable dwellings were discovered many miles further up, at a spot where the men were piped to dinner. It consisted of a large village, utterly deserted. Further on, the scenery on both banks increased in beauty. Rich vegetation clothed the land. Detached houses and hamlets sprinkled every portion of the scene. Each dwelling had a garden fenced round with neat palings, and sown in regular beds were cabbages, lettuces, onions, and other garden vegetables, exactly similar to those of China, and planted too in the Chinese fashion. The

interior of the houses bore evidence of much comfort and ingenuity. Culinary implements, domestic instruments, threshing, and knitting machines, with mats and other furniture, lay about in abundance, but all was deserted and lonely. The only faces to be seen, were the faces of countless ghastly heads, suspended in festoons from the roof, with thigh and arm bones between them.

Without, the most lovely spots were dotted with graves, beautiful little structures raised on high posts, and ornamented in various ways. They were generally adorned with a lavish growth of flowers and shrubs, and creeping plants, which twirled and mantled over them in abundance. In the various enclosures scattered about, were goats, poultry, and pigs, in large numbers.

We regret we cannot afford room for minute details of this interesting expedition. However, we must not indulge our inclinations, but hurry on the flow of the narrative. A house three hundred feet in length was passed, and this was found to have been Hajji Saman's country mansion. All his property was here discovered, consisting amongst other things, of fifty mighty tales of human skulls, many of them evidently recent trophies. It is the custom in this district for a lady, when asked in marriage by any young man, to ask him to fetch her some fresh heads. Having obtained them, she arranges them on the ground, and taking a large stick, cracks them one by one, which operation completed, the marriage rites are considered as performed, 'and so,' says Captain Mundy, 'commences the honey-moon.'

At the head of the river was a large fort, well mounted with guns, and manned by a numerous detachment of Hajji Saman's army. These vainly endeavoured, by showering grape-shot and musket-bullets and poisoned arrows, to intimidate our countrymen, but in vain. The place was carried, opposition beaten back, and the expedition at an end. It may be as well to mention here, that some months afterwards, Hajji Saman surrendered himself to the mercy of the English, and received a pardon. Sultan Omar Ali has again entered into bonds of amity with us, and peace has been restored to Borneo.

We have been betrayed into great length by the interest of this work, which we may well pronounce an extraordinary production. No review such as our limits will allow us to bestow, could afford an adequate idea of its merit. Mr. Brooke's journals, written under the strangest auspices, amid the discomforts of savage life, in the turmoil of war, in the hurry and excitement of pursuit, in the ardour of exploring expeditions, on the bed of sickness, teem with novel and curious matter. His simple, manly style, the exquisite touches of

feeling interspersed throughout, the bold vigorous expression of sentiment, mark the character of the author.

Captain Mundy's narrative is a fit companion for the Journals. It is written in the right spirit, in a dashing and energetic style, rapid and clear, full of original conceptions. It embraces an extraordinary scope. The adventures and incidents brought before us are wild and striking. The author was fortunate in his subject, and the subject has been handled by a man no way unfitted for the task. We wish the work success, or, rather, we congratulate Captain Mundy on the success it is sure to meet with. If we have failed to convey a just idea of the merit of the book, it is because we have not been able to indulge sufficiently in its details. The few extracts, however, short as they are, with which we have presented the reader, will perhaps enable him to form some idea, of the whole. Nor must we omit to mention the numerous plates and charts with which the work is embellished. The latter do credit to their constructors, and will, we venture to say, prove of much service to navigation. Mr. Brooke's portrait, which faces the title-page, is done to the life. From personal knowledge we can testify to its accuracy. The expression of the rajah is there, manly and quick, full of energy and boldness, and lightened up by the rays of that strong intellect which has carried him, through so adventurous a career, to the proud position he now holds in the mind of every well-wisher of civilization.

ART. IV.—*Ecclesiastical and Civil History Philosophically Considered with reference to the Future Reunion of Christians.* By the Rev. Geo. Townsend, D.D., Canon of Durham, etc. Dedicated to Lord Lindsay. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Rivingtons.

'THE church and its enemies'—is a phrase presenting to the mind an unfair antithesis, at least as it is used by the state-church writers. It conceals the real gist of the controversy, and ought to be eschewed by all fair reasoners, if they wish their arguments to tell. The enemies intended are not enemies to the church in its only proper sense. They are enemies exclusively to that cumbrous and mischievous machinery, by which the triumphal car of the gospel is yoked to the

state-waggon, and which impedes the progress of both, by the perpetual perplexity of determining which shall precede, and which shall follow; who shall guide the united vehicles in their onward course, prevent collisions, and save both from sticking fast in the mud, or being overturned, to the discomfiture of the passengers.

The confusion created by this misrepresentation has long served the purpose of party reasoners, by exciting a religious prejudice against all who dared the wickedness of proclaiming themselves 'enemies to the church.' The fallacy was never likely to be exposed by the advocates of the state-church; and therefore none of them, so far as we are aware, have confessed it, and guarded their readers against it. The purposes of argument, if not of truth, have been too well served by it, and they have, therefore, allowed it to pass, *sub silentio*, not unfrequently availing themselves of its full force. But the public are now beginning to understand, how those, who are unquestionably religious and Christian men, may be enemies to man's church, or to so much of any church as originates in human invention, without being enemies to Christ's church; yea, that their very zeal for the latter may necessitate opposition to the former.

By placing the question in this light, much attention has been recently awakened to it, and more still will yet be gained. The distinction has been clearly and forcibly put by the modern opponents of all state-established churches. The change hereby produced in public feeling has been perceived by the churchmen, and for a considerable length of time they have maintained a sullen or dignified silence. This advanced position of their opponents they will not assail, because they see that they cannot do it to any good purpose; hence they proceed to treat the subject in the old way, precisely as if no such distinction had ever been pointed out. The enemies of state-churches are just to be regarded and treated as enemies to Christ's church.

Under this injustice, one consolation however arises. The advocates of the alliance have broken silence, and we hope to keep them speaking. They have made a move, and we shall expect to see them advance fairly out of their strong hold, and either defend it manfully or capitulate. We congratulate them on their courage, and thank them for every opportunity they afford us of fairly confronting their lines. Their long silence was neither cowardice nor consciousness of a bad cause: granted; they were only furbishing their weapons, and marshalling their strength. We were confident from the first it would be so. The anti-state-church advocates can no longer complain that the pro-state-churchmen are proudly taciturn, and decline all discussion of the subject; for though no formal answer to their

tracts and lectures has been announced, yet various majestic publications, covertly designed as answers, without distinctly recognizing the assailants, which is doubtless meant to be a clever stroke of policy, have assumed to discuss the whole question at issue, philosophically, theologically, and metaphysically.

First we have the Chevalier Bunsen bringing to bear upon it the light, such as it is, of German metaphysics, in his 'Church of the Future.' Then we have Mr. Birks arguing in favour of church-and-state-union, upon theological and scriptural principles; and now we have two respectable octavos from the pen of Dr. Townsend, professing to extract the philosophy of church and state, from the conjoint history of both, and very properly and not unfairly, exhibiting what we may designate '*The Church of the Past*,' from which he ventures to predict 'the future re-union of Christians,' in that complete amalgamation of church and state, which, after the germanized optimism of Lord Lindsay, is to exhibit the *ne plus ultra* of '*Progression by Antagonism*.' A very suspicious piece of conjuration, to say the best of it; and it is well if it does not turn out downright *sorcery* and *magic*; as very a piece of the black art as was ever practised. Let the anti-state church men look to it: for to them it pertains to inquire, whether this metaphysico-theological philosophy be not, in plain English, '*evil, be thou my good*.'

It was no doubt an ingenious thought, to associate this analysis of church history with the *beau ideal* of Lord Lindsay's philosophy; to proffer it as an illustration; and to throw around it the halo of a new discovery or a new idea. At any rate, this philosophy of church history might put in a claim to be a twin sister to Lord Lindsay's '*Progression by Antagonism*,' or at least, and we add, *confessedly*, a *cousin German*. Thus its place in the aristocracy of intellect is ascertained—not certainly otherwise; for, in plain common sense, it simply means, that God has planted his church in a very evil world, and that, in spite of the evil, it has been preserved; less, we opine, through the operation of that evil, than through his own grace, without which, we humbly submit, it had certainly never advanced one hair's breadth. Shall we then ascribe the progression to the antagonism of evil, or shall we not rather say, *not by it*, but *in spite of it*, God has caused his church to progress? The latter, we presume to think, is the safer philosophy for a Christian divine. The *opposite* we hold to smack strongly of that vain philosophy which spoils Christianity, and proves, in the end, mere pompous verbiage. But we shall see presently what this *progression by antagonism* means, when applied to Christ's church in the world

The matter stands thus:—Dr. Townsend adapts Lord Lindsay's philosophy, or philosophical aphorism, or whatever else it may be denominated, to church history, and has written two volumes professedly to confirm the theory—that the *progression* of Christ's church is going on systematically and prosperously, and has, from its commencement, been so going on, *by the exhaustion of evil*. This announcement sounds well and imposingly. It has the air of an oracle—and promises a new revelation. The philosophic ear is caught by it. The *quid nuncs* listen. But when we pause, and ask for proof of this *exhaustion of evil*, it just amounts to this—that as fast as one head of the dragon has been cut off, another has sprung up in its place. So that we have found no security beyond the simple assurance of the author, that we are now striking off the last head destined to arise.

But to enable our readers to understand this notable and pleasant piece of information, we must let them know the comprehensiveness of Dr. Townsend's theory, and its application to the future as well as to the past.

Be it known then, that Christ's church stands in antagonism to four evil principles; these are, heathenism, popery, puritanism, and infidelity. The three first, he says, are exhausted and gone! We hope he is not too sure of that. However, be that as it may, we are now in the state of antagonism with the last, that is, infidelity. It only remains to exhaust this power or form of evil, and then the high and palmy state of Christ's kingdom, that is, the triumph of the church and state-principle, will appear, and we suppose be perpetuated through the millennium.

Whether this doctrine of antagonisms throws any light upon the mystery of Providence in the history of Christianity, whether it has any solid foundation in the facts of the case, or whether it is not a mere phantasm of the imagination, calculated, though not designed, to deceive, we shall leave all thoughtful men to determine, after placing before them a few plain queries. As for instance, how can it be laid down as a truth that Christ's church has exhausted the first mass of evil, heathenism, when two-thirds of the earth's population are still heathens? Or how can it be said, that at least it did so in the early stages of its history, when the real fact shows that it incorporated and assimilated much of the evil of heathenism, and literally paralysed its own power of exhausting this evil by sanctifying it in the name of Christ? But suppose we concede that Christ's church did exhaust the evil of heathenism, and that its next campaign was with the new evil, popery. Then we are disposed to ask, whence did that evil come, but out of the very bosom of the church

itself? So that if the church was in a state of antagonism, it must be with itself. But next, how can the author represent the church as progressing by antagonism, when it is clear, that from the end of the third century to the sixteenth, there was not only no progression, but growing degeneracy—the progression of evil and not of good—the antagonism through this long period issuing in no progression at all, except of that very evil which Dr. Townsend says is exhausted and gone? The church has cut off this second head of the dragon. Has it? Why has it not in consequence disappeared? How it could ever be affirmed that the evil of popery is past, or that the reformation in any sense effected the exhaustion and extinction of popery, fills us with amazement! Think, reader, the second stage of antagonism terminated! So Dr. Townsend affirms, while popery is branching out in all directions, with a vitality that was never exceeded, and while it is spreading like the dry rot through every timber of the very house he inhabits! What he can possibly intend by such representations, save the elucidation of his pet idea of '*progression by antagonism*,' we are at a loss to guess.

But let us put another question. The third stage of the progression is antagonism with the evil of *puritanism*. This, too, his imagination beholds only in the past. The mass of evil which *puritanism* presented against Christ's holy catholic church is exhausted, and it is left powerless. It can never again take the field. Poor, persecuted, puritans, is it come to this? Must you be ranked with the enemies of Christ's church, for the purity and reformation of which ye suffered the loss of all things, and were the very heroes and martyrs who stood in the Thermopylæ of the church, when, but for you, it had returned to the dominion of popery! But so Dr. Townsend deems you, the sworn enemies of Christ's holy catholic church!! Yet, after all, is it quite clear that this spirit of evil, as it rose in puritanism, is really exhausted and gone? We beg our readers to consider this previous question—is the Doctor quite sure that puritanism does not survive? Is he confident that its antagonism is dead and buried? Is Dr. Townsend blind to the movement of the present age? Was there ever so deep, and serious, and general a doubt in the minds of Christian men, concerning the lawfulness of the connexion between church and state, as at the present moment? Yet this springs from existing puritanism. He may *ignore* the whole matter; but we can assure him that, not in this island only, but throughout protestant Europe, the spirit of puritanism, that is, the supremacy of the holy scriptures in the church, and the church's independence of the state, never before presented any thing like so formidable a front against the state-churches, as while he is exulting in its departure. It

is a pure dream of his imagination, that this antagonism is done with. He need not flatter himself with the notion that the battle is over. It is but just begun. The descendants of the puritans, the inheritors of their religious principles, have taken a much stronger and safer position than the puritans themselves ever did. Dr. Townsend may have forgotten all about puritanism, since he forsook the fathers, and may not care to know its present state; yet he must allow us to inform him, that it is not yet out of heart; and he must not again reckon its antagonism to Christ's holy catholic church as an *exhausted evil*. It would be a grievous thing at this moment for that church, if it were so; for since the antagonism of popery is not quite over, either out of the establishment or in it, the protestantism of England may yet again be indebted, as it has been more than once already, to that very puritanism which Dr. Townsend so much traduces.

Whether there is any truth or reason in Dr. Townsend's fancies about these various antagonisms, or whether the whole is not a mere specimen of church-jugglery we shall now leave our readers to judge, and proceed to edify them with another piece of this new philosophy of church history. The author is anticipating the final liberation of his state-church from all antagonisms.

'The manner,' he says, 'in which this probably may be done, I shall make the subject of the sixth and last book of this work. I trust that I shall there be able to show, that *after Christ's holy catholic church has undergone these its four great antagonisms*; and after the fourfold masses of their evil are exhausted; there will remain under the governance of God's providence, and under the unresisted influence of God's good spirit—the union of civil power, without tyranny of ecclesiastical power, without the despotism of an usurped supremacy, or the claims of an impossible infallibility; of the domination of scripture, without the unscriptural assumption and stern insolence of puritanism; and of the unlimited permission of freedom of inquiry, without the rashness, blasphemy, and presumption of infidelity. I hope to establish this one *holy, solemn, and sacred truth*; THAT GOD'S WORK MUST BE DONE BY GOD'S CHURCH.'—Dedication p. vii.

In a modified sense, and to a certain degree, true enough. But no very remarkable discovery; not so profound, comprehensive, or novel a sentiment, as to be worthy of shedding its light upon us through capital letters. For it clearly contains only a part of the truth respecting the doing of God's work. *That* the author cannot, according to his theory, and in harmony with his starting point, *confine* to Christ's church; since the progression is still, according to himself, by antagonism. If God's work is *progressive*, and this takes place, *ex confesso*, by an-

tagonism, then, God's work is dependent upon this antagonism. But, then, the author's notion, so conspicuously emblazoned, is not true as an exclusive proposition; for the theory is, that the principal part of God's work in the world is done by other powers besides his church. His providence, even Dr. Townsend must admit, has made paganism subservient; has caused popery, and maligned puritanism, and even infidelity itself, to do some part of God's work. But the obscurity and questionableness of the sentence may, perhaps, in some measure disappear if, by 'God's church' we understand the author as intending the state-church. It then becomes a definite proposition, though even then according to the theory, it must be qualified. God's work, (that is, the final triumph of Christianity in the earth,) must be done by 'God's church,' that is, by the state-church, and by no other. This, we presume, is the precise meaning, and Dr. Townsend will certainly not complain of misrepresentation; for every page of his book bears witness, that this is his *beau ideal*, or perhaps his only ideal of God's church, and it is confessedly to the consummation and nice adjustment of this church, in its connexion with state power and authority, that our author is looking for the re-union of all Christians, and for the triumphs of the millennial age.

It is upon this conception of God's church, that the anti-state church men will be prepared to join issue with him; and it is to the bearing of his work upon this point, as far as he has proceeded, that we are happy to call the attention of our readers. Nothing could be more opportune than the appearance of such a work, just as the Anti-State-Church Association is agitating the primary question through the country, and even approaching the province of Durham. Its advocates can scarcely desire a more distinguished opponent, nor could they find in the whole field of polemics a richer text-book or a preferable authority. Dr. Townsend, like the Rev. Mr. Birks, has done good service to the whole controversy, by endeavouring to reduce it to first principles; and, on behalf of the cause which we are known to advocate, we tender them both our hearty thanks. Since the ominous days when lecturers were brought to London to support the tottering theory of established churches, no event more propitious has occurred, than the appearance of the publications we have named, and especially Dr. Townsend's. True, it is not finished. It is only half done. We have the promise of six books in all, only three of which are completed. These extend to more than 1,200 pages, and should the remaining three reach the same number, we shall then have about 2,400 octavo pages upon the history and theory of church and state, which may fairly be considered as exhausting the subject, though there is little probability of

exhausting the evil. This, at any rate, will help to keep the argument before the public for some time to come, even if no other champion should appear; and the anti-state-church writers and speakers may freshen the controversy with not a few novelties and notabilities; in short, they are under very great obligations to their opponents, in helping to make this 'The question of our age.' It is evidently becoming so. The press is feeling it, and thoughtful men are expecting it.

Dr. Townsend may affect to see in the modern antagonism to Christ's holy catholic church, that is to say the church and state theory, nothing but sheer infidelity, and, if he conscientiously can, he may group it under the last of his four masses of evil that are to be exhausted; but we beg to assure him that infidelity has nothing whatever to do with it, and that the men who have conducted, and will conduct it, are as sincere in their Christian faith, and as zealous for the triumph of the true church of Christ as himself, or any who would brand them with the name of enemies and infidels. Their antagonism is against the cause of that degradation and corruption of Christ's church, to which Dr. Townsend's work in every page proves that it has been reduced, ever since it was subjected to the state, by the pagan principle of territorial and national, instead of personal religion; and from which it never has risen, and evidently never can rise, while the link of its enthrallment remains unbroken.

We have said enough to show how very unreal and visionary is the arrangement which Dr. Townsend has presented, of the different antagonisms by which he thinks the church has progressed to its present state: but to give our readers a complete view of the whole theory before it quite vanishes away, we beg their attention to the following extract from the Dedication to Lord Lindsay:—

'The moral of your book, as you have related it, in one of your valuable letters to me in the course of our correspondence, is the same as that of my own present effort, *'that the continued progression of mankind must end in their eventual re-union.'* The difference between the mode of expressing your theory and my own, is merely verbal. Your lordship's is, that *progression by the antagonism* of evil to good, is a general law of the moral government of God; mine may be said to be, that, progression by *the exhaustion of evil*, is a general law of the same moral government. Both theories (if eternal truths may be degraded by a name so abused) are founded on the proposition which I have selected as the motto for this work—'God declareth the end from the beginning;' and also on the two elucidations of that proposition, which begin and end, respectively, the volume of God's revelation. The first is, 'that there shall be enmity,' or antagonism, between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent; the second is, that 'the kingdom of this world is, (*kingdoms are Rev. xi. 15,*) become the kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ. The

first is the prophecy which is the germ of all history ; the second declares the future accomplishment, in the fulness of time, of that prophecy. The whole of the intermediate space between the fall of man and the final conquest of the evil which has resulted from the fall, includes the period whose record is given in the Old and New Testament ; the period from the closing of the New Testament, through the whole compass of modern history, to the present day ; and the period from the present day to the dawn of that predicted era, when the scriptures and the catholic church shall have so leavened and influenced the world, that there shall be more virtue than vice, more knowledge than ignorance, more religion than infidelity, more holiness than indifference, more love than hatred, and more union than disunion among Christians. This state of the world may be said to be the kingdom of Christ ; and all this is only the promised result of the contest, or the perpetual antagonism, between good and evil. I would describe this contest by the expression, ' progression by exhaustion,' because I have observed in the history of the world, that the antagonistical masses of evil which oppose good, are all, after a certain course of antagonism, or enmity, gradually rendered uninfluential ; that is, they become exhausted. The truth of the unchangeable God, for instance, has been developed in the three stages of Patriarchism, Judaism, and Christianity. The first form of this religion was corrupted into heathenism. Idolatry offered its bloody sacrifices, consecrated the vices of the heart to the service of the false god it placed on the throne of the true God, and gradually destroyed the very remembrance of the God of Adam. The antagonism continued for centuries. The time came when the influence of this evil ceased. Its power is destroyed. No human being now offers his children to Moloch, or commands the worship of Mars or Venus. *Heathenism is exhausted.* (*Risum teneatis—this is the philosophy of church history ; therefore be grave*). ' The second form of the unchangeable religion, Judaism, was opposed by similar antagonisms ;' (*yet we were just informed that heathenism, or idolatry, was exhausted under the previous stage*) ' by the fire-worshippers of Persia, by the elegant mythology of Greece, by the Roman worshippers of Jupiter and of the gods of the capitol.' (*The very same which had been exhausted in the first stage, as expressed by our learned author in his reference to Mars and Venus, whom nobody worshipped any longer, after they became an exhausted evil*). ' All this antagonism, as a general influence on civilized men, has ended. It has accomplished its purpose *It is exhausted.*' (*The inquiring reader is not informed what that accomplished purpose of heathenism was, nor whose it was. But wonder and perplexity thicken upon us under the tutelage of this new philosophy*). ' The third form of the unchangeable truth has suffered, or does suffer, the antagonism of external violence from four several powers ; each of which runs its course, each of which will be found (when our posterity survey the history of the world between Christ, and the better days before us ; as we survey the rise and fall of the past four monarchies which preceded the birth of Christ), to be overruled for good ; and each of which, as antagonistical to the kingdom of Christ, *have been, are, or will be exhausted.* My object in the present work, will be to point out the errors and the persecutions of these four several antagonisms to the establishment of the

church and kingdom of Christ. I wish to show how the influence of the civil power of pagan Rome was exhausted by the time of Justinian; how the palmy influence of the corruptions of the churches, of which the church of Rome was the chief, received the blow which will finally exhaust their influence, by the labours of Wycliffe (with which the present part of my labour ends for a time); how the influence of the pseudo-scriptural or puritan power, which had its Wycliffian origin, its gradual corruption, and its final triumph, lost its influence by its very success; and became politically ruined as a dominant antagonism, after the civil wars of England;’ (*observe; yet this was the good antagonism which gave the chief blow to the palmy corruptions of Rome, and now itself becomes a puritan antagonism—a mass of evil; so that we have now the transition of one kind of antagonism into its opposite kind. But let us proceed through this strange confusion—we beg pardon,—this philosophy of ecclesiastical and civil history*); ‘and how the period of modern infidelity began, and progressed, and will be exhausted in its turn, as the last great enmity of the predicted kingdom of Christ. All these antagonisms, all the evils resulting from these four masses of mingled good and evil’ (*mingled good and evil! Heathenism, popery, puritanism!*) ‘must and will be exhausted under that moral law of *Progression by Antagonism*, which has ever been the one chief predicted characteristic of the government of God;’ (*Quære, where?*) ‘and when these four masses of antagonistic evil shall have done their office, then shall be the beginning of the predicted end. The first prophecy of revelation shall be fulfilled in the accomplishment of the last prophecy of revelation; and the kingdom (*kingdoms*) of this world shall become the kingdom of Christ. If I were requested to describe, in one well selected word, the final results of the antagonism between good and evil, it would be that which your lordship has chosen—*Progression*. *The great object for which revelation has been given, and for which Christ’s holy catholic church has been instituted and planted in the world, cannot be accomplished by our retrogradation.*’—*Ib.* pp. iii.—vii.

Certainly not, if that great object be *progression*. But progression in the long run, or viewed in the issue of all things, is compatible with limited and partial retrogradations, as alas! we have many lamentable instances in this said history of Christ’s holy catholic church, which even in the present day, in so far as Dr. Townsend’s church is concerned, presents a fearful specimen of *retrogradation*. Where are we to look, in any established church in Christendom, for that progression towards the greatest good—that is, the salvation of souls and the glory of God, for which Christ’s holy catholic church was instituted by him? Let us not flatter ourselves with this dream of *progression*, when this holy catholic church of Christ, so called by this author, is daily strengthening the hands of popery, by bringing up sons to *re-reform* it, till it shall sink into the arms of her sister of Rome;—and then what becomes of this fine dream of *antagonisms exhausted and gone!* Indeed, Dr. Towns-

end must reconstruct his whole theory of this moral law and its illustrations; for it falls to pieces, the moment we apply it to facts and history; and from beginning to end presents the appearance of an inextricable maze of confused thought—a perfect labyrinth without a clue, and from which there is no escape but by breaking through its divisions. In fact, the author does so himself whenever it suits his convenience, or the exigencies of his multifarious statements. Take, for instance, the following sentences:—

‘ In the great contest which is even now reviving between the church of Rome, in its endeavours to resume its power, and the Christians, who object to its errors, endeavouring to prevent that resumption of dominion, our dependence must be placed on discipline, rather than a personal piety or self-dependent zeal. Church must be opposed to church, institution to institution, system to system. The Romish priesthood is the army of the line on one side, and its efforts must be met by the ministers of the episcopal churches as the army of the line on the other.

‘ Without the discipline of the well-trained soldiers of the episcopacy, the firm bands of the papacy will triumph.’—vol. 1. p. 204.

Now, we say nothing of the state of those episcopal bands that are to vanquish Rome, while half of them are no better than traitors; we merely at present ask the reader to place by the side of this, the theory of the whole work—the platform on which it is constructed, and to remember that the author had described popery as the second antagonism of evil that was exhausted and gone, while here it is again in the field, with its ‘ firm bands’ as active and formidable as ever. The same thing might be shown of puritanism, which, instead of being an obsolete and exhausted antagonism, he is covertly fighting all through his book, though he would seem to be striding over a prostrate foe. But if these old antagonisms are still in the field, and valiantly resisting ‘ Christ’s holy catholic church,’ that is, the secular establishment of religion by the civil power, which is to employ carnal weapons for its defence, and legalized injustice for its sustentation; then what becomes of the philosophy with which we set out, and by the aid of which we were to be led to the felicitous conclusion, that the three great antagonisms were over, the victory fairly won, and the church come to her last conflict with evil? It is a mere snow palace, which the warm sun of truth melts. It crumbles under the builder’s own hand.

We had thought of going into the question of the independence of the apostolic churches, which, when once proved, must inevitably demolish the theory of diocesan episcopacy. If every church had its own independent bishop, who owed no submis-

sion to any provincial or metropolitan,—and this is the very fact which Dr. Townsend himself admits and proves in many places, as well as every other ecclesiastical historian of competent knowledge of the question;—then we say, is it not dishonest to represent the episcopal hierarchy of the present day, and of the state church, as in any respect, the representative, or the legitimate descendant, of that early church of Christ, in which every permanent congregation was a distinct church, and every distinct church claimed a distinct bishop, and every bishop asserted his equality with every other bishop, and his own and his church's independence of all other bishops and churches, though uniting with them all in subjection to the common Lord and Head. But this subject cannot now be further mooted, nor indeed many other important matters which are handled in these volumes. Their grand object is to sustain the cause of establishments, and yet to our apprehension, no work of modern times supplies such rich materials for proving the pernicious and all but destructive tendency of the principle. As it has worked from the first day until now, and throughout the whole circumference of Christendom, Dr. Townsend's own labours show, that it has paralyzed every thing good, and quickened every thing that was evil. It has been the perennial source of contention, persecution, secularity, weakness, corruption, and every abomination. The words of Christ can alone describe it, 'My house is called the house of prayer for all people, but ye have made it a den of thieves.' We are puzzled to find, in all Dr. Townsend's elaborate argument for state-established Christianity, any one good result to the cause of Christ—any distinct benefit which the state ever rendered to Christ's cause, beyond what his people could have rendered without the state; while his pages teem with the records of the miseries and mischiefs, the cruelties, and the desolations, and the heresies which, but for such establishments, the church of Christ would either have escaped, or felt only partially and for a season.

To all who wish to trace the working of the system we commend our author. The controversial portion of his work, which will be found within the first hundred pages, is weak and vulnerable enough, and may readily be demolished, like his philosophical theory, by any polemic on the other side, who thinks it worth his while to reply. The historical portion, which brings down the history of the church from its secular establishment to the Reformation, is a tolerably fair, comprehensive, and analytical survey of that most painful and humiliating of all histories—the history of the councils, popes, and bishops of the church. To those who wish for facts touching the apostolical succession, Dr. Townsend's volumes will be a treat. Alas, for

the day when the degenerate ministers of Jesus Christ bowed the knee to the golden image which Constantine set up, and yielded their independence as men, and their allegiance as ministers of Christ, to the decree of their half-heathen, half-Christian emperor! And hail, we say, to that day, when the ministers and churches of Christ shall again be as he and his inspired apostles left them—free and independent communities, not without law, but under the law to Christ!

ART. V.—*Journal of an Expedition into the Interior of Tropical Australia, in search of a Route from Sydney to the Gulf of Carpentaria.* By Lieutenant-Colonel Sir T. L. Mitchell, Knt. D.C.L., Surveyor-General of New South Wales. 8vo. London: Longman and Co.

SIR THOMAS MITCHELL is already advantageously known to the public, and the present work will enhance his fame. It contains the results of an extended and laborious expedition into the interior of Tropical Australia, which was planned with skill, and executed with a vigor, perseverance, and sagacity, highly creditable to the parties concerned. 'The journey narrated in this work was undertaken for the extension of arrangements depending on physical geography,' and completes a series of surveys which have occupied the author's attention for the last twenty years. His department as Surveyor-General having been reduced to a state of inactivity in 1843, Sir Thomas Mitchell submitted a plan of exploration to the governor, who promised his concurrence, if the legislative council made such reductions in the public expenditure as would enable him to spare the money required. Sir George Gibbs subsequently evinced some indisposition to encourage the expedition, but Lord Stanley, then the secretary for the colonies, having sanctioned the plan, and the council having voted £2,000 for the outfit of the party, our author left Sydney on the 9th December, 1845. Considerable commercial importance attached to the expedition, the immediate object of which was to discover an overland route between Sydney and the Gulph of Carpentaria. The latter opens into the Indian Ocean, which is already connected with England by steam navigation, and might easily (if a good route from Sydney were discovered) form a link between that colony and the English steamers at Singapore. Great difficulties, how-

ever, lay in the way of our author's attempt. The country was to a great extent unknown, and had never been visited by white men; the Aborigines were hostile, and in many cases had been incensed by the brutal conduct of the colonists; water was scarce, the heat most intense, and the means of transit sadly unsuited in many cases to the requirements of the region. It was an unfortunate thing that bullocks were preferred to horses, as they are much slower, and were proved to be greatly less enduring. Eight drays drawn by eighty bullocks, two iron boats, three light carts, seventeen horses, and two hundred and fifty sheep, were provided for the expedition, which consisted of twenty-six men beside Sir Thomas Mitchell, the assistant-surveyor, Mr. Kennedy, and the surgeon, Mr. Stephenson. Twenty-three of the men were convicts, in different stages of probation. 'with whom,' says our author, 'the prospect of additional liberty was an incentive so powerful, that no money payment was asked by them or expected, while, from experience, I knew that for such an enterprise as this, I could rely on their zealous services.' We could readily enlarge on this fact, but other matters claim notice, and we content ourselves with pointing to it the reader's attention.

For sometime the traces of European life were visible in the form of sheep stations, and we can scarcely conceive anything more solitary and wretched than the condition of their inmates. Indeed, we are at a loss to understand how those which border on the native tribes are preserved from destruction. Their numbers are obviously too few to beget fear, and excitements to retaliation, on the part of the savages, are unhappily not wanting. Many of the stations were found to be abandoned, and the incidental remarks which are dropped clearly show, that the destruction which has been wrought was not wholly unprovoked. Even with the utmost caution, it is difficult to avoid collision with Aboriginal tribes. The merest incident, the most unavoidable occurrence, may awaken their suspicion and anger, and when this is once done, it is next to impossible to allay them. Our author, in adverting to one of the spots visited on a former journey, says that the springs, 'instead of being limpid and surrounded by verdant grass, as they had been, were now trodden by cattle into muddy holes, where the poor natives had been endeavouring to protect a small portion from the cattle's feet, and keep it sure, by laying over it trees they had cut down for the purpose. The change produced in the aspect of this formerly happy and secluded valley, by the intrusion of cattle and the white man, was by no means favourable, and I could easily understand how I, had I been an Aboriginal native, should have felt and regretted that change.' Such a fact needs no comment.

We advert to it merely to show how the progress of civilization almost inevitably trenches on the comforts and subsistence of barbarous tribes. On the 4th of January they had crossed the neutral ground between the savage and the squatter, 'and humiliating proofs,' we are told, 'that the white man had given way were visible in the remains of dairies burnt down, stock-yards in ruins, and untrodden roads.' The party soon began to experience some of the miseries of Australian travelling. Their advance was impeded by the perpetual straying of bullocks, and the frequent want of water threatened their destruction. So early as the 6th of January, the drivers 'were almost frantic, and unable to do their work from thirst,' and the shepherd was saved only by Mr. Stephenson hastening back with water to slake his thirst. Had the natives on this point of their march been hostile, the consequence might have been most disastrous: but happily Sir Thomas had on his former journey established friendly relations with them, which were now honestly preserved. 'Those of Muda,' says our author, and the fact speaks volumes, 'gave us a friendly hint that *gentlemen*' should be careful of the spears of the natives of Nyngan, as many natives of Nyngan had been shot lately by white men from Wellington Valley.' The heat now became so intense as to destroy the three best kangaroo dogs, and very seriously to threaten the lives of the whole party. 'The thermometer,' we are told, on another occasion, 'under a tree stood at 110°. The store-keeper was taken ill with vertigo. Our bull-dog perished in the heat, and the fate of the cattle, still a day's journey behind us, and of the sheep, which had not drank for two days, were subjects of much anxiety to me.' The surveyor-general also, with many of the men, was attacked with ophthalmia, through the excessive dryness of the atmosphere, and it was determined, therefore, to remain awhile in the neighbourhood of some ponds, named by the natives Cannonbà. Sir Thomas says:—

'There we found greater abundance of water and better grass than we had seen near water during the whole journey, and I determined to halt for at least two weeks, as part of the time I had previously intended to devote to the repose and refreshment of the cattle, when we should have reached the Darling. The cattle and their drivers had been much harassed, and both needed and deserved rest. The horses had got out of condition, and I considered that when we arrived at the Darling their services would be more required. I was also to try the experiment here, whether I might prosecute the journey without danger of losing my eyesight; to have abandoned the undertaking at that point, had been almost as painful to me as the other alternative. There were no hostile natives here, the fire having been set up by some solitary gins; rain was daily to be expected, at least cooler weather would certainly come in a short

time ; the wheels of the drays had been long represented to me as needing a thorough repair, from the effect of the heat on the wheels ;—and, upon the whole, I considered it very fortunate that we could encamp under such circumstances on so favourable a spot. We placed our tents amongst shady bushes—set up the blacksmith's forge, and soon all hands were at work in their various avocations, whilst the cattle and horses enjoyed the fresh grass, leisure to eat it, and abundance of water.'—p. 44.

Their encampment was broken up on the 12th of February, both men and cattle being greatly refreshed, and on the following day, they were informed that a flood was coming down the Macquarie river, from the Turòn mountains. This intelligence was most cheering, though none of the party were prepared for the scene which speedily followed. Our author gives an animated description of it :—

' In the afternoon two of the men taking a walk up the river, reported on their return, that the flood poured in upon them when in the river bed, so suddenly, that they narrowly escaped it. Still the bed of the Macquarie before our camp continued so dry and silent, that I could scarcely believe the flood coming to be real, and so near to us, who had been put to so many shifts for want of water. Towards evening, I stationed a man with a gun a little way up the river, with orders to fire on the flood's appearance, that I might have time to run to the part of the channel nearest to our camp, and witness what I had so much wished to see, as well from curiosity as urgent need. The shades of evening came, however, but no flood, and the man on the look-out returned to the camp. Some hours later, and after the moon had risen, a murmuring sound like that of a distant waterfall, mingled with occasional cracks as of breaking timber, drew our attention, and I hastened to the river bank. By very slow degrees the sound grew louder, and at length, so audible as to draw various persons besides from the camp to the riverside. Still no flood appeared, although its approach was indicated by the occasional rending of trees with a loud noise. Such a phenomenon in a most serene moonlight night was quite new to us all. At length, the rushing sound of waters and loud cracking of timber, announced that the flood was in the next bend. It rushed into our sight, glittering in the moonbeams, a moving cataract, tossing before it ancient trees, and snapping them against its banks. It was preceded by a point of meandering water, picking its way, like a thing of life, through the deepest parts of the dark, dry, and shady bed, of what thus again became a flowing river. By my party, situated as we were at that time, beating about the country, and impeded in our journey, solely by the almost total absence of water—suffering excessively from thirst and extreme heat,—I am convinced the scene never can be forgotten. Here came at once abundance, the product of storms in the far off mountains, that overlooked our homes. My first impulse was to have welcomed this flood on our knees, for the scene was sublime in itself, while the subject—an abundance of water

sent to us in a desert—greatly heightened the effect to our eyes. Suffice it to say, I had witnessed nothing of such interest in all my Australian travels. Even the heavens presented something new, at least uncommon, and therefore in harmony with this scene; the variable star η *Argus* had increased to the first magnitude, just above the beautiful constellation of the southern cross, which slightly inclined over the river, in the only portion of sky seen through the trees. That very red star, thus rapidly increasing in magnitude, might, as characteristic of her rivers, be recognised as the star of Australia, when Europeans cross the Line. The river gradually filled up the channel nearly bank high, while the living cataract travelled onward, much slower than I had expected to see it; so slowly, indeed, that more than an hour after its first arrival, the sweet music of the head of the flood was distinctly audible from my tent, as the murmur of waters, and the diapason crash of logs, travelled slowly through the tortuous windings of the river bed. I was finally lulled to sleep by that melody of living waters, so grateful to my ear, and evidently so unwonted in the dry bed of the thirsty Macquarie.'—pp. 57—59.

The expedition was, of course, brought into frequent contact with the Aborigines, and though the first movements were sometimes hostile, yet the forbearance, skill, and promptitude of the leader, happily availed to prevent collision. The accounts given of the condition and habits of the natives, are amongst the most interesting portions of the volume. We know not how it may be with others, but for ourselves we confess to a deeper interest in man than in all other objects, animate or inanimate, with which our globe is peopled. In reading the narratives of some travellers, we are painfully reminded that the reverse is the case. Any other object has greater interest for them. They gaze with rapture on beautiful scenery, are alive to all that is attractive in the physical features of a country, descant with fluency on its geological phenomena, on the habits of its brute inhabitants, or the structure of its flowers. Its surface is ransacked, its mines explored, its rivers traced. They are enthusiasts in their way, but the great subject of all, the sentient and immortal being who gives value and interest to everything else, and for whom all was erected, is viewed with unconcern, and receives only a superficial and passing notice. There is something miserably shallow in all this, and the plea by which it is attempted to justify the neglect, only reveals their unfitness for the task undertaken. Man is still man, wherever and in whatever condition he is found. The savage possesses all the essential elements of our nature, and presents some of its phases under an aspect which specially claims consideration. It is a melancholy fact now placed beyond contradiction, that every step which the traveller takes beyond the pale of civilisation, brings him into contact with our nature in a degraded and

brutalized state. The physical circumstances of each country give a distinctive character to its inhabitants, but their lot is uniformly one of moral and intellectual debasement. The bushman of Africa, the Indian of America, and the native of the South Sea Islands, are in this respect one, whatever diversities exist between them. Some may be possessed of more physical comforts than others; individual faculties may be largely developed by the circumstances of particular tribes; there may be degrees of barbarism, a nearer approach in some cases than in others to the level of the brutes; but in all instances there is an utter abnegation of what constitutes the strength and glory of man.

The Aborigines of Australia furnish no exception. Sir Thomas Mitchell frequently fell in with them, and his notices of their condition and qualities are characterized by good feeling and sound judgment. He did not carry into the forests and wilds of Australia, the prejudices which are so common to the civilized man, but does full justice to its native tribes, and sometimes seems half disposed, in his philanthropy, to adopt a false and morbid philosophy. Many uncivilized tribes display physical qualities of a very high order, and this was the case with some of those with which he met. Speaking of a native guide, to whose services he was largely indebted, he says:—

‘He was a perfect specimen of the *genus homo*, and such as never is to be seen, except in the precincts of savage life, undegraded by any scale of graduated classes, and the countless bars these present to the free enjoyment of existence. His motions in walking were more graceful than can be imagined by any who have only seen those of the draped and shod animal. The deeply set yet flexible spine; the taper form of the limbs; the fulness yet perfect elasticity of the *glutei* muscles. The hollowness of the back, and symmetrical balance of the upper part of the torso, ornamented as it was, like a piece of fine carving, with raised scarifications most tastefully placed; such were some of the characteristics of this perfect ‘piece of work.’ Compared with it, the civilised animal, when considered merely in the light of a specimen in natural history, how inferior! In vain might we look amongst thousands of that class, for such teeth; such digestive powers; for such organs of sight, hearing, smelling, tasting, feeling; for such powers of running, climbing, or walking; for such full enjoyment of the limpid water, and of all that nature provides for her children of the woods. Such health and exemption from disease; such intensity of existence, in short, must be far beyond the enjoyments of civilised men, with all that art can do for them.’—p. 64.

On one occasion the exploring party, under the guidance of a native who had been met with the day before, came suddenly on a tribe ‘seated in three groups; old men on the right, painted

red ; old women in the centre, painted white ; and other women and children on the left. The few strong men who appeared, formed a circle around me,' says our author, 'and told me their names.' On being assured of the peaceful disposition of their visitors, they offered no obstruction, and the incident which follows, exhibits the native character in a highly favorable light :—

'The curiosity of the natives,' says Sir Thomas, 'having been gratified, they disappeared ; but I must mention that, having missed the elder of the two men who had guided us here since the first evening, I learned, on inquiring what had become of him, that he had gone back to his little boys, whom he had left at the water-holes where he first met us, six miles back, and for whom he had apparently gathered his little net of melons. Nothing could have been finer than this man's conduct. He had at once come on with us to guide us where we wanted to go ; took great pains to make us known to his own tribe and, I believe, to other assembled tribes, at some risk to himself ; and then, without claiming my promised gifts, he had returned to his little family, left at such a distance, only that he might do that which was civil to us strangers. Yet we call these men savages ! I fear such disinterested acts of civility on the part of the civilised portion of mankind are rather rare. He had rendered to us, at all events, a very great service ; for the danger of sudden collision with the natives was at an end, after our introduction by him to the tribes.' —p. 111.

On the third of May, natives were heard near the camp, and three of them were at length persuaded to enter the white man's tents. Intense curiosity appeared to overcome every other feeling. 'They were entirely naked, and without any kind of armament or weapon, offensive or defensive. With steady fixed looks, eyes wide open, and serious intelligent countenances, what passed in their minds was not disguised, as is usual with savages. On the contrary, there was a manly openness of countenance, and a look of good sense about them, which would have gained my full confidence,' says our author, 'could we but have understood each other.' The appearance of the natives, however, was not always of so friendly a character. The tomahawk had frequently been a present from the white man, and it was sometimes used—for what other purpose could they suppose it was given?—to defend their possessions or revenge their injuries. The skill and forbearance of Sir Thomas Mitchell happily prevented any quarrel, while his uniform caution guarded himself and his associates from any sudden surprisal. He records a scene in which it is not difficult for a candid mind to recognize some noble elements, under an exterior of rudeness and vulgarity. The savage, it must be remem-

bered, looked on the country as his own, and regarded the white man as an unscrupulous and dangerous visitor.

'On returning,' says our author, 'to the camp in the evening, I learned that soon after I left it in the morning, two natives came boldly up, painted white, bearing, each, several spears and four or five bommerengs. They were followed by two females bearing loads of spears. The men were got immediately under arms, forming a line before the tents, and Corporal Graham beckoned to the natives to halt. They pointed after me, and by very plain gestures motioned to the party to follow me, or to begone. Finding the men before the tents made the same signs to them, and stood firm, the principal speaker edged off towards a man at a distance, in charge of the horses. Graham got between, so as to cover the man and the horses, when they advanced more boldly upon him, quivering their poised spears at him, at a distance of only ten or twelve paces. At length the foremost man turned round, and by slapping his posteriors, gave him to understand by that vulgar gesture, his most contemptuous defiance: this induced the old soldier to discharge his carbine over the head of the savage, who first sprang some feet into the air, and then ran off with all the others. Soon after, the same native was seen creeping up the steep bank, so as to approach the camp under the cover of some large trees, the rest following, and he was again met by our party. He then seemed to recite with great volubility a description of the surrounding territory, as he continually pointed in the course of his harangue to various localities, and in this description he was prompted by the female behind, who also, by rapid utterance and motions of the arm, seemed to recite a territorial description. Finding, however, that his speech made no impression on the white strangers, and that they still beckoned them to depart; he stuck a spear into the ground, and, by gestures, seemed to propose that, on the one side, the ground should be occupied by the strangers, and on the other side, by them. Graham apparently assenting to this, they seemed more satisfied, and departed. There were two deep reaches; one above, the other below, our camp. The upper one was deepest, largest, and more remote from our party, and most within reach of the natives. I gave strict orders that no man should go there; nor that the cattle should be allowed to feed there; that it should, in fact, be left wholly to the natives; that no ducks should be shot, that no men should fish there. Nothing could be more reasonable than the proposal of this native, nor more courageous than his appearance before our more numerous party, with his spears and open defiance; and I was determined to take every precaution to avoid a collision with his small tribe, and prevent, during our probably long residence here, our people from doing them any harm.'—pp. 182—184.

On another occasion a collision appeared inevitable, and would certainly have taken place, but for the address and perfect self-possession of the surveyor-general. His usual plan, on such occasions, was to proceed steadily on his course, prepared to resist attacks, but taking as little notice as possible of the par-

ties whom he met. The first feeling of the natives was astonishment and fear, and the confidence evinced by the exploring party continuing their route, served to prevent any attempt at assault. In the present instance, they came suddenly on a large lagoon, besides which were the huts of a very numerous tribe. On approaching the water, says our author:—

‘ Loud shrieks of many women and children, and the angry voices of men, apprised me that we had, at length, overtaken the tribe ; and, unfortunately, had come upon them by surprise. ‘ *Aya minyà !* ’ was vociferated repeatedly, and was understood to mean, ‘ What do you want ! ’ (What seek ye in the land of Macgregor !) I steadily adhered to my new plan of tactics towards the aborigines, and took not the slightest notice of them, but steadily rode forward, according to my compass bearing. On looking back for my men, I saw one beckoning me to return. He had observed two natives, with spears and clubs, hide themselves behind a bush in the direction in which I was advancing. On my halting, they stole away and, when a little further on, I perceived an old white-haired woman before me, on seeing whom, I turned slightly to one side, that we might not frighten her or provoke the tribe. The whole party seemed to have been amusing themselves in the water during the noon-day heat, which was excessive ; and the cool shades around the lagoon looked most luxuriant. Our position, on the contrary, was anything but enviable. With jaded horses scarcely able to lift a leg, amongst so many natives, whose language was incomprehensible, even to Yuranigh. I asked him whether we might not come to a parley with them, and see if they could understand him. His answer was brief ; and, without turning even his head once to look at them :—‘ You go on ! ’ which advice quite according with my own notions, founded on experience, I willingly went on. Even there, in the heart of the interior, on a river utterly unheard of by white men, an iron tomahawk glittered on high in the hand of a chief, having a very long handle to it. The anxious care of the females to carry off their children seemed the most agreeable feature in the scene, and they had a mode of carrying them on the haunch, which was different from anything I had seen. Some had been digging in the mud for worms, others searching for freshwater muscles ; and if the whole could have been witnessed unperceived, such a scene of domestic life amongst the aborigines had been worth a little more risk. The strong men assumed a strange attitude, which seemed very expressive of surprise ; having the right knee bent, the left leg forward, the right arm dropping, but grasping clubs ; the left arm raised, and the fingers spread out. ‘ *Aya, aya, minyà !* ’ they continually shouted ; and well might they ask what we wanted ! Hoping they would believe us to be Centaurs, and include the two old pack-horses in counting our numbers, I had not the slightest desire to let them know us more particularly ; and so travelled on, glad, at length, to hear their ‘ *Aya minyàs* ’ grow fainter, and that we were leaving them behind.’—pp. 324—326.

From the natives we must turn to the other productions of

Australia. In doing so we have a melancholy conviction that our opportunities of studying the native character will speedily cease. Like other uncivilized tribes, they are rapidly disappearing from the face of the earth; first retiring from their former haunts, and then ceasing absolutely as members of the human family. The fact itself is notorious, and the questions to which it gives rise in a thoughtful mind are numerous and large. The result is, in part, inevitable; but only in part. It reflects deeply on the civilized class, and shows how low the *moral* of a nation may be, when its intellectual and commercial condition is high. Our own legislature has been sadly defective in this matter, and no great improvement can be effected till the constitution of the Colonial Office is radically reformed. The evils incident to the contact of civilization with barbarism, have been immensely aggravated by this cause. The worst vices of Europe have been superadded to those of Asia, Africa, and America, and the result is seen in the diminished numbers and greater wretchedness of their Aboriginal tribes. 'Silently, but surely,' remarks our author when referring to this subject, 'that extirpation of Aborigines is going forward in grazing districts, even where protectors of Aborigines have been most active; and in Van Dieman's Land, the race has been extirpated, even before that of the kangaroos, under an agency still more destructive.' And yet this race has some noble qualities. Their character, however, is little known by our countrymen. They are usually regarded as the lowest in the scale of humanity, and those who plead on their behalf are deemed fanatics in philanthropy, whose benevolence is one-sided and quixotic. The testimony of our author is decidedly favorable. 'I found,' he says, 'those who accompanied me superior in penetration and judgment to the white men composing my party.'

The animal creation appeared to be as much surprized as the aborigines, at the appearance of white intruders, and to have little knowledge of their destructive powers:—

'As I stood waiting the cart's arrival,' says our author, 'some birds drew my attention, as I perceived I had attracted theirs. They descended to the lowest branches of the tree in whose shade I stood, and seemed to regard my horse with curiosity. On my imitating their chirp, one fluttered down, and attempted to alight on my horse's ears. On my whistling to them, one whistled some beautifully varied notes, as soft as those of an octave flute, although their common chirp was harsh and dissonant. The male and female seemed to have very different plumage, especially about the head; that on the one having the varying tint of the Rifle bird, the head of the other more resembling in colour, that of the *Dacelo giganteus*. They were about the size of a thrush, and seemed

the sole residents of that particular spot, and I had not seen them elsewhere.'—p. 129.

The scenery through which the explorers passed, was not uniformly uninteresting and sterile. They sometimes came upon tracts richly clothed, and possessing points of attraction, on which the cultivated eye rested with pleasure. There are vast regions yet unoccupied, ready to return an abundant harvest to the labors of husbandry; nature has large resources which wait only the presence and cultivation of intellect,—regions spreading out beyond the pale of civilization, as if in anticipation of the wants of the more crowded portions of our globe. An example of this is furnished in the following:—

'The scene now around was as different as could well be imagined, from that which surrounded us at the same hour yesterday. As we proceeded, we crossed a hill quite clear of trees, which commanded a view over an extent of similar country, large enough for a county. The broken summits, just appearing above the placid horizon of undulating downs, had formerly looked like a range to us, and were certainly highly ornamental to the scenery; but no stranger could have supposed these features to have been only the highest parts of such a broken sandstone country as that from which we had just emerged. The plains, or rather, I should say, downs, for they were nowhere level but everywhere gently undulating, were first seen in white streaks high above us, when we first perceived them through the scrubs. These downs consisted of the richest sort of black mould, on which grew luxuriantly, *Anthistiria* and *Panicum lævinode*. But the surface in general was loose, resembling that of a field after it had lain long in fallow. Herbs in great variety were just emerging from the recently watered earth, and the splendid morning did ample justice to the vernal scene. The charm of a beginning seemed to pervade all nature, and the songs of many birds sounded like the orchestral music before the commencement of any theatrical performance. Such a morning, in such a place, was quite incompatible with the brow of care. Here was an almost boundless extent of the richest surface in a latitude corresponding to that of China, yet still uncultivated and unoccupied by man. A great reserve, provided by nature for the extension of his race, where economy, art, and industry, might suffice to people it with a peaceful, happy, and contented population.'—p. 292.

Our author was at length rewarded for his labors, by a spectacle which must be described in his own words. His exultation was natural, and we are not disposed to carp at the terms in which it is expressed. Under date of the 15th of September, he says—

'As soon as daylight appeared I hastened towards the gap, and ascended a naked rock on the west side of it. I there beheld downs and

plains extending westward beyond the reach of vision, bounded on the S. W. by woods and low ranges, and on the N. E. by higher ranges; the whole of these open downs declining to the N. W., in which direction a line of trees marked the course of a river traceable to the remotest verge of the horizon. There I found then, at last, the realization of my long cherished hopes, an interior river falling to the N. W. in the heart of an open country extending also in that direction. Ulloa's delight at the first view of the Pacific could not have surpassed mine on this occasion, nor could the fervour with which he was impressed at the moment have exceeded my sense of gratitude, for being allowed to make such a discovery. From that rock, the scene was so extensive as to leave no room for doubt as to the course of the river, which, thus and there revealed to me alone, seemed like a reward direct from Heaven for perseverance, and as a compensation for the many sacrifices I had made, in order to solve the question as to the interior rivers of Tropical Australia.'—p. 308.

The following encounter relates to a reptile not frequently seen in the region. It appears to have been the only instance in which injury was threatened by the irrational creation. But for this passage, we might have concluded that no such reptile inhabited Australia. Sir Thomas says:—

'Soon after we left our bivouac, I saw in the grass before me, a large snake. This was rather a novelty to us, being almost the first we had seen in these northern regions of Australia. I dismounted, and went forward to strike it with a piece of wood. Yuranigh did the same, both missed it, when it unexpectedly turned upon us, took a position on higher ground beside a large tree, then descended with head erect, moving nimbly towards the horses, and the rest of the party. The deadly reptile glided straight to the forefeet of my horse, touched the fetlock with his head, but did not bite; then passed to the hind legs and did the same, fortunately the horse stood quietly. The snake darted thence towards one of the men, who was about to throw a stick at him, and was next in the act of pursuing Yuranigh, when Graham gave him a charge of small shot, which crippled his movements until he could be despatched. This snake was of a brown colour, red spotted on the belly, about six feet long, and five inches in circumference. I had never before known any Australian snake to attack a party, but we had certainly brought the attack upon ourselves.'—p. 335.

Sir Thomas Mitchell returned to Sydney in the middle of December, having been absent just twelve months. His expedition has contributed largely to a knowledge of the interior of the colony, and will furnish many useful hints to future explorers. We have read his report with much pleasure, and though it is wanting in the more exciting incidents which grace the narratives of some travellers, it has merits which amply compensate for their absence. The form in which it is pub-

lished will not add to its attractiveness, in the judgment of the general reader, yet it gives a truthfulness and reality to the record not otherwise attainable. It is the production of a man of sound judgment and healthy feeling, who was perfectly equal to his undertaking, and has recorded it in a manner which enlarges the materials of human knowledge, and deepens our sympathy with the more abject sections of our race. The man of science, particularly the geologist and botanist, will be gratified by many of its disclosures, while extensive tracts which have hitherto been a *terra incognita*, are now brought within the cognizance of the geographer and the merchant. We will only add that the maps and illustrations, which are numerous, add greatly to the value of the work.

ART. VI.—*Endeavours after the Christian Life : Discourses.* By James Martineau. Vol. II. 12mo. London : John Chapman.

As a reason for preserving the form of discourses, Mr. Martineau observes, 'I have always felt indignant with those preachers who, when they resort to the press, seem ashamed of their vocation, and disguise, under new shapes and names, the materials originally embodied in sermons. I should as soon think of turning a sonnet into an epistle, a ballad into a review, or a dirge into an obituary. It must be a bad sermon that can be made into a good treatise or even a good 'oration.' This illustration of the impossibility of successful conversion is suggested by the author's theory of preaching, which, he says, 'is essentially a lyric expression of the soul.' Not believing it to be anything of the kind, at least 'essentially,' we should use other arguments in enforcing the same condemnation of a prevalent habit. Most assuredly, in mentioning 'bad sermons,' the author has touched on a very delicate subject. It is not only the badness of sermons which allows of their being changed into other forms, but it is their badness that has occasioned the necessity thereof. There is no sufficient reason for the common complaint that the reading public dislike sermons, as such. They may possibly dislike the kind of sermons with which they are generally supplied, but we believe that a strong feeling exists in

favour of the sermonic form, and that the disesteem with which productions appearing in that form are often treated, is a loud condemnation of the unworthiness of the literature of the pulpit. Sermons would fare better than most things if they were not worse than most, and to seek to obtain public favour for poor thoughts poorly expressed, by transmuting into an essay, what was originally a sermon, is both to prove and to perpetuate a sore imposition on the public. The proper office of Christian teachers in this day, is to restore the reputation, not to avoid the name, of their peculiar instructions. We are glad that Mr. Martineau has uttered his rebuke of the growing fashion, and promoted 'a more excellent way' in his own example.

On the appearance of the first volume of these discourses, we frankly expressed our opinion of their excellencies and defects, chiefly dwelling on their insufficiency (as it appeared to us) 'to produce the essential temper of the Christian life.' On reperusing our remarks, we are unable to retract or modify them. There is no more charity than justice in concealing sentiments seriously cherished. Mr. Martineau's 'Christian life,' differs importantly from our own. We deny not that he expounds many noble thoughts, that he reaches many elevated strains of moral sentiment, that he even catches the true spirit of things doctrinal, often missed by those who more truly see their forms, yet we cannot resist the impression that the Christian idea of spiritual life, and of the connection of Christ with it, is other and much more than would be learned from these discourses. They would be beautiful and hopeful as expressive of 'endeavours' to *obtain* it—they will, we fear, be miserable failures as 'endeavours' to '*produce*' it. On this point we must content ourselves with saying, that the observations which we made on the first volume are equally applicable to the second.

At the same time, it must not be supposed, that the exigencies of the case are satisfied by a formal literal application of certain doctrinal rules to the matters contained in these volumes. We are by no means disposed to claim Mr. Martineau as orthodox, but the orthodox, after a rigid manner, are not always likely to do him justice. We imagine there is between him and men of creeds, verbally opposite to his, a sympathy upon points not provided for in general by the framers of doctrinal platforms. Occasionally we are obliged to acknowledge, not unwillingly, that he detects and reveres the hidden essence of a great truth, of whose common representation among the churches he has no love nor liking—though not so often as his words, regarded carelessly, might be supposed to intimate. According to him, there is a 'close affinity, perhaps ultimate identity, of

religion and poetry,' hence much may be explained which in forgetfulness of this, would probably be ascribed to a less worthy source. It is the essence of poetry not to be of very distinct conceptions. Accordingly, when we find our author using such language as the following—'One only finished expression of his (God's) mind, one entire symmetric strain has fallen upon our world. In Christ, we have the overflowing word, the deep and beautiful soliloquy, of the Most High; not his message and his argument, for in that there were no religion,—but the very poetry of God, which could not have been told us face to face, but only cast in meditation upon the silence of history. Not more certainly do we discern in the writings of Shakspeare, the greatest manifestation of human genius, than in the reality of Christ the highest expression of the Divine,' p. 348,—we are quite sure that, whatever is meant, there is no intention to affirm the popular doctrine of Christ's proper deity, and unable to ascribe it simply to a wish to say some fine thing of Christ, and equally unable to discover in it any definite idea in harmony with the writer's views of his person, we remember that mysticism is one of the sources of the sublime, and refrain from comment.

While we are obliged to decline the guidance of Mr. Martineau as a theologian, and object entirely to his disparaging references to theology itself, there is a large field of principle and sentiment, in which we greatly rejoice in the fruits of his firm and finely cultivated mind. His moral ideal is high. He has an exquisite spirituality of thought. In nothing does he more exult than in vindicating the honour of noble principles, and laying bare their shabby counterfeits. He looks upon society with the eye of one whose estimate of its duty and its destiny is exalted, and assails its selfishness and sensuality with rebukes most terrible for their keenness and severity. We shall furnish one or two specimens of his faithful dealing, commending them to the attention of the most godly, as well as to the most ungodly of our readers.

Important truths are thus expounded, very applicable, with certain qualifications, to many of the theories and movements of our own day:—

'What is true of a single mind, is no less true of communities of men. They also have their atheisms, and their several idolatries: from which, too, they can be recalled and preserved only in proportion as they find their principle of combination, and their mode of action, in the deep love and reverence of the perfectness of Christ. No age, since the Reformation, has been so marked by idol-worship as our own;—so prolific of favourite and one-sided schemes of social improvement, founded on the sense of some solitary want of human nature, but barren of good from the neglect of all the rest. Our Christianity is no longer *catholic*, rich

in provisions for the whole faculties and being of man. With the expansion and complication of our life, religion has lost its comprehensive grasp of all the elements of our well-being, and permitted them to escape and break up in mischievous analysis, and consign themselves to separate trusts. In answer to the earnest cry of society, 'What shall we do to be saved from all our miseries and sins?' there are countless fragmentary answers, in place of the deep, full harmony of response, from the soul of Christian inspiration. 'Give us more bread,' says one; 'more money,' says a second; 'more churches, more belief, more priests,' say others in their turn; and not the least intelligent and worthy will exclaim for the diminution of distilleries, or the multiplication of schools. For my own part, I believe that human nature is not like a house, which you may build up piecemeal,—first the stone, then the wood,—to its true finish and proportion; but, rather, like the lily or the tree, which grow in all parts,—the stem, the root, the leaf—at *once*, and keep a constant symmetry. It must be nourished and unfolded simultaneously in all its dimensions, or its enlargement is mere distortion and disease. There is truth with those who idolize the *physical* means of augmenting the comforts of the people; but it is only the truth which lurked in the foul Egyptian adoration of the prolific powers of nature. There is truth with those who trust in the ameliorating energy of knowledge and of art; but it is the truth which filled Athens with the worship of the wise Minerva, and which left it still, in the estimate of the Christian apostle, 'in all things too superstitious.' There is truth with those who say we want more faith and devout obedience; but if the temple of our life be denied the light of thought, then, though every man stands, saint-like with his censer in his hand, he will just repeat 'what the elders of Israel did in the dark,'—send up his foolish cloud of incense before 'creeping things and abominable beasts.' Society, to avoid corruption in any of these agencies, must concurrently avail itself of all. And there is no power, which embraces them all, and assigns to each its proper rank, except that divine religion which makes Christ the model and end of life. Trusting to inferior forces, we shall find that each is blind to all that lies above it, and provides for the world only up to its own level. But Christian faith, in aiming at once at the highest elements of good, necessarily includes the lowest; it contains within itself an epitome of all the parts of human perfection; and in the heart of a nation, as of a man, it is the grand source of moral salubrity and inextinguishable hope.'—pp. 16—19.

Certain fashionable moral doctrines are severely, but not unfairly, dealt with in the following passage:—

'There is a remarkable intellectual subtlety engaged now-a-days in perplexing men's moral convictions. On the one hand, there is the celebrated doctrine of happiness, ingeniously spun into a logical texture, to entangle those who are neither fine enough to pass through its meshes, nor strong enough to rend them: the doctrine which assures you that enjoyment is the great end of existence, and is the only real element of worth in the objects of our choice. Of this I will say no more at present, than that it plainly makes all duty a matter of taste, and reduces

the distinction between evil and good to the difference between pills and peaches : and that it puts an end to the spirit of moral combat of human life, and metamorphoses the 'good soldier of Jesus Christ' into one knows not what strange sort of mock-heroic insincerity. At the feet of Epicurus a man must needs lay the Christian armour down ; for one can hardly fancy the most logical of mortals tying on a breast-plate of faith, seeking the battle-field, and fighting—to *be happy*. But there is a more insidious doctrine than this, largely infused, from the philosophy of a neighbouring country, into the literature of the age : a doctrine, not of the appetites, but of the imagination ; not the utilitarian, but the æsthetic, contrary of the true faith of Deity. This would persuade us, that the moral faculty is all very well as one of the elements of human nature ; is highly respectable in its proper place among the rest, and could not be absent without leaving a grievous gap, interruptive of the symmetry of the man : but that it must aspire to no more than this modest participation with its companions in the perfection of our being ; that it must not presume to meddle with what does not belong to it, or refuse to make liberal concessions to the demands of beauty, expediency, and self-love ; and that it would be very narrow-minded, or, in fashionable phrase, very *one-sided*, to try everything before the tribunal of this solitary power. Here, also, only under more artful disguise, is a complete denial of all responsibility. Something, it is true, appears to be allowed to conscience ; a part is given to it to play ; and the point professedly disputed is not its *existence* with an appropriate function, but its exclusive pretensions and absolute *authority*. Unhappily, however, when this much is discarded, it is only in semblance that anything remains. A moral faculty with a merely concurrent jurisdiction, or from whose decisions there is some appeal, is a palpable self-contradiction. As well might we propose to frame a government without any one highest. Conscience is authority—divine authority—universal authority ; or it is nothing. It is a right royal power, that cannot stoop to serve : dethrone it, and it dies. Not even can it consent to be acknowledged as a 'citizen-king,' chosen by the suffrages of equals, open to their criticism, and removeable at their pleasure. Either it must be owned as bearing a sacred and underrived sovereignty, against which argument is impiety, and dreams of redress incur the penalties of treason ; or it will decline the earthly sceptre, and retire to heaven. It reigns not by the acquiescent will of other powers, but is supreme by nature over all will ; nor rules according to any given law, being itself the fountain of all law, the guardian of order, the promulgator of right. Its prerogatives are penetrating and paramount, like God.'—pp. 182—185.

It would be easy to multiply extracts, but we must forbear. There is much in this volume that is greatly needed, and that every true and wise lover of his nation, must earnestly desire to be wrought into the heart and life of all men. Seriously dissenting from many of our author's positions, we cannot refrain from wishing that some who will be ready to deplore and denounce his theological views, were able even to *appreciate* his

ethical standard. One of the greatest perils to orthodoxy, is in the lowness of moral sentiment and spirit with which it is often associated, the virtual superiority of opinions to practices in the estimates of multitudes of its professors, the habit of regarding it apart from the profound principles of holiness, of which it is, in its highest relations, the disclosure and instrument. Let those who deem themselves to have more 'faith' than others, shew it by their 'works.'

ART. VII.—1. *Reasons for Appealing to the Middle Classes on Behalf of their Unenfranchised Brethren.* By a Norwich Operative. London: Houlston and Stoneman.

2. *The Suffrage ; or, Reconciliation between the Middle and Laboring Classes.* By Edward Miall. London: Miall and Cockshaw.

WE live in marvellous times. The events of a century are being crowded into a month. Transactions, each of which is sufficient to mark an epoch, are following one another with a rapidity which has no parallel. The whole community of Europe is rife with action. Tens of thousands of her citizens have come forth from their workshops and dwellings, instinct with a new life, and emulous of the fame of regenerating mankind. The torpor of Europe is suddenly broken up, its quietude is gone, a new language is spoken, and men are rushing together from all the scenes of ordinary life, to act a part and to fulfil a mission pregnant with hope. Only two months since, and everything was calm and peaceful. The surface of society was unruffled, and the most sagacious of its members failed to discern the shadow of coming events. The reform banquets of France were sneered at by statesmen of reputed genius. Guizot and his associates held them in contempt, and the diplomatists of Europe regarded them but as a pantomime, which would fulfil their mission in the amusement of a fickle and excitable people. They were permitted, because they were thought to be within the control of government, and to be destined to a speedy and inglorious termination. The King of the French felt no alarm, and his ministers partook of his confidence. Paris was France, and who could doubt her quiet with the chain of fortresses by which she was encompassed. An immense military force was gathered about her. There was an

imposing array of soldiery at every point, and the catastrophies of 1831 and 1834 proved both the power and the will of the government to employ it with terrible effect.

The people were apparently broken in spirit, and the Chambers exhibited little else than the servility of a corrupt majority, and the doubtful patriotism of an opposition which employed the language of freedom, in the hope of displacing political opponents. A few—they were very few—looked beneath the surface and saw the boiling lava; and they trembled with apprehension. The system practised for eighteen years had made fearful inroads on the public virtue of France, and its best patriots and most enlightened sons therefore rejoiced with trembling. They did not despair of their country, but they had their misgivings. They discerned the gathering tempest, but feared it might break on the land with the destructiveness, as well as the force of a hurricane. In our own country, one voice alone, so far as our knowledge extends, was clear and distinct in its warnings. A son of France, whom bribes could not corrupt, nor power intimidate, a man of unimpeachable honor, of rare patriotism, who combined in an unwonted degree the warm temperament of his own country with the cooler judgment of ours, laid bare the secret mechanism by which public virtue was undermined, and French liberty threatened with deadly peril.* For some years his voice was unregarded, and the English admirers of Louis Philippe were base enough to insinuate a doubt of the purity of his motive. Verily he has his revenge in the fulfilment of his predictions, and the overwhelming evidence recently furnished of the accuracy of his information. So thoroughly unprepared were all parties for what has occurred, that the earlier movements of the revolution were represented by 'the leading journal of Europe,' as a mere street mob, which would be easily dispersed by the executive, and could only serve to strengthen its hands. But the events of Paris were only the commencement of what has occurred. The shock reached the extremities of Europe, and affected all classes and ranks. Scarcely a post has arrived for some weeks past, without bringing the news of fresh revolutions. Men have been held in breathless suspense by the rapidity of these communications. The oldest dynasties, as well as the more recent, have been shaken to their foundation. Metternich has fled from Vienna, like Guizot from Paris. Old states have risen with the vigor and passion of youth, while some that were blotted from the map are begin-

* Our readers need not be informed that we refer to the author of 'France Governmental and Administrative,' by whose contributions our own pages have frequently been enriched.

ning to claim re-admittance to the family of Europe. ‘Wherever we cast our eyes on the European continent,’ says the able correspondent of the ‘Patriot,’ ‘we cannot find a spot which is not streaked with ruins, or quaking as under the pressure of a volcano striving to erupt. The whole history of the world, since its beginning, has no epoch which can be compared to the last six weeks, in which we find condensed, events hitherto distributed over one or two centuries.*

And all this has occurred from the simultaneous action of vast numbers. It has not been by the presence of one mighty intellect or gigantic power. Armies have not done it; kings have not called it into being; even parliaments and nobles have been unemployed. Until yesterday, who would have expected the disciplined troops of Prussia to quail before a popular insurrection, or the stolid despotism of Austria, to give place to the new spirit of the age. These are events which try our faith in human testimony, so utterly incredible were they deemed a few weeks since. Amongst all the marvels of the age, the Congress of Frankfort appears to us the greatest. It was the spontaneous prompting of the German mind,—the instinctive act of a great body, which felt that the day of its redemption had dawned. The German people waited for no authority, they asked for no sanction, they listened for no voice from the high places of the earth. They had a mission to fulfil, and that mission they hastened to discharge. From every part of their fatherland, they resorted to the place of meeting. Peaceful citizens, the merchant, the landowner, the juris-consult, and the professor, met together without fear of interruption, and marvellous to say, nobles and kings waited their decision, and hastened to fulfil their behests. We are not so ignorant of the probabilities of human action as to imagine that their submissive posture will, in all cases, be maintained. The authorities have bowed before a power which they could not resist, in the hope probably, that the storm would speedily pass, and that they would then be able to resume their former positions. Let them if they can. We verily believe their day is past. They will make attempts, desperate attempts it may be, to recover their ascendancy, but it will only be to precipitate their downfall before the new element which has been called into being. The might of intellect is beginning to be felt, and no force can stand permanently against it. There may be temporary reactions,—the history of the world leads us to expect such,—but the low level of the past will never be reached again. The waters will rise, though the tide may ebb and flow. Democracy

• ‘Patriot,’ April 13th.

has risen in its might, and the artificial restraints within which it has been held, have been burst instantly asunder, like the cords which bound the limbs of Samson.

In this event, we see the result of what has been going on for the last thirty years. It were sheer folly, a miserable and shallow philosophy, to suppose that what is passing before our eyes, is but the phrenzy of an hour, an April shower, a temporary cloud obscuring only for a day the sun of royalty. It is no such thing, and he is among the veriest drivellers who sees in it nothing more than this. There is now brought to the surface, what has long been going on beneath. The fermentation has been proceeding for years, the bread has been scattered on the waters, men have sown in tears, and they now reap in joy. The political instructors of mankind have been diligently employed for half a century. 'Many have run to and fro, and knowledge has increased on the earth.' For a time they were disregarded, and their names were a by-word and reproach amongst the privileged classes. The atrocities of the revolution of 1789, and the European war which followed, checked, at first, their progress. Then came the re-action of 1815, and the apparent triumph of the legitimists. The revolution of July, 1830, and our own Reform Bill, indicated, however, the spirit that was yet rife. But Europe was not then prepared for freedom. The fulness of time had not arrived. Further instructions were needful. The pupillage of the European intellect was not complete. Its sympathies were only partially engaged, its convictions only partially enlightened. At length, however, the process has been perfected, and as the natural, the inevitable result, it has responded instantly to the appeal of France. Like a train of gunpowder, a single spark has been sufficient to ignite the whole.

It was not to be expected that our own country could remain uninfluenced by these events. It has deeply felt the shock of previous continental revolutions, and there was nothing in its existing condition to render probable its exemption in the present case. The 'Morning Chronicle,' indeed, asserts, that no general discontent exists among our people, and hence affects to deride the apprehension of danger. Such *was* the language of M. Guizot, and the same idle talk was current in the courts of Berlin and Vienna, and was re-echoed by their hirelings of the press. It is not thus that dangers are to be averted, or nations saved. Kingdoms as well as individuals may say peace, peace to themselves when there is no peace, and their doing so proves nothing but their own infatuation, and the imminency of their danger. Our own conviction is the reverse of that which the 'Chronicle' has expressed, and we are far, therefore, from

being surprised at what has happened. To the aristocratic classes, the revolution of France, with what has subsequently occurred throughout the Continent, has been as gall and worm-wood. Even the more liberal of their number magnify its blunders, and keep out of view, its redeeming features. Their class prejudices are too powerful for their political sympathies, and they refer to it consequently in the language of misrepresentation and contumely. We are not surprised at this. The whole movement wears certainly an unfriendly aspect towards their exclusive privileges, and bids them in the language of Earl Grey to the bishops, 'to set their house in order.' On the other classes of the community the effect has been different. The great body of our people have sympathised with the French revolution, so far as it involves the assertion of popular rights against a corrupt and despotic court. They have nothing to do with its republicanism. This is a matter to be settled by the French amongst themselves, and few in this country are yet disposed to be their disciples in the matter. A constitutional monarchy is vastly preferable in the judgment of Englishmen, to a republican form of government. This may be wise or foolish, so far as our present argument is concerned. We have to do with the fact only, and respecting this there cannot be much doubt. An intense satisfaction pervades the popular section of our community, at the re-assertion by our neighbours of the principles of popular liberty. This feeling, indeed, is not unmingled with anxiety. The means employed to compass the change effected, are not of the order which gives the surest pledge of stability. Their suddenness and violence, however suited to the temperament of the French people, involve their issue in uncertainty, while the special mode in which the Provisional Government was elected, is wanting in the elements of durability and executive power. It was the triumph of physical force in the hands of the people, against the same power as wielded by the government, and anarchy or military despotism is the rock on which the new constitution is in danger of foundering. In addition to this primary source of anxiety, considerable apprehension has been awakened by the choice of evils to which the Provisional Government was early reduced. It was surrounded by an immense multitude of armed and starving citizens, men by whom it had been called into being, and on whose favor its permanent existence depended. What then was to be done? Was an existing evil to be met by temporary expedients adapted to the crisis, or were the dogmas of political science to be maintained at the sacrifice of a nation's peace? Lamartine and his associates acted wisely in adopting the former course. They took a higher and larger view than con-

sists with the philosophy of our stereotyped statesmen. They rose to the height of their position, and showed themselves worthy of their mission, by hazarding their reputation as politicians, in order to save from ruin the young republic committed to their charge. We honor the men whose fidelity to the spirit of their vocation was evinced by the sacrifice of its letter, and appeal to what has subsequently occurred in vindication of their course. The unsound doctrines advocated by a few of their number will not be permitted, we feel assured, to imprint a permanent character on their legislation. These circumstances, however—the physical force character of the revolution, and the vicious political economy propounded in some quarters, have repressed the ardor of our people, and prevented such an expression of popular sympathy, as would otherwise have taken place.

The effects, however, have been most potent,—in some quarters beneficial, and in others reprehensible and pernicious. To one instance of the latter kind, public attention has been specially directed, and we are concerned, while the matter is yet fresh in the memory of our countrymen, to exhibit its true character, and to distribute, to the several parties concerned, what we deem their just measure of praise and blame. It is of importance that this should be done promptly, and without reserve. Great interests are at stake, something infinitely superior to the fate of parties, or the reputation of demagogues. Efforts are not wanting in certain quarters to misrepresent what has occurred, and unless these are counteracted, an impression will be extensively made which facts do not justify, and which will serve for some years to obstruct the course of popular freedom. We must be on our guard against misrepresentation as well as against force. The press equally with the government requires to be watched, and that more especially, as its most powerful organs are in the interest, if not in the pay of the aristocracy. The Chartist body, as is well known, is divided into two sections, one advocating the use of moral and constitutional means only, and the other contending for the employment of force, as the only agency which will compass their end. They are designated respectively, moral force, and physical force, Chartists; and are distinguished by separate organizations, and by a radical difference in the tone of their procedure. The latter section, constituting, as we believe, a very small portion of the body, sympathized most deeply with the *mode* of the French revolution. It was exactly to their mind, the precise form which they would like a similar movement to take in England. Under the impulse received, they determined on holding a convention in London, which was accordingly commenced on the 4th of

April. This convention consisted of forty-nine members, delegated from various parts of the kingdom, and was understood to represent a large constituency. Their sittings were held daily and the utmost freedom of speech was enjoyed. Earnestly devoted to the popular cause, we are not disposed to disparage the character, or to underrate the importance of the assembly. The prejudiced and mercenary may do so, but we eschew their spirit with abhorrence. It matters not to us that many of the delegates belonged to the working classes, and that the parties for whom they acted, filled the subordinate and more laborious stations of society. Our sympathy was increased rather than otherwise by this fact, and we were prepared in a generous spirit to construe their proceedings. It is true, we had our misgivings, arising from their avowed opinions, and our want of faith in their leaders. Still we had some trust in their common sense and sound-heartedness as Englishmen, and we anticipated some little good from the friendly approaches made towards them by many members of the middle classes. Unhappily our misgivings have been more than verified. The most obnoxious of their tenets have been obtruded on public attention with vehemence, their avowal has been hailed as proof of the noblest patriotism, the appeal has been coolly and determinately made to physical force, and the most arrogant pretensions have been set forth, in utter disregard of the forms of the constitution, and in contemptuous defiance of the executive. All this has been done in open day, and with a recklessness to which English history furnishes no parallel.

It is of the utmost importance to bear in mind, that against the Convention itself no valid objection rests. It is the right of Englishmen so to meet. They are entitled to do so, and when they cease to exercise this right, their boasted constitution will be a mockery, and their liberty only a name. To assemble for the discussion of grievances, even according to the admission of political renegades, is their inalienable right. It has come down to us from our fathers, and was purchased with their labor and blood. It is the heritage of the battle field and the scaffold, and we should be amongst the veriest slaves, if we suffered it to be wrested from us. But in proportion to the sacredness of the right, is the wisdom with which it should be exercised, and we deeply regret that in the present case this wisdom has not been shewn. A few illustrations will best explain and confirm our statement. To guard against the suspicion of misrepresenting the convention, we shall not avail ourselves of the reports of the 'Times,' the 'Morning Chronicle,' or the 'Herald:' but shall recur to the *Northern Star*, against whose evidence, in this case no exception can of course be taken. As further illustration

the temper of the assembly, we shall retain the insertions of the reporter, so that our readers may judge of the reception given to the statements adduced.

Mr. Ernest Jones, a delegate from Halifax, stated, that 'his constituents were impressed with the desirability, if possible, of conducting the movement on moral force principles; but they warned him not to stoop to one act of unnecessary humility in urging their claims. To a man they were ready to fight. If necessary, they were ready to rush down the hills of Yorkshire in aid of their brother patriots in London. They thought the convention should appeal to the House of Commons, and if treated with contumely, or put off with half measures, they should petition the Queen to dissolve the parliament and dismiss her ministers. In case her Majesty refused to obey that command—he used the word 'command' advisedly, for the Queen was but the servant of the people—they then would be prepared to advise the convention to resolve themselves into a permanent assembly, and the struggle would commence between the two parliaments, as to which should be the dominant authority.'

Mr. James Hitchin, delegate from Wigan, said that his constituents 'would rather go to work, and resort to physical force at once, than remain in their present deplorable position. * * They said they would try one more petition; but if that were rejected, they would 'go to work,' let the consequence be what it might. * * They were determined to have the charter, either morally or physically.'

Mr. Buckley reported that his constituents (Leicester) 'told him, they would get the charter by moral force if they could; if they could not, they were determined to have it by other means.'

Mr. Linney (Birmingham) reported that 'he was authorised by the people of Bilston, Wolverhampton, and Dudley, to say, that whatever course might be recommended by the convention, they were prepared to carry it out. In his own mind he felt determined to have the charter before he left London.'

Mr. Henry Smith (Liverpool) affirmed 'that if no other town commenced, Liverpool would. An immense meeting had been held, and the feeling was, that if the petition was not granted, they must obtain it at the point of the bayonet.'

Mr. Lund (Lancaster) reported that 'the Chartists of Lancaster were ready to join in extreme measures, if there existed any probability of success.'

Mr. Frank Mirfield (Barnsley) said 'that his constituents, at a large public meeting, had instructed him to say, that if the government let the military loose upon Ireland, something else would be let loose here. If the petition were rejected, they

hoped the convention would not break up, but that it would take into its hands the government of the country. That they would divide the land into small farms, and give every man an opportunity of getting his living by the sweat of his brow.'

Mr. Aston (Northampton) said 'he was justified in stating, that the working men were determined to have the charter at all hazards. The working classes thought the man who would not fight for it was unworthy of it. * * He was instructed to support any measure that would insure the adoption of the charter in the shortest time.' His brother delegate, Mr. James Leach, added, 'he would say nothing of physical or moral force, but leave that to the chapter of accidents.'

Mr. Reynolds (Derby) remarked, 'this should be the last petition to the house, and he agreed with a deputy who spoke on Tuesday, that its refusal would be a declaration of war against labour. * * A few drops of blood were as nothing in the scale, and if moral means should fail, the people were prepared for any means.'

Mr. Henry Child (London) stated that 'his constituents were determined to have their rights, peaceably if they could, but forcibly if they must.'

Mr. Charles M'Carthy (Irish Confederalist) said 'the confederalists were determined to achieve their liberties; and they had their rifle clubs, showing at once their determination to fight for their liberties, if necessary; and should a single shot be fired in Ireland, forty thousand Irishmen, in London, were ready to avenge their brethren.'

Mr. Murphy (Huddersfield) said, 'his constituents were determined to have the charter morally, if possible, but to have it at any rate.'

Mr. Harney (Nottingham), was 'greeted, according to the report of the 'Northern Star,' with '*tremendous cheering*,' on reporting, that the mayor of that town 'had received a letter from Sir George Grey, setting forth, that a great number of pikes were being manufactured and distributed in Nottingham.' It was subsequently proposed, in the event of their petition being rejected, that the sittings of the convention should be permanent, and the charter be declared the law of the land. Mr. William Cuffey (London), seconded this motion, declaring that 'he should take the rejection as a declaration of war, and be prepared to go to war accordingly, and the executive should be prepared to lead on to liberty or death.' This resolution, which bore the form of an amendment, was withdrawn, and the following amended programme was unanimously adopted:—

'1st That in the event of the national petition being rejected by the House of Commons, this convention prepare a national memorial to the

Queen, to dissolve the present parliament, and call to her council such ministers only as will make the people's Charter a cabinet measure.

'2nd. That this convention agree to the convocation of a national assembly, to consist of delegates appointed at public meetings, to present the national memorial to the Queen; and to continue permanently sitting until the charter is the law of this land.

'3rd. That this convention call upon the country to hold simultaneous meetings on Good Friday, April 21, for the purpose of adopting the national memorial, and electing delegates to the National Assembly.

'4th. That the National Assembly meet in London on Monday, April 24th.

'5th. That the present convention shall continue its sittings until the meeting of the National Assembly.'

We have been the more free in our quotations, lest it should be supposed that we were attributing to the whole body sentiments expressed only by a few. This is no uncommon device, and we are solicitous to guard ourselves from the suspicion of descending to it. Unhappily, the present case does not admit of doubt. The whole number of delegates was forty-nine, and our readers will see from our quotations, how large a proportion committed themselves by explicit avowals, and may infer from the applause with which their opinions were greeted, what was the feeling of the remainder. Would that it had been otherwise. It would afford us unmingled satisfaction to record the fact, and in doing so, to utter an indignant protest against the inference now triumphantly drawn against the people's rights, from the proceedings of this self-styled National Convention. A deeper wound on the cause of popular freedom has not been inflicted for years, and it will require all the wisdom and energy of its true friends to counteract the mischief.

It is due, however, to some members of the convention, to remark, that the sentiments quoted were not universally adopted. A few—alas, that the number was so small!—expressed their dissent, and we should be glad if their protest had been more emphatic, and if they had instantly withdrawn from an assembly which committed them to such seditious councils. Mr. Fussell reported, that the middle classes of Birmingham 'had declared for the people's charter,' and, in measured language, expressed his hope that 'the question of physical and moral force would not be introduced to destroy their unanimity.' Dr. Hunter said, 'that Edinburgh was not quite so democratic as he could wish. That he had no instructions from his constituents, but he did wish to say a few words on first principles; he thought the charter could be made the law by moral force, and moral force only, as when the people said, 'We will have the charter,' it must become law.' The strongest dissent,

however, was expressed by Mr. Wilkinson, from Exeter, who remarked, that 'when he heard some persons talk of guns, pikes, and swords, with such coolness, his blood chilled within his veins. Was it nothing,' he asked, 'for the father's hand to be raised against the son, and the son's raised against the father?' What there was in this to excite *laughter*, we are at a loss to imagine, and until we referred to the columns of the 'Northern Star,' we were willing to hope that the report of it was a libel of the daily press. This organ of the convention, however, records the disgraceful fact, and in doing so, has furnished the most conclusive evidence against the *animus* of the assembly, that its bitterest opponent could have desired.

Such then were the recorded sentiments of the body which summoned an aggregate meeting at Kennington Common, on the 10th of April, and avowed the intention of leading some 300,000 persons to Westminster Hall, for the purpose of presenting to the Lower House a petition in favour of the charter. The object of such procession did not admit of doubt. It was perfectly obvious from the first, and taken in connexion with the recorded sentiments of those who convened the meeting, called for, and justified, the interference of the executive. It is not our province to show the consistency of whig ministers in what they have now done, and in what they did during the discussions on their Reform Bill. We do not believe in such consistency. In the former case they were opposed to the people, in the latter they needed their aid. In the one, they were concerned to damage the popular cause; in the other, its strength and energy were their only hope. But apart from this, the government of the day, whether whig or tory, was bound to provide for the public safety, and those who censure its proceedings *in toto*, should be prepared to maintain that in no possible contingency would they have been chargeable with criminal oversight, and supineness. We do not believe—we never did believe, that any seditious outbreak was *designed* on the 10th of April, but it is impossible to say what might have happened, if any such procession as Mr. O'Connor and his associates contemplated, had been permitted to find its way to Westminster. The leaders of the movement had in view, as we believe, a mere demonstration of passive force,—an outward and visible proof of what they were competent to effect, whenever they deemed more active measures advisable. They sought by a vast array, to convey to the legislature, an unmistakable proof of the necessity of immediately yielding to their demand. How far this was consistent with the freedom of discussion, which is an essential element of parliament, and is indispensable to the permanent welfare of the nation, we stop not to inquire. In the present

case we must look not to the procession simply, but to the recorded views of those by whom it was arrayed, and on whom its conduct would mainly devolve. The procession was but part of an arrangement, of which force was the avowed principle, and became therefore something else, and greatly more threatening than any mere crowd, however vast, could be. Here then as friends of popular freedom, is the gravamen of our charge against the leaders of this movement. They had been indulging for some days in the utmost latitude of speech, had avowed designs that were subversive of the government, and hostile to public tranquility, had armed against themselves the fears of the timid, and the convictions of the best friends of liberty, and had thereby afforded to the advocates of finality, whether whig or tory, an opportunity of which they gladly availed themselves. It was just what these men wanted, and in its measure will do again, what the Newport, Bristol, and Birmingham riots did in former days. Should Mr. O'Connor live a hundred years, and devote himself to the popular cause, with a zeal far purer and more enlightened than he has hitherto shown, he will not be able to efface the injury he has done.

No other course was open to the government than to prohibit the projected procession. So far they were right. The public safety required this, and the independence of parliament would have been abandoned without it. But the authorities were not content with prohibiting the procession. The meeting itself was declared illegal, and all persons were 'cautioned and strictly enjoined not to attend, or take part in, or be present, at any such assemblage.' It is an ominous fact, not greatly to the credit of whig statesmen, that an obsolete statute of Charles II. passed immediately after the Restoration—the very worst period of English politics—was adduced in proof of the illegality of the meeting. The statute in question (13 Charles II. c.v.) refers, expressly to 'the late unhappy wars, confusions, and calamities,' as having arisen in part, from the getting up of petitions for redress of pretended grievances; and enacts, 'that no person or persons whatsoever shall, from and after the 1st of August, 1661, solicit, labour, or procure the getting up of hands, or other consent of any persons above the number of twenty or more, to any petition, complaint, or remonstrance, declaration, or other address to the king, or both or either house of parliament, for alteration of matters established by law in church or state, unless the matter thereof have been first consented to and ordered by three or more justices of the county, or by the major part of the grand jury of the county, where the same matter shall arise; or, if arising in London, by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, in common council assembled.' Such is the statute to

which the administration of Lord John Russell has deemed it befitting to appeal. It was levelled against the right of petition, by one of the most despotic and brutal governments which ever lorded it over England, and if available at all, is in the first place, and especially, conclusive against the right of the people to petition the legislature. The indecency of its revival on the present occasion, is only equalled by the treachery of men, who, in contempt of the history and creed of their party, can avail themselves of such an instrument to compass the triumph of their class. Little was needed to demonstrate the hollowness of their liberal professions, but that little is now supplied to the satisfaction of the most incredulous.

The government was not satisfied with declaring the meeting illegal. Preparations for protecting the peace were made on a large and costly scale. The public buildings of London were fortified, a skilful disposition of the military took place, the police force of the metropolis was called into requisition, and about 150,000 special constables were sworn in. Advantage was taken of the movement to get up a demonstration in apparent hostility to the popular cause. The danger was vastly exaggerated, everything was done which could alarm the middle classes, and their fears, when thoroughly aroused, were made to take the form of alliance with the aristocracy. Had an invading army approached London on the 10th of April, its public buildings and streets could scarcely have exhibited a greater state of alarm. We never hesitated to assert the obligation of the government to protect the public peace; but the vast extent of the preparations, convicts them, in our judgment, of gross ignorance, or of a sinister purpose. The thing was overdone, vastly overdone, so much so, that we cannot avoid the conviction, either that they ignorantly confounded the vaporings of a few with the purpose of the many, or that the opportunity of getting up an apparently anti-popular demonstration was too tempting to be neglected. We have waited to see whether they possessed fuller information than was before the public, and, as nothing of the sort has appeared, we are compelled to charge them with taking counsel of their fears, or of acting a traitorous part to public freedom. 'Tis conscience that makes cowards of us all,' and what has recently occurred may possibly be an illustration of this fact.

The meeting assembled and quietly dispersed. The procession was abandoned, and the 'monster petition' was presented to the House in the evening, by Mr. O'Connor. Thoughtful men smiled, and some of the more active of the would-be warriors blushed when they looked at each other. We do not refer to the peaceable termination of the meeting in disproof of

the wisdom of preparation, but we do say, that it proves the groundlessness of much of the fear entertained, and the folly and wickedness of the scale on which preparations had been made. And now followed one of the most disgraceful exhibitions of the whole matter, which deserves the severest reprobation of every friend of popular liberty. In presenting their petition, Mr. O'Connor stated that it bore 5,706,000 signatures, whereas, by a special report from the committee on public petitions, it is shown that the total number of signatures is only 1,975,496; that 'on numerous consecutive sheets, the signatures are in one and the same handwriting; and that the names of the Queen, the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and other distinguished individuals were attached. In addition to this species of abuse,' says the report, 'your committee have observed another equally in derogation of the just value of petitions, namely, the insertion of names which are obviously altogether fictitious, such as 'No Cheese,' 'Pug Nose,' 'Flat Nose,' etc. There are other words and phrases which, though written in the form of signatures, and included in the number reported, your committee will not hazard offending the House, and the dignity and decency of their own proceedings by reporting; though, it may be added, that they are obviously signatures belonging to no human being.'

Now it is plain, and we are concerned to remark, that we do not for a moment imagine that these fictitious names were inserted by the Chartists. So far they are entitled to acquittal. 'An enemy hath done this,' is their reply, and we believe them. The reasonableness of the case is clearly and decisively in their favor. They had nothing to gain by such insertions, but everything to lose, whereas their opponents might hope thus to damage, if not wholly to destroy, the moral weight of the petition. Their nefarious policy has, so far, been successful, but no candid man will charge their disgraceful trickery on the working classes. The utmost that can be alleged against them in this matter is negligence. But the case is otherwise with the alleged number of signatures. The difference between 5,706,000 and 1,975,496 is too great to be accounted for by any miscalculation or oversight. We are compelled to believe there was dishonesty of intention, and regret that the interference of Mr. Cripps, afforded Mr. O'Connor the opportunity, of which he gladly availed himself, to merge the public question in a personal quarrel. The petition was abandoned, and the magniloquent member for Nottingham escaped from his notice of motion without losing caste amongst his followers.

So far we have sketched the history of this case,—one of the most melancholy and disheartening we have reviewed for years. We have, however, strong faith in the future, nor is it shaken by what has just occurred. The immediate effect is bad, but not wholly so. Even here there is a mixture of good. Men have been seen in their true colours, they have come out from their conventional forms, have relinquished their stereotyped modes of speech, and have spoken and acted before us in their own proper character. We now know on the one hand, what are the sentiments of the physical force Chartists, and on the other, what is the worth of the liberalism of Lord Russell and his associates. This is no small gain, and we accept it as an equivalent for all the consternation which has existed, and the disturbance of ordinary occupations to which we have been doomed. Where men are not trustworthy, it is well that their treachery should be known. Where we may not look for help, our safety is consulted by abandoning false confidence and relying only on ourselves. This point at least has been gained, this salutary though painful lesson has been learned. What has happened is only the beginning of the end. We are already passing into another stage, and unless we greatly err, the cause of reform, of enlightened, steady, certain progress will greatly gain. The aristocratic classes are already evincing the false confidence which has been inspired, our senators are indulging in merriment where they ought to be thoughtful and earnest, and the loyal addresses which are in the course of signature will provoke a demonstration, in which an unpurchaseable loyalty to the crown will be blended with a deep, enlightened, and thoroughly English attachment to popular liberty. The signs of the times are becoming intelligible; what has passed in whispers is being spoken on the housetop; the voice of public discontent is gathering volume and force, and the nation at large is waiting with intense desire for the advent of an appropriate leader. Let a Pym and Hampden show themselves, and the people will move onward to a certain and peaceful triumph.

Both the government and the working classes are liable to be misled by what has occurred. The former might be expected to be safe from the delusion. Their reputed intelligence and costly means of information, ought to exempt them from mistake, and low as is our estimate of their sagacity, we do not question, notwithstanding the braggadocio of some of their journalists, that they are troubled with misgivings on the point. It is clear, however, that an effort is being made to turn recent occurrences to the advantage of the aristocracy. The promptitude and ear-

nestness with which the middle classes came forth to protect the public peace, are adduced as proof of their satisfaction with things as they are, and have encouraged the ministry to take an attitude of dogged hostility to popular rights. What they did for the protection of property and the repression of brute force, is treated as a demonstration of conservatism, and the two great parties of the state are in consequence emboldened to believe that the danger is passed, and that their selfish policy may be safely played out. Never was a greater mistake, and unless our rulers awake to this conviction, the results will be fearful. What has occurred has clearly shown the indisposition of the English people to the employment of brute force. They have been trained to a higher and more potent agency, and so entire is their confidence in its efficacy, that they regard with abhorrence every other, and start into instant action when their employment is proposed. A considerable proportion of those who recently acted as special constables, are favorable to a large and generous measure of reform. Most of them would dissent from some of the dogmas of the charter, but would go heartily in favor of others, amongst which may be placed an extensive enlargement of the suffrage, vote by ballot, a shortening of the duration of parliament, and a re-adjustment of electoral districts. The aristocracy was never at so low a discount as at the present moment. The enormous wrongs it inflicts are better understood, the follies involved in a system of hereditary legislation are more deeply pondered, and the necessity of bringing the representative system into closer harmony with the sympathies and wants of the community is felt more keenly, and assumes daily an aspect more decided and practical. When the question to be determined was, peace or war, public order or riot, the preservation of tranquillity or mob law, the middle classes did not hesitate for a moment. The folly or wickedness of a small section of the Chartists forced them into temporary association with the government. They had no alternative. Their interests and their principles shut them up to the course they pursued, and they deserve well of their country for the part they acted. But a different phase of the great question will speedily be submitted to their judgment, and to their decision we look with confidence. Many parties are interested in misrepresenting them, but the hour of delusion will soon pass. They are already preparing themselves for action. Organizations are springing up in every part of the country. The sound-hearted are avowing their readiness to unite with the working classes, in a peaceful and earnest prosecution of the popular cause, and it will not be long ere their united strength

will burst the outworks of political corruption, and carry into the citadel of the constitution those who have hitherto been forbidden to enter its pale. May our rulers wisely read the signs of the times, and facilitate the peaceful passage of events which no subtlety or force can long delay.

But the working classes, as well as the government, are liable to be misled by what has occurred. Many of the observations already offered are applicable to their case, and may serve to guard them from deception. The conduct of the middle classes—the ‘shopocracy,’ as some unreflecting zealots term them—was no political demonstration. In some cases we admit it might have been so. Amongst tradesmen, as amongst other classes, there is a leaven of toryism which would gladly avail itself of recent circumstances; but in the overwhelming majority of cases, it was a distinct and vastly different influence that operated. It was the maintenance of law in opposition to force, a practical appeal to the constitution, in hostility to the wild and reckless threatenings of oppressed but misjudging men. It is the interest of the aristocracy, and of all who live on class interests, to prevent a cordial understanding between the middle and working classes, and their agents are, therefore, busy in turning recent events to account, in order to widen the breach between them. In some quarters their misrepresentations will be credited. Violent men, who take counsel of their passions, will believe them; demagogues, who are for a moment, thrown up to the surface by the agitation of the waters will assert their truth; and false patriots, whose deity is self, will seek to perpetuate their popularity by repeating the slander. But in the mean time, the facts of the case are open to the reflecting and honest, and we have no misgiving as to the judgment which will be generally pronounced. The union in question has been proceeding for some years past,—rapidly in certain districts, but more slowly, though not less really, in others. The delegates composing the John Street Convention, were not the parties most likely to be accurately informed on this point, yet so notorious is the fact, that even some of them bore testimony to it. ‘The middle classes,’ said the delegate from Birmingham, ‘had declared for the people’s charter. The Chartists were now freely granted the use of the Town Hall, wherein to hold their meetings.’ ‘The shopkeepers,’ said Mr. Donovan, of Manchester, ‘felt the necessity for a change, their trade had fallen off more than one half, while their rents and outgoings were the same.’ Mr. Lowery, of Carlisle, reported, that ‘the shopkeepers had signed the petition more numerously than at any former time; they were generally complete suffragists;’ and Mr. Robert Wild, of Ashton, stated, that ‘he had

the pleasing duty of informing them, that only one middle class man had refused to sign the petition when asked.'

Such was the state of things before the meeting of this convention. Indeed, the representation made, fell, as might be expected, very far below the truth. A better idea of the feeling of the middle classes towards their unenfranchised brethren, will be gained from the reception given to Mr. Henry Vincent, in all parts of the kingdom. Discarded by the advocates of physical force, as unworthy of confidence, he has found an enthusiastic reception in every division of the empire. The tradesman has united with the artizan, the agriculturist with the manufacturer, in crowding to his lectures, and in avowing their hearty and enlightened concurrence in the generous views he has propounded. But a fresh impetus is now given to the popular mind. What has occurred in London has engaged national attention, and the use attempted to be made of it by the enemies of popular freedom, has aroused the real friends of liberty to a counter demonstration. Meetings are, in consequence, being held in various parts of the country, with the avowed design of securing a closer union, and more cordial co-operation between the middle and lower classes. A requisition has been extensively signed in London, by members of *The National Alliance*, and of the moral-force Chartists, calling a meeting at Westminster, on the 3rd of May, for the purpose of agreeing on some platform of united action, and from the answers received, we are given to understand that the meeting is likely to prove both numerous and influential.

At Leicester, a meeting has been held of gentlemen belonging to the middle classes, by whom the following resolution was unanimously adopted, and a committee was appointed to communicate with influential men throughout the country.

'That, in the opinion of this meeting, it is not only desirable, but absolutely essential to the peace of society, and to the progress of enlightened reforms, that a union be effected between the working and middle classes of society.'

At Manchester, a crowded meeting of 'shopkeepers and special constables' has been held at the Corn Exchange, and the following resolutions were adopted with enthusiasm:—

'That it is the opinion of the shopkeepers and special constables of Manchester, here assembled, that the present excited state of the country, the alarming depression of trade, and the truly miserable and impoverished condition of the working classes, are owing to the misrule and oppression of the present and past governments, and that such

depression, poverty, and misery, are removable, and ought to be, and must be, removed.

‘That it is the opinion of this meeting, that, in order to carry out the spirit and meaning of the foregoing resolutions, nothing short of the people’s charter becoming the law of the land will restore society to its just and prosperous state.’

Similar meetings have been held in various other places, which our space will not allow us to specify. We must, however, make room for the following document, which has been issued in Bradford (Yorkshire), and to which, we are informed, the names of several hundred electors have been appended. It is so characteristic of the day, and places in so clear and unobjectionable a form, the spirit which is now extensively prevalent, as to call for a more permanent record than the columns of a newspaper. It was originally issued with fifty-two signatures, amongst which were those of some of the most influential inhabitants of the town. Our rulers will do well to ponder over the document, and to ask themselves whether it is wise to hazard a struggle with men who possess so clear an apprehension of their duty, and are prepared in such a spirit to discharge it. They may obstruct the cause of reform, but no power on earth can permanently withstand the forces which are being arrayed against them. The Ironsides of Cromwell, omnipotent as they were in the field, would have essayed in vain—had their principles permitted the attempt—to break the strength of so peaceful a combination.

‘To the non-electors of the borough of Bradford.—We, the undersigned electors of the borough of Bradford, think it right to take this mode of expressing to you our sympathy with the earnest desire which, we are aware, many of you feel, to obtain those political privileges which we have and which you have not.

‘Being convinced that your claim to participate with us in the right of voting for the men who dispose of the revenue, to raise which you, as well as ourselves, are taxed, is just and reasonable, and in accordance with the true principles of a representative government, we are both willing and anxious to assist you in all legal, orderly, and constitutional efforts to enforce the claim.

‘But while thus expressing our opinion and intentions on the question of the suffrage, we deem it due to you and to ourselves to add, that we have learned, with deep regret, that, in some parts of the kingdom, men who profess to be the friends and leaders of the people, have advised them to assert their own rights by a disturbance of the public peace, by steps which may endanger the property of others.

‘We will not insult our fellow-townsmen, by supposing it possible that the men of Bradford could be guilty of such insane attempts; on the contrary, we believe that we shall all of us, both electors and non-

electors, agree in thinking it the bounden duty of every sincere friend of freedom, to resist to the utmost of his power all attempts to disturb social order, or violate the law ; not only on account of the injury such attempts would inflict on the community in general, their unconstitutional and illegal character, and the certain misery they would entail on the misguided actors ; but because, by giving reasonable ground of apprehension to all lovers of peace and order, they would, more than by any other possible measure, retard the cause of universal suffrage.

‘ While, therefore, we deprecate the policy which dissociates the middle classes from the operatives, we ask you to believe in our warmest sympathies with you under your present distress, and your many heavy burdens. And we do not hesitate to say, that at a period of such lamentable distress, we deplore the determination to keep up so large an expenditure of public money, and desire a change in the entire system of taxation. We wish for better and cheaper government, and trust no ministry will be allowed to plunge this country into war on any pretext whatever, short of the defence of the lives or property of our fellow-subjects. We lament to see our friends treated with derision and contempt in the House of Commons, and therefore, both on the grounds of our mutual interest, and of justice to all, we desire to see that House composed of members who are really the representatives of public opinion.

‘ In the hope and trust that you will unite your efforts with ours, so that together we may enable Bradford to take its fitting share in the peaceful but vigorous advocacy of this cause, which both you and we have at heart,

‘ We are, respectfully,

‘ Your fellow Townsmen.’

We have said enough to prove to the working classes the truth of our position. It remains to be seen whether they are willing to meet other sections of the community, in a spirit of generous confidence and concession. We wait the issue with anxiety. If they are determined on the charter, and nothing but the charter, the hour of triumph will be indefinitely postponed, political animosity, increasing in bitterness every day, will continue to distract the country, the good within reach will be rejected for that which is unattainable, and the true friends of liberty will be doomed to sigh in private over their impracticability and short-sightedness. For ourselves, we shall labor—come weal or woe, success or failure—for the right of every man, whether householder or lodger, who contributes to the expenses of the state, to a vote in the choice of his representative. So far we are with the working classes, and we have no difference with them on the question of the ballot, or the qualification and payment of members ; but we do dissent from annual parliaments, though earnest advocates of the shortening of their duration ; and scruple about the expediency of equal electoral districts, while we maintain the absolute necessity of their re-adjustment.

One word to the middle classes, and we have done. You have the power, and on you therefore rests the responsibility, of achieving a peaceful triumph for your fellow-countrymen. If you fail them they will be thrown on violent measures, will be given over to the counsels of violent and unprincipled men. Their present situation was yours a few years back. There is a closer parallel in your circumstances than you perhaps imagine. The very insults which they meet were formerly, and not long since, directed against yourselves. Listen to the *Norwich Operative*, in the following extract from his telling, because truthful, pamphlet.

‘Your position in 1823, is ours in 1847. You then felt that political outlawry was no trivial matter. Encumbered with an overwhelming amount of taxation, you sought to mitigate it. Year after year had you made known your wants to your *professed* representatives, and as often had they treated you with contempt. Tired of fruitless attempts to procure an alleviation of your burdens, and confident that you could never procure justice through the medium of a system which was a caricature on common sense, you nobly resolved that that system should give place to one in which your power should be recognized.

‘The same treatment, even at the hand of a *reformed* House of Commons, has been experienced by us; and, as a natural consequence, the same determination has been the result. The taunts and jeers with which our arguments have been met, are the echo of those heaped upon you, when you demanded your political enfranchisement. If we are termed the ‘turbulent lower orders,’ your favourite measure was opposed, as ‘approaching to the despotism of a mob.’* If we are denounced as the ‘worthless rabble,’ it was insinuated that, ‘you were not that class of persons to whom attention ought to be given; that your intellectual acquirements and moral character, did not entitle your opinions to consideration.’† Paltry jests are passed respecting the persons whom we might elect; and it was impudently asked in the House of Lords, if individuals elected by voters paying 3s. 10d. per week, would be fit representatives.‡ We have been denounced as desirous of the destruction of property; and it was declared, that the Reform Bill ‘took the franchise out of the hands of those that were able to protect property, and gave it to the breakers of frames and machinery.’|| Denying us the franchise, on the plea that it will invest those with power who have no property in the state, is as absurd as was the opposition offered to the Reform Bill, by one of the aristocracy,§ because ‘it conferred the right of voting upon householders in St. Giles, who, though inhabiting houses of £40 a year, were receiving parish relief.’ *Universal* suffrage meets an abundant share of opprobrium; and it was stated that ‘renters of 3s. 10d. per week, was the *very worst* species of representation that could be devised.’¶ Our ‘immorality’ has had its share of comment; and the bench of

* Mr. Bankes. † Marquis of Bute. ‡ Earl of Harrowby. || Earl Carnarvon.
§ Lord Wynford. ¶ Lord Lyndhurst.

bishops, as the ‘guardians of *good order and religion*,’ were entreated to prevent the passing of the Reform Bill.* Our ‘dishonesty’ has been tauntingly vaunted; and it was said in the House of Commons, that ‘£10 householders were not the proper persons to return members to parliament; great numbers of whom, paid their rent weekly, *because, their landlords would only trust them from week to week.*’† Predictions of the most disastrous character, respecting the consequences of our attaining our demands, are plentiful; and it was asserted that if you secured your object, ‘no administration would be able to carry on the government for six months.’‡ We are termed, ‘reckless innovators,’ and it was said of your bill, that it would bring into parliament ‘the talents of demagogues, the talent of mischief, and that talent which would pull down, and crumble to dust, all the institutions of the country.’§ We are indignant at the insinuation, that an assembly, composed of the representatives of the whole people, would be inferior in character, to those elected by a portion of them; and you were indignant, when, in opposing your claims, it was unblushingly avowed of the parliament, prior to the passing of the Reform Bill, that it was ‘the noblest assembly of freemen in the world;’ that there was ‘no hope of seeing an assembly equal to it, for talent, integrity, and patriotism.’|| Our demands are termed ‘revolutionary;’ yours were opposed, because granting them would be followed by ‘confusion—civil war; and some powerful chief, when men’s minds were satiated with trouble, would interfere, and establish a military despotism.’¶ We have been accused of holding strange ideas respecting the ‘national debt;’ and at the time of the reform agitation, it was said, that ‘neither freeholders, nor fund holders, must flatter themselves that their property would be safe. No new government had much regard for the debts of an old one.’** We have been termed ‘anti-monarchists;’ and it was said, that ‘a reform parliament would take the crown off the king’s head.’†† The late premier‡‡ declared, that ‘a reformed parliament would give the government of the country into the hands of demagogues; it would reduce this happy land to a state of despotism and destruction;’ and ‘although the monarchy would not be nominally abolished, still it would be virtually, by the democrats who would reign in the House of Commons.’

Are you, then, prepared to meet the working classes in the same spirit which we inculcate on them, seeking to discover some common ground on which you may unitedly take your stand? There are differences of opinion amongst you, on some points of the charter, and all such as consist with an honest and earnest advocacy of a large extension of the suffrage, should be open questions, on which you may be free to take your own course. Are you then disposed to meet and discuss these points in a candid and generous temper, esteeming principles more than modes, and the end as infinitely superior

* Lord Wynford. † Sir C. Wetherell. ‡ Sir J. Shelly. § Lord Wynford.
 || Lord Wharncliffe. ¶ Mr. Price. ** Sir R. Vyvyan.
 †† Sir R. Vyvyan. ‡‡ Sir R. Peel.

to the means? Many of you have hitherto stood aloof from working men, in an ungenerous and repulsive spirit, and suspicions and heart-burnings have been engendered. A time of healing is now come, and your own interests concur with the higher consideration of principle, to prompt its improvement. Little need be said to prove the necessity for reform. By a parliamentary return, ordered to be printed in July last, the whole number of electors in Great Britain in 1846 is shown to have been only 944,473. Is this a state of things to continue? Can you hope or even desire that the working classes, rapidly advancing as they are in intelligence, should be satisfied with it, or remit their agitation until the wrong done them is redressed? Again, the constituency of Westminster, amounting to nearly 15,000, is equalled in the representation by Thetford, with a constituency below 200. Or, to take a still more striking instance, the united constituencies of Finsbury and Liverpool return four members to parliament; while 66 boroughs, whose gross constituency is 2,000 less, return 105. Is this right? Would you have it continue? Can you look upon it with complacency? Is it not a glaring and palpable wrong, for the redress of which all true reformers should promptly and vigorously unite? And then again, look at the House which is constituted by the present system, and say honestly whether it commands your respect and confidence. We say nothing now about the working classes. We place out of account their demand, and we ask *you*, the tradesmen, the middle-men, the men of reputed decorum and religion, are the materials gathered by the existing electoral system such as you would have them be, such as, in your judgment, may be wisely and safely trusted to legislate for this vast empire? Election committees, with all their senatorial prejudices, have lately made some fearful revelations. Even the ministerial journalists are compelled to admit the fact, and, in doing so, to acknowledge the necessity for reform. Take the following summary from the 'Examiner' of April 5th, which we give without comment. It speaks for itself, and its bearing on the present case is conclusive.

'That the existing elective system offers inducement and facility to corrupt proceedings, is shown unequivocally, if not satisfactorily, by the fate of election petitions during the present session. The result to the sitting members has been tragical; but may be very briefly told.

'A number of petitions were withdrawn: no proof that their allegations were either unfounded or exaggerated. The proceedings, in some nine or ten, were arrested by a preliminary squabble about recognizances. As yet only fifteen committees have reported. Out of these the elections have been declared void in eleven instances, and fifteen members have lost their seats. One suffered punishment for a technical

error; all the rest for bribery and treating. This is not the worst. In six out of the ten cases, the corruption had been so obviously systematic and permanent, that the issue of the new writs has been suspended.

‘The general result will be best seen in the following form :

- ‘**GREAT YARMOUTH.** A. Lennox, and O. E. Coope. Not duly elected. By their agents guilty of bribery. Not cognizant. Systematic bribery. Borough ought to be disfranchised. Writ suspended.
- ‘**KINSALE.** S. Guinness. By his agents guilty of bribery. Not with his knowledge. New writ issued.
- ‘**LANCASTER.** S. Gregson. By himself and his agents guilty of treating. With his knowledge. Writ issued.
- ‘**BOLTON.** W. Bolling. Duly elected. Bribery proved. Not by or with consent of Bolling or his agents.
- ‘**Carlisle.** John Dixon, and H. Hodgson. Not duly elected. Hodgson, by his agents, guilty of treating. Acts of treating not proved to be at his expense, Mr. Head having advanced £1,200. Writ issued.
- ‘**LYME REGIS.** Neville Abdy. Duly elected. Voters struck off the poll for corruption. The petition promoted by Mr. Attwood, who had endeavoured to buy votes. And he to bear expense of petition.
- ‘**LINCOLN.** C. Seeley. Not duly elected. Bribed by his agents. Was cognizant of treating. New writ issued.
- ‘**HARWICH.** John Attwood. Not duly elected. Guilty, by agents. Not proved to be cognizant. Writ suspended.
- ‘**BEWDLEY.** T. J. Ireland. Guilty, by agents, of bribery and treating. Not proved to have been cognizant. Systematic corruption in borough. Writ suspended.
- ‘**DUNDALK.** C. C. M'Tavish. Not duly returned. Parties not entitled to be on the roll voted for him. Other candidate substituted.
- ‘**DERBY.** E. Strutt, and F. L. Gower. Guilty, by agents, of bribery and treating. Not proved to be cognizant. Systematic corruption in borough. Writ suspended.
- ‘**HORSHAM.** J. Jervis. Not duly elected. Guilty, by his agents, of treating. Writ suspended.
- ‘**RYE.** H. M. Curteis. Not duly elected. No proof offered of allegations of bribery and treating. Petitioners to pay expenses.’

There are other features of the House still more painful, on which we had intended to remark; but our space is exhausted, and we can therefore merely allude to the frivolity and merri-ment by which it is so disreputably characterized. There is an utter want of deep seriousness, of the gravity which becomes statesmen, of the honest earnestness which bespeaks strong convictions, and commands the confidence of a nation. To these matters, however, we can merely advert, and, in closing, place on record a movement which gives promise of better things. A meeting of members of parliament, convened by a requisition

bearing fifty-one signatures, has been held, at which the following resolution was unanimously adopted :—

‘That it appears to this meeting, that a more cordial understanding and co-operation are urgently required among such members of parliament as are favourable to the extension of the suffrage, an equitable arrangement of taxation, a reduction of expenditure, and the general advance of reform principles throughout Great Britain and Ireland.’

So far we rejoice, though we have our misgivings. We have little faith in some of the names; and would have the tried friends of the people, who are parties to this movement, be on their guard. Such an ‘understanding and co-operation’ are undoubtedly called for; but let Mr. Hume take heed to the councils of temporizing friends. We must act from without, if we would have our representatives be faithful at their post.

Brief Notices.

The Journal of Sacred Literature. Nos. I. and II. Edited by John Kitto, D.D., F.S.A. 8vo. London: C. Cox.

It reflects no credit on the biblical literature of our country, that it was reserved to the year 1848, to witness the commencement of such a work as this. The vast sums which are annually expended on the education of theologians ought—apart from other and higher considerations—to have produced a much larger result than has been realized. Whatever be the cause, the melancholy fact is notorious. There has been a woful disproportion, in this department of human life, between means and end, the expenditure incurred and the result obtained. But we must not pursue this theme here. Our province is with the work before us, and we congratulate our readers on its having fallen into the hands of so competent an editor as Dr. Kitto. His previous labors in the department of biblical literature have established his reputation, while his extensive correspondence throughout Europe and America, will enable him to combine a greater range and variety of talent than any other man. ‘We want a publication,’ as the editor remarks in his prospectus, ‘which shall keep us acquainted with all that is sound and valuable, in the labors of the biblical scholars of the European continent and of North America, and in whose pages such of them as now live may interchange the results of their researches with our own writers.’ Such a work, ‘The Journal of Sacred Literature’ is likely to be, and the two numbers before us, though not realizing probably the entire conception of the editor, afford good promise of future excellence. We are glad to find that the more abstruse matters of biblical science

are mingled with dissertations of general interest, and are occasionally relieved by such papers as the attractive contributions of Dr. Cox, on the theological sentiments and moral influence of the 'Paradise Lost.' The popularity of the 'Journal' will thus be aided without the sacrifice of its sterling merit. The name of each writer is prefixed, and we are gratified to find amongst the contributors to the numbers already issued, the names of Drs. Pye Smith, and Cox, Professor Eadie, Mr. Gotch, and Dr. Alexander. Against one evil the editor must guard. We have no fear of scholarship, nor would we join in the indiscriminate censure which has been pronounced on German and American theology. But we are jealous for evangelical truth, and cannot receive even scholarship of the highest order, at the cost of its partial surrender. We do not suspect Dr. Kitto of any tendency to this evil, but in the conduct of such a journal, he will need to be perpetually vigilant. We commend his 'Journal' to the favorable notice of our friends, and shall esteem it a lasting disgrace to the ministerial class, if it do not obtain a wide circulation. It is to be published quarterly, price five shillings.

Cosmos: Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe. By Alexander Von Humboldt. Vol. II. Translated under the superintendence of Lieut. Col. Edward Sabine, R.A., Sec. R.S. London: Longman and Co.

It has rarely been our good fortune to meet with a work which combines so vast a range of information, with a spirit so philosophical, and a temper so beneficent. An extensive series of ages is reviewed, with an erudition from which no human knowledge is excluded. Every page glows with the learning of the past and present. A profound intellect penetrates the darkest themes, and from the mysteries of the physical world elicits laws which combine its scattered phenomena, and give order and beauty to the whole. The translation is worthy of the original, and the notes of the editor are both instructive and interesting. A more valuable addition to the library of a thoughtful man can scarcely be made.

Some Further Portions of the Diary of Lady Willoughby, which do relate to her Domestic History, and to the Events of the latter years of the Reign of King Charles the First, the Protectorate, and the Restoration. London: Longman and Co.

A NEAT and elegant edition of a work on which our favorable judgment was pronounced in March last. We need say no more than repeat in the words of our former critique, that 'we have seldom met with a fiction more like truth. It is, indeed, refreshing in these days of exaggerated fiction-writing, to meet with a work which derives all its interest from home scenes, and those every day duties and pleasures which the writer of fiction, as well as the reader, is too apt to overlook, because they lie in his daily pathway; and to contemplate a character so simply graceful, so truthful,

so truly English, as that of the sweet Lady Willoughby.' We are glad that the work has been issued in a cheaper form, and trust that it will supplant some of the more questionable and deleterious productions of fiction.

Letters to a Mother on the Management of Herself and her Children in Health and Disease; embracing the subjects of Pregnancy, Childbirth, Nursing, Food, Exercise, Bathing, Clothing, etc.: with Remarks on Chloroform. By J. T. Conquest, M.D., F.L.S. A new and enlarged edition. London: Longman and Co.

THIS volume is somewhat out of our line, yet we readily avail ourselves of the opportunity which the appearance of a new edition presents, to benefit our readers, by recommending it as a family book. The extensive professional experience of Dr. Conquest entitles his opinions to great respect, and the sound judgment and practical good sense pervading this volume render it an invaluable companion and a safe guide. The letters 'are intentionally written in the plainest language,' and the measures they adopt are preventive rather than curative. 'The author has endeavoured to compress a large mass of information into a small compass, and has striven to lead mothers and nurses to think and act for themselves, by the establishment of important, general—governing principles, rather than by lengthened details.' This is as it should be, and we counsel all those concerned, to place themselves under the guidance of so judicious an adviser.

The Planet Neptune: An Exposition and a History. By J. P. Nichol, L. L. D., etc. Edinburgh: Johnstone. 1848.

Of the few men who can popularize science without vulgarizing it, Professor Nichol is perhaps one of the most successful. He teaches astronomical results in a brilliant vivid style, and gives some notion of the processes in remarkably clear expositions, without deluding people into the belief that they have become astronomers, because they have studied his books. In this elegantly illustrated volume, he has most successfully expounded the considerations which led to the search for the far-off Neptune; and has narrated the labors of the co-victors, Adams and Levevriar, with a generous appreciation of their merits, which might be advantageously imitated by some of his fellow savants. Lucid explanation, thoughtful eloquence, and thorough devotion to his noble science, mark the present volume, as much as any of the author's former works.

The History of Greece; from the Earliest Times to A.D., 1833. For Schools and Families. London: Religious Tract Society.

This is the first of a series of School Books 'which are to convey sound information with a decidedly Christian tone.' Such a series, well done, will be a most valuable help to many teachers and parents.

To them we recommend this volume. As a history, it is quite equal in accuracy to those in common use, and much superior to any of them, in the very considerable space devoted to the social life of the Greeks, and to sketches of their authors, philosophers, and artists; as well as in the religious air which pervades the whole. We could wish, however, that in the future volumes of the series, there may be a more natural introduction of such thoughts than we have noticed in some parts of this one. Grave, moral, and religious reflections, are marked off in sections by themselves, so separated from the rest, that we fear their doom is to be passed over. The Christianity of the book is *added*, rather than *incorporated*.

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THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR JUNE, 1848.

ART. I.—1. *Congregational Independency in Contradistinction to Episcopacy and Presbyterianism: the Church Polity of the New Testament.* By Ralph Wardlaw, D.D. Glasgow: James Maclehose. 1848.

2. *The Congregational Lecture (Thirteenth Series). The Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament Unfolded, and its Points of Coincidence or Disagreement with Prevailing Systems Indicated.* By Samuel Davidson, LL.D. London: Jackson and Walford. 1848.

WE can scarcely express the satisfaction with which we introduce these valuable publications to our readers. Whether we look at the gross and motley forms into which the Christian polity has been thrown, or at the contented ignorance and indifference in which multitudes are living on the subject, we feel convinced, that faithfully to explain and enforce the laws of Christ respecting it, is to render a service which, in the present state of religion, is of the last importance. A religion of mere forms and ceremonies, to the neglect of 'the hidden man of the heart,' is undoubtedly a great and fatal delusion. But into this delusion none are so liable to fall, as those who turn away from the institutions of the gospel, to the ordinances and commandments of men. It is well to remember that, without external forms of some kind, either human or divine, there can be no such thing as public worship; and, as to the danger of formality, it is notorious, that the most rigid formalists, in all ages, have been those who have retained, in their polity, scarcely a trace of the word of God. Accordingly, whatever sanction it may have

received from great names or powerful parties, we cannot but regard that contempt, for the evangelical polity, which discovers itself in the affected philosophical indifference of some, and a reckless tendency to innovation in others, as an error seriously criminal and dangerous;—a kind of Sorbouian bog, in whose deep corruption, however plausibly covered, whole armies of the living God have been swallowed up and lost to his service.

In the majority of cases, this error is the obvious result of mere carelessness or inattention. In others, it assumes the shape of a principle, and is grounded on the presumption, that church polity is a subject on which the voice of inspiration is wholly silent, or heard only in utterances of little importance, or too vague to be followed. In this plea, however, we only see the natural tendency of one error to shelter itself under another, equally, if not more, preposterous; and most thoroughly do we agree with our esteemed authors, in the impossibility of reconciling it with scripture or common sense. That any society was ever established without a constitution or laws to govern it, is a thought sufficiently absurd. But that the kingdom of heaven should be, of all others, the one thus strangely founded; or that the churches constituting the municipalities of this kingdom should be the only ones for which no laws of membership, discipline, office, or worship, have been provided; and, above all, that that blessed and only Potentate, who has laid down such perfect laws for his creatures in all other places of his dominions, should have abandoned, to all the fluctuations of human passions and opinions, that church which he purchased with the gift of his Son, are notions which, in themselves, are as repugnant to rational belief, as they are to the facts and precepts of the word of God.

‘There is not,’ says Dr. Wardlaw, ‘on subjects such as this, a more dangerous word than *expediency*: it unsettles everything; it settles nothing. It means whatever any mind may be pleased to affix to it; and being thus a word of *all* meanings, becomes a word of *no* meaning. Surely the people of God, aware of the extent of the heart’s deceitfulness, and of the variety of biassing influences to which, through that deceitfulness, their judgments are subject, should be jealous of a sentiment which allows such free scope to human discretion in divine institutes; a discretion which may be as varied in its dictates as are the varieties in the constitution, education, and habits of human minds. They who know themselves (as all believers should) will not wish for the liberty. When Dr. Whateley says—‘What is left to men’s *discretion* is not therefore meant to be left to their *indiscretion*’—he says what I should hardly have expected his own discretion would have allowed him to say. Unless there be some admitted standard of discretion, it is manifestly untrue. Whatever is left to men’s discretion is inevitably as much left to their indiscretion. Who is to draw the line? What to one man is

the very perfection of discreet and wise policy, is in the eyes of another the very madness of its opposite. And alas ! all experience testifies (and a sad amount of the testimony there has been) that of all subjects whatever, the very last that should be left to human discretion are those which relate to religious observances ! Discretion ! when men leave the Bible, where are we to find it ?'—p. 11.

'We might expect, *a priori*,' says Dr. Davidson, in an able chapter devoted wholly to this topic, 'some regulations from the Head of the church relative to the organisation and government of his people. As King, he reigns over a great multitude of obedient subjects on earth, whom he has subdued unto himself by his grace ; and it were anomalous in a spiritual governor to propound no laws for the guidance of his disciples, in various relations connected with the advancement of his kingdom on earth. . . . He has shown no indifference regarding his subjects ; nor has aught conducive to their welfare been neglected. Hence it is improbable that he could have manifested no concern, or given no intimation of his will, respecting the nature of his kingdom on earth. The character of members belonging to his church, whether worldly or spiritual, could scarcely have been a matter of indifference to him who shed his blood to redeem to himself a *peculiar people* zealous of good works. If it were a trifling matter whether that kingdom were pure or corrupt, it might be asserted that human discretion is the sole standard of polity ; but the revealed character of the Redeemer, and the entire genius of his religion forbid the supposition.'—p. 9.

But the notion, thus ably met on the ground of antecedent probability, is not only opposed to all our notions of fitness, but to the plainest evidence of facts. If we turn to the word of God, we find that the nature of a Christian church and the ends of its institution, are constantly kept in view ; that the members of which it should be composed, the ordinances which it should observe, the revenues by which it should be supported, the functions, qualifications, and responsibilities of its officers, together with the relations and duties of the members to each other, to their officers, to other churches, and their common Lord—are as clearly indicated, either by precept or example, as any other matters of the Christian faith. That the instruction, thus afforded, is occasional or circumstantial, rather than systematic, cannot lessen its authority ; since it is precisely in the same manner, that the mind of Christ, both in doctrine and morals, has been made known : and we firmly believe that such instructions, however hidden from the wise and prudent, will appear, to the humble inquirer after truth, so plainly written, that he who runs may read. It is not because the institutions of Christ's kingdom are not sufficiently plain ; but because they are too plain, to suit the sinister purposes of men, that their meaning is disputed or their existence denied.

Such a kind of polity as kingcraft or priestcraft needs—a

polity to promote the ends of personal or sectarian ambition ; to convert the ministers of Christ into lords over God's heritage ; to invest synod, conference, assembly, or convocation with the aristocratical powers of a house of peers ; or to warrant the extortion of seizing, at the bayonet's point, ten millions a year—is one not easily found in the word of God : nor do we wonder that those, who are in quest of such, should turn, from the New Testament, to expediency or tradition. But, for those who are in quest of a polity for that kingdom which is not of this world, who wish to know what is requisite for the comfort and guidance of men whose citizenship is in heaven, 'line upon line, and precept upon precept, line upon line, and precept upon precept' have been given, and the apostles are of all men the most eloquent, decisive and free, in their communications.

With these sentiments, we cannot but look upon the practice of tampering with the evangelical polity as a great crime ; and are not sorry to have the opportunity, which these volumes afford, of pressing the matter somewhat closely upon the attention of our readers. To enter the house of God and, instead of yielding the humble, willing obedience of children, to neglect or set aside its domestic laws and regulations at our pleasure ; to substitute, for the appointments he has made, laws and offices of our own—in a word to substitute human for Divine authority, the wisdom of man for the wisdom of God, is surely an act of presumption, which nothing can justify ; and one that admits of no other palliation than that it is done, for the most part, in ignorance and unbelief. If, under the Mosaic economy, to offer strange fire before the Lord, or presume, with an unconsecrated hand, to touch the ark, was deemed by God himself worthy of death ; how can it be hoped, that he will hold them guiltless who trample under foot the more perfect institutions of the kingdom of heaven ? Yet, in the majority of cases, the innovator has not only the presumption to demand that he should be held innocent, but that we should hail his inventions as so many improvements on the word of God. But, since the government of the church was planned by precisely the same authority that fixed the laws of nature, why should the innovator confine his improvements to the former ? If capable of amending the laws of revelation, why not bestow upon the laws of nature a few salutary reforms ? Or rather, why should a creature of the dust, who must *die without knowledge*, presume himself capable of the one, until he has tried his hand upon the other ? Let him mend the broken planets ; clear away the spots of the sun ; or, carrying his reforms through the whole universe, marshal into more orderly groups the host of stars ; and, then—let him try his hand upon the kingdom of heaven.

‘On the supposition,’ says Dr. Wardlaw, ‘that Christ, by his Spirit, *has* given instructions on these points, is there no *presumption* on the part of those who make light of them? Ought not the settled principle, on which all his faithful subjects proceed, to be, that *whatever he has thought it worth his while to command, they should think it worth their while to obey?* By such believers it is forgotten, that ends are effected by means, and that the importance of the latter is to be measured by that of the former. External institutes are put out of their proper place, when they are regarded as ends in themselves;—but, they are means to ends. The ends are individual edification, and the increase of the church; and if these are admitted to be important ends, it will follow that the value of the means is in proportion to that importance. The one regulates the other. And, while this position will not be disputed, neither, surely, will another,—that if Christ has instituted means for these ends, his people should seek in earnest to ascertain them,—in the firm conviction that *his must be the best*;—we might go further, and affirm them the *only truly suitable* means for the ends in view. In this, as in everything else, it becomes us to lay our wisdom at his feet, and in the true spirit of self-renunciation, ‘become fools that we may be wise.’ This is no more than what is due to him, both on the ground of his supreme authority, and on that of his unerring intelligence: and it is due to him, not in cases only where we might be disposed to doubt, but even where our own sagacity would, with little or no hesitation, have dictated the contrary. Our duty, beyond all question, is *implicit deference*.

‘It seems reasonable that Christians should consider themselves bound by the authority of the inspired ambassadors of Christ, in matters of this description, as well as in others. Yet it is surprising on what flimsy and light pretexts many shake themselves loose from such obligation, even when they have granted that the constitution of the apostolic churches is to be found in their writings. They allege that it was only the constitution *for that time, and for existing circumstances*: and that it was wisely left subject to modification, as expediency, guided by subsequent changes in the condition of the church, might dictate. But this is surely, to say the least of it, hazardous ground.’—pp. 9—11.

This witness is true; and, we firmly believe, as important as it is admirably expressed. Would that we could deem Dr. Davidson’s sentiments on the same point, the only one on which we have the misfortune to differ from him, equally satisfactory. In opposition to the Erastian notion—that there is no model of church government in the New Testament—Dr. Davidson has shewn, not only that there is such a model provided by infinite wisdom, but what that system is, as well as the disastrous results of deviation from it, with a force of reasoning, both logical and philosophical, which does honour to his intellect. Yet he tells us that the laws thus laid down are not *positive* but *moral*,—that the model given is not to be regarded as complete, or one that should be implicitly followed—that the spirit rather

than the letter of its forms should be observed—that the making of new regulations and the changing of apostolical practices, ought not to be wholly precluded—and that, to regard the scriptural model as *complete*, and therefore *implicitly* to be copied, instead of wisely accommodating itself, in *circumstantials*, to the ever-changing manners of each successive age,—is derogatory to the wisdom of the Divine procedure. It is due to our learned author to say, that he has not advanced these sentiments without much careful qualification; and that he has reasoned on them with great acuteness and ingenuity. We know, moreover, from his subsequent pages, that the practical views of church government which he holds, and aims by the statements we deem objectionable to promote, are nearly if not wholly the same as our own: and if, on a single point, we presume to differ from so estimable a writer, it is not without much deference and regret.

Yet, on a subject of such vast importance, we feel bound to add, that we cannot regard his sentiments as consistent with scripture, with his own reasonings, or with themselves; to say nothing of the serious consequences, which we believe them to involve. That the institutions of church-membership, baptism, the Lord's-supper, and the Christian ministry, should be moral and not positive laws, or that infinite wisdom should give us a model of church-government, and yet that this model should be neither fixed, definite, complete, or implicitly to be followed—we certainly cannot understand. If the institutions of church-government are not positive; where are the institutions that are? Or how can a model, which is neither fixed, definite, complete, or fit to be implicitly copied, be regarded as worthy of the Divine wisdom; or, in any proper sense of the term, a model at all? We are told, that the making of new regulations and the changing of apostolic practices, ought not to be wholly precluded; but how is this to be reconciled with our 'remembering the apostles in all things, and keeping the ordinances as they are delivered unto us?' We are told, moreover, respecting scriptural forms, that we should be attentive to the spirit of forms rather than to their letter; but what meaning can there be in the spirit of a form, or a form without the letter? The form is one thing and the spirit another, but the form and the letter are identical: to keep the form, therefore, without the letter, is to keep the form without the form; that is, to keep no form at all.

One of Dr. Davidson's principal objections to the idea of a fixed polity is, that it is impracticable; but what is there impracticable in any of the New Testament institutes? Our author replies, 'that the hours of meeting, the particular locali-

ties in which religious assemblies should be held, and the sort of structures they should meet in, are not prescribed, and consequently that Christians, instead of observing any precise rule, follow their own judgments respecting them.' But does the liberty of Christians, in matters not prescribed, warrant or shew the necessity of a deviation from things which are? The want of prescription, in such matters, instead of shewing that a fixed adherence to the New Testament polity is impracticable; only serves to shew that they do not belong to that polity, and, on that very account, are not to be enforced, as binding or unalterable. Our author's mistake evidently lies in his regarding those things, as matters of Christian polity, which do not belong to it; and, then, reasoning from the one to the other. That the British parliament should be re-elected once in seven years, is a part of the British constitution, and must therefore be observed: but that the election should be fixed, every time and in every place, for the same day, is no part of the British constitution, and therefore not observed. So, that Christians should, always and in all places, meet together at the same hour or in the same kind of building, is no law of the Christian polity, and therefore not fixed; but that they should meet together on the Lord's-day, is a law of that polity and therefore unalterable.

Another of Dr. Davidson's objections to the idea of a fixed polity is, that 'it is contrary to the genius of the New Testament, which does not contain a book of Leviticus. *Formal, full and minute* directions,' he adds, 'are not given in it. The religion of Christ is occupied with general principles, applicable to all the circumstances in which his people can be placed.' But, does our author mean to say, that the twofold ministry, the Lord's-day, baptism, the Lord's-supper, and the like, are general principles? Are they not just as formal in their nature, as those of sacrifice or circumcision? Or does the fact, that they are fewer in number, more simple in form, or less encumbered with minute details, impair their authority? Or does it follow, because there is no book of Leviticus in the New Testament, that the institutions of Christ are less complete or less implicitly to be followed? Our Lord's last injunction to the apostles was, that they should teach his disciples to observe all things, whatsoever he had commanded them: to which he added,—'Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world.'

'But, such a view of the Christian polity,' says Dr. Davidson, 'tends to deprive Christianity of that flexibility which eminently fits it for all times and circumstances. If such be the *precise form* provided for it—a form consisting of enduring, unalterable

circumstantials, as well as *essentials*, it would not be capable of adaptation to the ever-changing manners of each successive age.' Here, however, we must beg to remark, that the question at issue is not the form of *Christianity*, but the form, or rather polity, of the Christian *church*; a distinction, in the present case, not without its importance. Many of the laws of Christianity are moral; and moral duties, from their nature, are susceptible of an infinite variety of forms; but the institutions of church polity are positive, and, therefore, fixed and definite. But, not to dwell longer on this distinction, why should a polity, fixed at first and completed by infinite wisdom, be less adapted to all ages and countries of the world, than one whose adaptation and filling up should be left to the wisdom of man? When the omniscient Saviour planned the government of his church, were not all the changes, through which it would have to pass, distinctly known; more distinctly than, even when they are taking place, they can be known by us? Is it not a sublimer exercise of that wisdom, which 'sees the end from the beginning,' to lay down a plan at once perfect and complete, than one adequate to its purpose only as it is altered, amended, or completed by man? Though, for six thousand years, the sun has never quitted its centre or changed its form, is it on that account less adapted to all the circumstances and changes of the earth? Why, then, may not the evangelical polity, planned by the same wisdom, have been equally adapted, from the beginning, to all the changes of the world?

'The vehicle,' says our author, 'preserves its identity, though the nails and pins should be different.' But if the vehicle is to preserve its identity, surely, the best way to preserve it is to let the nails and pins alone. How much the safety or beauty of the structure may depend upon a single nail or pin, only the great master Builder, who fixed it there, is competent to decide. We have heard of a school-boy's knife which had had six new blades, and three new handles, and yet remained identically the same. So must it fare, we feel certain, for so has it fared, with the government of the church, wherever the principle defended by our author is acted upon. Nails and pins have been changed, till the main beams have been removed, and the identity of the whole structure has dwindled to a name,—a name to deceive and ensnare. Indeed, to this fact no one has borne more decided testimony than our author himself, however difficult it may be to reconcile it with what we venture to think an objectionable part of his valuable treatise.

'It has been said,' Dr. Davidson remarks, 'that different forms are alike calculated to advance the holiness of the Messiah's subjects, one being best for one state of society and another for a different state. But

the assertion is incapable of proof. We deny the truth of it. It has never been shown that the discordant forms of church government existing in various countries have been a wise arrangement of Providence; or that vital religion would not have progressed' [? succeeded] 'so well without them. On the contrary, a spiritual religion requires a vehicle of a spiritual character; and a diversity of vehicles, or, at least, of vehicles equally spiritual, has not been exemplified in the world. We know of none, save a single one, that has not secular elements in it *essentially*. . . . Why should Luke or Paul have detailed the manner in which various churches were set in order, had not that order been intended for the imitation of believers to the end of the world?'—pp. 13, 14.

What that 'ONE' order of church government, detailed in the apostolic writings, is, the subsequent pages of our author, as well as those of his venerable coadjutor, most luminously show; and happy would it have been, both for the church and the world, had there never been any other. No sooner, however, were the founders of the first churches removed from the sphere of their labours, than the desperate attempt to improve their polity was begun; and, did we not know, that those who are blind to the wisdom of inspiration, are equally deaf to the lessons of experience, we could heartily wish the modern advocates of such attempts, now, after the experiment of eighteen hundred years, to consider the results.

From the concurrent testimony of the records handed down to us, we know that the early churches—composed only of believers, and wholly independent of each other, or of any foreign control—found their polity, under the simple ministrations of their elders and deacons, sublimely adapted to their circumstances and wants; presenting, with all their faults, such a spectacle of spiritual order and beauty as the world has never, either before or since, beheld. If there was a tendency, in such a polity, to check for awhile their numerical growth, it gave them a moral power which nothing could ultimately withstand. If it shut them out from the honours and emoluments of state-favour, it equally saved them from its polluting and paralysing control. By closing against the ministry all the paths of earthly greatness, it kept the responsibilities and rewards of their heavenly calling more constantly before them; and while it saved the churches, by their independency, from impertinent attempts to oppress or even meddle with each other; it compelled them to seek their common centre, more exclusively, in Christ their common Lord. Like planetary stars, they shone apart, yet brightly; each radiant with the same light; a light borrowed from the Eternal Sun; enabled by their separate spheres, though often blending their beams, to diffuse them the

more widely, and more effectively to shine upon the darkness of the world. Before any serious attempt to alter their polity was made, they had filled the world with their doctrine; while their wondering enemies exclaimed—‘ See how these Christians love one another ! ’ ’

Such, notwithstanding those occasional scandals which from the imperfection of our nature no discipline can wholly cure, were the early churches: and if, with this sublime spectacle of simple and heavenly beauty, we compare many of those monstrous abortions of human policy which now pass by the name of churches, how sad, how appalling is the contrast, which the accumulating changes of eighteen centuries have produced! It is like stepping at once from the suburbs of heaven into the valley of the shadow of death. An endless multiplication of offices, with the gradual substitution of a secular priesthood for a Christian ministry, has not only darkened the light of truth, but let loose upon the world swarm after swarm of spiritual locusts, which have eaten the green earth bare; and, powerless for good, have shown themselves mighty to destroy. By the removal of one barrier after another, which infinite wisdom had reared against the entrance of the ungodly, the Christian churches, no longer composed of ‘ faithful men called to be saints,’ were soon overrun by a lawless rabble, ignorant of the purposes of church-government, and actuated by the worst passions of this world. The change, from independent government to that of synods and councils, consistories, conferences, and hierarchies, of every shape and name, has subordinated the laws of Christ to the commandments of men; enslaving the laity to the most dangerous confederacies of priestly power, against the rights of conscience and the intellectual freedom of man; while the union of church and state, perplexing, entangling, and jumbling together all the relations of life, has produced that universal confusion of things and ideas, under the cover of which civil and religious despotism are able, with the more deadly effect, to play into the hands of each other.

We envy not the man who does not see that, with every change of polity, there has been a loss of scriptural truth, and, consequently, a loss of power: that every innovation has been an inroad upon the order and beauty of the churches, as well as upon their freedom; and that, just in proportion to their loss of primitive form, has been their loss of adaptation to the place which their Lord intended them to occupy, and the work he designed them to do. In our modern Babylon, with its jumbled heaps of presbyteries, episcopacies, hierarchies, and anarchies, we see the accumulated changes of eighteen centuries; but where are the improvements? Where, in point of sym-

metry, beauty, or adaptation to human wants, is the gain? Surely the man who, with the New Testament before him, can prefer these crumbling masses of modern rubbish to those temples of living stones, polished after the similitude of a palace, which were reared by the apostles, would exchange creation for a chaos—an unblasted paradise for the wilderness of Sin.

These changes, however, had disorder been the only consequence, would have appeared much less deplorable than they really are. But, as in earthly states, every departure from a wise polity is sure to be followed by strife and division, so has it been with the church of Christ. That there have been other causes of disunion, we are well aware; but there has been none, which has operated with such deadly or lasting effect as the one we are now considering. With every innovation on the Christian polity, a new source of debate and discord has been opened, which has continued for ages to pour its streams of bitterness over the world; strengthening the enmity that previously existed, and producing it where there was none. How many hot controversies, how many bloody wars, how many cruel martyrdoms would have been saved, had the polity of the early churches been sacredly preserved! And how many parties, at variance upon other points, might have been reconciled, but for the different forms of government in which they have entrenched and fortified themselves against each other! At the present day, what multitudes of episcopalians, presbyterians, congregationalists, and methodists, essentially agreed in doctrine and morals, are kept in a state of hatred or jealousy of each other; who, but for the barriers which their hostile polities have reared between them, would long ere this, 'like kindred drops, have mingled into one.'

As for ourselves, we have ever stood prepared to hold out the right hand of fellowship to all the followers of Christ; but, till those barriers which not only prolong our differences, but keep them so visibly before the eye, are removed, we despair of seeing that fellowship complete. Our great Example has taught us to pray, that his disciples may be one, as He and the Father are one. But the Father and the Son are one in their plans of government as well as in love: and well would it be for the peace of the church, if those who sigh for the universal fellowship of saints would make the Divine unity the model of their own, by making the word of God, upon this no less than any other question, the only standard of appeal.

If we ask the reason of that strange neglect into which the word of God has fallen upon this subject, we are told that the polity of the church is a question with which its purity, either

in doctrine or practice, has little or nothing to do. But never was there an opinion more contrary to fact. That good and bad people may be found under every kind of discipline, and that truth is not wholly confined to one kind of polity nor error to another, we freely admit. But, as surely as the distinguishing manners of Persia, Greece, Rome, or any other nation, ancient or modern, may be traced among other causes to their different forms of government, so surely, notwithstanding the number of exceptions, have the faith and practice of Christians been most powerfully influenced by their discipline.

If, upon any point, to prefer the suggestions of human expediency to the institutions of Christ, is in itself a very great and presumptuous sin, and one from which disorder and discord necessarily arise; our readers will see, from what we have already advanced, that there can be no such thing as a departure from the inspired polity, without a root of bitterness, by which many will be defiled. The invasion of the Saviour's prerogatives respecting the offices, membership, discipline, and support of his churches, has opened the way for every other insult offered to his authority; and the corruption of the churches, in doctrine and practice, has been in proportion to their corruption in polity. The sinful encroachments of the early ministry on the rights of their brethren, fostered in their own bosoms a love of self and power which vitiated all their services, and laid the foundation for sacramental efficacy, and all those other fooleries with which an abandoned priesthood have maintained their power. The substitution of synodical and prelatical authority, for the independent government of the churches, supplied the machinery of church-despotism: and, while it destroyed the freedom of the churches and of individuals, taught them to devolve their personal responsibility upon the clergy, and to substitute their laws for those of Jesus Christ. The change from a spiritual to a ritual, and at length a national or geographical membership, threw open to their full width the flood-gates of apostacy; deluging the church with the errors and crimes of the world, and even with crimes and errors unknown to the world: while the union of church and state invested the demon of persecution with all the sanctity of law.

The word of God perverted to the vilest purposes or wholly suppressed; religion degraded into a tyranny and a fraud; the house of prayer, into a den of thieves; the consciences of men enslaved to the most drivelling superstitions, and darkened under the sanction of religion with the foulest crimes; the font and the confessional substituted for the atoning sacrifice and sanctifying Spirit of the Son of God; frauds, ceremonies, idolatries, perjuries, simonies, blasphemies,

robberies, and murders, without end ; all that is included in a religious establishment ; all that is included in the name of priestcraft, or the more comprehensive name of Rome—this is the harvest of crime and death which the corruption of the Christian polity has produced. To all which the horrors of infidelity must be added : since infidelity is nothing but that natural revulsion from religion, into which an unsanctified heart is driven by the frauds, cruelties, and oppressions, to which the corruption of the Christian discipline has everywhere led. As poisons and reptiles live and multiply, abundantly, under those old walls, beneath whose dark shade no fruits or flowers will grow ; so under those systems of tyrannical imposture, in which the darkest perversions of Christian polity are embodied, atheism thrives just in proportion as everything vital in religion withers away.

Nor must we omit to mention that contempt for church-fellowship, in any shape, into which Christians, of undoubted piety, are continually led by the same pernicious cause. From the whole tenor of scripture, it was evidently the will of the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls, that his people, instead of roaming solitary through the world, should be gathered into flocks under pastors duly qualified and appointed. No sooner were converts made, through the preaching of the gospel, than the apostles formed them into churches ; which they set in order, with the most anxious care to render their fellowship a blessing to themselves and to the world ; and it was in the obligations and privileges of the church relation, that the duty and happiness of the early Christians chiefly lay. If they sought the presence of the great Shepherd, it was by following in the footsteps of the flock. It was not in loneliness or separation, but in the bosom of the nearest church, that they looked for guidance, safety, and consolation. It was thence, as from a radiating centre, that they shone forth upon the surrounding darkness. It was there that the powers of the world to come were chiefly felt ; it was there that the voice of heaven was heard ; and, only as he listened to what the Spirit said unto the churches, could the individual believer hope to catch the sound. The Lord himself, as men were daily added unto Him, added them to the church ; the privilege of keeping at a distance from the flock, and of wandering alone through the wilderness, being one for which the social bosom of a primitive believer never sighed. The only religion he knew, or wished to know, was the one that melted him into fellowship and brotherly love. In this he was right. It constituted his joy, his glory, and his strength.

But, what a chilling and dismal contrast to all this, does the

religion of multitudes, in the present day, exhibit! While many flutter off, as convenience, fashion, or caprice may lead them, from the purest to the corruptest communions, without a single blush or pang of remorse; how great is the number of those who look upon the fellowship of saints, in all its forms, with fixed indifference or contempt! For the work of the ministry, for the perfecting of the saints, for the edification of the body of Christ, as in a school of preparatory discipline for the joys and services of the heavenly state—the church institution is not only desirable but indispensable; and is therefore styled, in scripture, *the pillar and ground of the truth*. Yet, with all its hallowed joys and associations, with all its solemn relations to Christ, to his people, and a whole world of perishing men, what numbers are there who look upon church-life, as constituting no essential part of either the happiness or duty of a Christian! Frozen into insulation, by the present aspect of religion, they hang like icicles around the exterior of our churches; where all the means employed, to melt them into fellowship, fall as coldly on their hearts as winter moonlight, upon the icebergs of the pole. Whence then does it arise that so many persons, who cannot be regarded as strangers to true religion, yet live and die as aliens and foreigners to the commonwealth of Israel? Partly, no doubt, from ignorance, selfishness, or pride: but principally from the general disgust, which the innumerable corruptions of the Christian polity have produced.

Believing as we do, that to this source among others all the evils enumerated are to be traced, we hail the masterly treatises, before us, with no ordinary pleasure; persuaded that the subject of which they treat is one which Jehovah himself, in that awful voice which is now speaking to us from the whirlwind and the cloud, is summoning his people more seriously than ever to consider. With a suddenness, which has baffled all the laws of human sagacity, events, unparalleled in the flight of time have burst upon our slumbers; startling kings and statesmen from their dreams of power, to see their proudest hopes scattered, in a moment, to the winds. No longer to be kept down by the weight of human tyranny, though mountain after mountain has been piled above it, a great earthquake—distinctly foretold in scripture—*such as was not since men were upon the earth, so mighty an earthquake and so great*—has begun its convulsive heavings under all the states of Europe; as if the earth, weary of its monstrous incumbrances, would shake them to the dust. Huge chasms are every where yawning—throne after throne is falling—the mightiest monarchy in the world, torn from the very bosom of its armies and fortresses, has gone down quick into the bowels of the earth—others are tottering

on the brink or tumbling piecemeal down, the mightiest with the feeblest—and still those chasms yawn, vast, deep, and insatiable, as the maw of death. From the Mediterranean to the Baltic, from the Shannon to the Volga, what strong-hold of despotism is there, which feels not that the very rocks, underneath, are rending; or that a volcano may burst in a moment at its foot? Etna, in its throes, has groaned aloud to Vesuvius, and Vesuvius replied to Etna; covering the sky with sulphurous clouds, and the land with streams of fire: nor is there an island or mountain top, however remote, but what trembles at the sound and reddens in the blaze.

Amidst those shocks, which have convulsed and are still convulsing the continental nations, the British empire yet remains unshaken: but the thunderbolt only sleeps in the cloud, which every hour grows darker, and God only knows how soon, and with what vengeance, it may fall. One thing, however, is certain, that portentous sounds, for this country, are already on the wind; and that the very times are big with stupendous issues. Here, as well as everywhere, apocalyptic storms are brooding and blackening through the firmament, and the angel of the last plague is pouring out his vial into the air, *with thunders, and lightnings, and voices.*

What barriers kingcraft or priestcraft may yet rear to stem the torrent, or, through what intermediate channels it may roll on to its final issue, we do not pretend to say. But, at a time like this—when the earth is shaking, and the diadems that have fallen from crowned heads are kicked about like footballs in the mire—can it be hoped that the world will be any longer imposed upon by *religious shams*? Can Christians hope to be safe in crazy systems; or under domes, however mighty, built upon hollow ground? No! the time is surely at hand when Great Babylon—the habitation of devils, the hold of every foul spirit, and the cage of every unclean and hateful bird—shall come into remembrance before God; when the waters, into which, like a great mill-stone, she is hurled, shall close over her for ever: and in her fall all other systems, which can be shaken, shall not only be shaken but removed, *that the things which cannot be shaken may remain.*

Seeing, then, that we look for such things, seeing that the day is at hand in which every man's work will be tried so as by fire, how seriously, with the word of God in our hands, should we examine our respective systems; that we may waste no more time in piling up hay, wood, or stubble for the flames; that we may no longer run the risk of being buried under the ruins of false or unscriptural systems; but stand prepared, at their displacement,

to fill the void with churches wholly scriptural and that shall last for ever.

With these views and feelings, we hail the volumes, which have occasioned this article, as peculiarly seasonable in their appearance. We have long thought that a standard work on our church polity was wanting; and cannot, therefore, but rejoice that two writers, of such known competency, have undertaken the task. Dr. Wardlaw's treatise, besides its intrinsic worth and high recommendation, as the veteran service of one who has so long moved in the van of all that is great and good, derives a most touching interest from the fact that, but for a serious illness, which has wholly suspended him from other labours, he might never have found leisure to prepare it for the press. Most sincerely do we sympathise with him and his flock, under this painful visitation; though, at the same time, we cannot but congratulate him on his having been enabled to turn it to such good account. The bodily eye may droop, but the intellectual eye is not dim; neither is his natural force abated. The present volume strikingly exemplifies all that ease, clearness, and simplicity of thought and expression, as well as all that comprehensiveness of view and happy control of temper, which constitutes at once the difficulty and charm of polemical writing. No objection is combated without being previously stated in all its force; none is evaded; none is overlooked. The unfairness, that would cleave asunder a Gordian knot which reason should untie, is nowhere displayed: nor is it easy to say, whether the conclusiveness or the transparency of his arguments ought most to be admired. Throughout his reasoning, he moves with the dexterity of one, who is sporting in his native element; and, while threading his way through a host of quibbles, turns upon an objector with surprising force.

Dr. Davidson's work belongs to the series of the Congregational Lectures; and, though very different from Dr. Wardlaw's in the cast of thought and expression, follows the same general line of argument, and is a worthy auxiliary in the common cause. It is a treatise on Independency, by an independent mind, that was never in bondage to any man—a mind independent of Independency itself; and resolved, listen who will, to speak what it conceives to be the truth, and nothing but the truth. Remarkably free from polemical hurry or party manœuvre, Dr. Davidson pursues his course with the philosophical calmness of one whose sole reliance is in the soundness of his cause; moving on his arguments in ordinary time, as with a kind of Austrian discipline, to the very batteries of the enemy. In the general statement of his theory, we still venture to think

that, through confounding mere matters of social convenience with the Christian polity, he has expressed himself somewhat laxly and inconsistently. But, in the statement of his practical views, he expresses himself with admirable clearness and precision. His dread of innovation on the scriptural standard is, we feel persuaded, as cordial as our own; and, under the guidance of such a leader, we have no fear that any of our churches will go far astray. The stores of solid thought and sound learning, with which his volume is enriched, will ever render it of great value as a work of reference; and his wisdom, in appending an index, and thus rendering the topics he has handled, at all times easy of access, we highly appreciate.

The outline of the subject discussed in these volumes, is so well known to our readers, that, to attempt anything in the way of analysis, would be superfluous. Nor, between two writers so well known, so justly honoured, and each in his own way so excellent, can it be necessary that we should enter into a comparison of their merits or claims to public support. Each of them has done good service to the common cause; and to both of them we tender, with the sincerest admiration, our hearty thanks; while we bid them, in the words of Palæmon, a respectful farewell,—

‘ Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites;
Et vitulâ Tu dignus, et Hic.’

ART. II.—*The Exhibition of the Royal Academy, 1848.* The Eightieth.

CURRENT art-critics and exhibition-seers may be mostly divided into two classes; the matter of fact affirmers, and the indeterminate jeerers. Of the jeering criticism, enough may be heard any day, in an hour's walk through a modern exhibition-room. The indulgence of such would seem the chief aim of the promenader, fashionable or artistic. Men jeer at all things at the present day, more especially in art. With matter of fact *calculation* of the tangible, superficial claims and aspects of any given production of art, the world, at least the English world, is by no means deficiently supplied; with this in fact supplied, to the exclusion of most things else. And yet is there room, while considering the workings of the formative artist, nay, demand, for somewhat beside jeering, and somewhat more than mere uninformed literal reporting. And in regard to any high creative working, this somewhat in the matter of criticism be-

yond the current stock in trade of the critics of the day, private or public, may well of itself suffice, in the stead of this latter. For, strange as it may appear, an artist, in any real sense, is a thinker; it may be, a poet, it may be, a humourist; anywise, an expresser, the eloquent or subtile expresser, in a recondite and beautiful language—and one peculiarly suggestive and stimulative—of feeling and thought, already it may be, in part patent to the world, but not in any other so saliently to be educated. And thus, he becomes a teacher, and giver of noble gifts; the instrument of glory, the diffuser of grand and beautiful influences. And in the end, with the highest, so far from jeering and denying, or mere approving and affirming, it is for us to receive and to learn. At the least, the thought of the artist is worthy of thought in the critic. And this latter's chief function and merit is to know when somewhat is to be learned and received.

When it is considered that there exist among us, some thousand practitioners of the arts formative, including some hundreds of art-union caterers, this may seem a high standard to carry into an exhibition-room. Yet is it the true one to hold by in reserve, for general informing of our judgment, and occasional direct reference. It is not the crowd of workers, who decide matters; by whom we are to judge the spirit and capabilities of the age; in art, any more than in literature. In both, the large majority have *no call*; might much better, with more profit to themselves and others, earn their bread in other crafts. It is always the few in one generation, that teach and achieve; the many that strain, and do naught. The general mass of practitioners is not greater in the one branch of intellectual striving than in the other. But in art, among us moderns, with our modern systems, it necessarily becomes more conspicuous. And that greater conspicuousness of the inferior sort of workers has an evil influence on the general right reception of the art and the artist. The artist sits cheek by jowl with the mechanic, and is confounded with him. At the same time, in art, there is less room for the mechanic, than even in literature. In the latter, such an one may find scope and a fair working field for profitable exertion; in the former, he may not. For the use of the artist is ever one—simply high, and theoretic. And if this high subtile use be not reached, nothing is reached. In prominence, however, as in numbers, the mechanics overpower the artists. Hence, a lack of right feeling for these latter, among those who should profit by them. Reverence for literature is universal. Reverence for art is rare, and no prevailing influence, even with those taking interest and delight in its productions. To the generality, a printed book is an imposing *fact*,—

if nothing more; not so a painted canvass. And we doubt whether it ever cross the mind of Mr. Smith, or Mr. Jones, that a Leslie, an Eastlake, an Etty, a Turner, stands somewhat higher in the intellectual scale than himself; has aught to teach him, Mr. Jones.

Not all that assume the sacred robe are priests. Not all who would open their mouths to speak, have 'anything to say.' Yet ranking beneath the thinker, but above the mechanic, and prostitute, there exist classes of workers claiming consideration, having a purpose and a use; not mere pretenders. A work of art may be thoughtful, and pregnant with specific meaning; it may simply bear the strong commanding impress of informing thought in the originator; it may be suggestively decorative; it may be the triumph of intelligent craftsmanship,—of craftsmanship in its nature and origin, not merely mechanical, but the result of *mind*, more or less powerfully exerted. These are all merits in their several degrees. The work in any eminent manner possessing claims in but one of these aspects, is worthy of heed and welcome.

In their proper intrinsic bearings of actual achievement, under any of these heads, as also, in those extrinsic, of non-achievement and failure, the annual collective exhibitions of the scattered contemporary workings of our artists, are pregnant with significance and suggestiveness of thinking, to him that can read the signs aright. That of the academy, as the leading, most comprehensive, of course offers most of this. The present academy exhibition is by no means wanting in such food for thought; though as a whole, offering scarce so many salient points as those of the two preceding years. On this matter, however, of individual salience of manifestation, too much stress is generally laid. The last chance-directed assemblage of the current performances of our academic exhibitors, does not decide the fate of the arts in England, either for good or evil. As evidence of the present attainments and capabilities of our artists, it is not to be accepted by itself, unhesitatingly; without reference to other preceding and synchronous manifestations. Too much of chance influence will have gone to the shaping the material on which we may ground our theories, for these to be sure or satisfactory.

Of those works of the highest class, bearing on their front plainly the impress of elevation, the seal of an individual message and purpose, the numerical value may of course now, as commonly, be readily reckoned. Such significance of meaning is to be found in full actuality impressed on two unpretentious canvasses, of domestically poetic interest; at the hands of one, from whom so much in this wise of highest worth has been

received. Works extrinsically as intrinsically so noteworthy as the two noble *protestant* scripture realizations of last year; so simple, serious, and complete in conception, expression, execution; triumphs of art, actual products of modern religious thought: hence so pre-eminently noteworthy; the fine-souled artist, Leslie, has not this time given us. Yet we have something in their stead, something rightly to represent him; though the new scene promised from Don Quixote was not completed early enough for this present exhibition. 'Lady Jane Grey' is one of those delicate impersonations of English feminine character, such as he alone, of all men living or past, can reach. An ineffable, sweet, grace informs the countenance and attitude of the reading girl, —*half*-womanly, *half*-girlish,—and the most subtilely suggested purity; a grace and purity extending in their visible influence to the treatment of every attribute of her simple costume, as felt in that general atmosphere of quiet surrounding her. The 'Child with his Ear to the Sea-shell,' is equally exquisite in its pervading feeling, and its delicately marked expression: whether of the child himself, looking out upon us with his eager, silent, delight; of the calmly interested, stooping mother; or of the sweet young kneeling sister, who holds to the boy the source of his delighted wonder. It is the noticeable attribute of Leslie, how near to common-place are the familiar forms and types chosen by him, yet through his exquisite art, how infinitely removed from it, how purely poetic. His art in this regard, in its subtilty and sureness, is altogether unlike that of any other man, and altogether above and transcending that of every contemporary artist: wholly peculiar and indefinable. All the poetry of which any one of his scenes may be capable, *that* he will ever see and transmit; intangibly infusing a poetic character and meaning into the simplest rendering, and a purity and beauty of general, pervading, moral atmosphere, quite exceeding expression. Of both these pictures, the accessories are painted with all his characteristic refined truth and feeling, and delicate artistic significance: as mark the shell itself and the cabinet. *His still life*, indeed, has often more actual vitality and meaning, than the moving life of some half of our exhibitors. And about his interiors floats a sweet household air. We feel we ourselves have sat there, or may. The familiar every-day draperies too he gives us, are treated with the utmost grace: as here, those of the Lady Jane, and in the other piece, of the kneeling girl's sister. Perhaps that of the mother hangs with too much stiffness, not untruthful, yet unpleasing.

Mulready is not an artist in the sense in which Leslie is one. His meaning, if not worn on his sleeve, is not hard to find. And accordingly, artists and the general mass of exhibition-

goers agree in their admiration of him; though this be very diversely grounded. On the other hand, it is a few, comparatively, that duly estimate the art of Leslie. Very many pass by his unpretentious, modestly coloured—(the colour so expressive, yet so *quiet*,)—often slightly painted canvasses; and know not what depth of feeling and actual artistic mastery rest embodied there, for them to read, if they will. We ourselves have stood by a talented academy associate, and heard him carelessly express his ignorance that such a particular piece had been a Leslie, so little store did he put by it. Yet is Mulready the most consummate artist we have,—taking the word in its ordinary sense, as applied to the secondary essentials of the art. All his power is to the full impressed on his principal picture of this year; and more equally than is often his wont. For the expression is as true as the colour, and the executive eloquence of speech. All is a triumph: the execution, not as sometimes, too elaborate, overpowering the expression; but this finely gradationed and speakingly characteristic, (the outline of the two boys' heads particularly deserving note,) with great and expressive beauty in the laughing faces of the two girls; and the colour, a triumph, though conversationally rather than actually true to nature. This, indeed, all fine colour must be,—for what is it, or what is it meant to be, but the conventional glorified expression, by approximation, of actual truth? A minor piece of Mulready's, of little importance in space and subject, has very high intellectual claims: a shepherd boy and his dog, by night; solemn and seriously beautiful in feeling, as in colour. The boy is sitting, and asleep, his head resting on his knees; the dog couched by his side; the evening star is in the sky; and all around is lapped in quiet. The matter is slight enough. But its treatment is grand and simple; and the prevailing effect, in spirit, deeply poetic. In the same way is it with his small landscape, the production of forty years since. The scene—nothing more than a gravel-pit,—in his hands, from the simplicity and power of its treatment, tells a story of its own, and becomes a deep and noble piece of nature-truth.

In Eastlake's 'Italian Peasant Family with Banditti,' we have one of those pieces, as from him always, wherein we at once are induced to acknowledge the informing spirit of the creator,—limited in action though it be, narrow in range, uniform in expression. The pure and elevated atmosphere of the individual worker's mind is impressed upon the work; and its action felt by us. And whatever be the shortcomings of the artist, when this strong unity of feeling is reached, much is done, somewhat worth the having, given. The picture is one of a class belonging to his earlier years, and unfortunately wears the

air of an old acquaintance. Intrinsically, it is beautiful enough : the mother, one of that serene, elevated type, Eastlake has loved but too well ; the child, a transfigured piece of loveliness, far too much so to be characteristic or appropriate ; the young girl, of a more familiar, earthly, thence, more satisfying sweetness ; the husband, and the standing bandit, with a character of delicately marked thoughtfulness. Of course, it would have been well had the execution of parts been less waxy in effect, and feeble. But Eastlake is one we must accept for what he is worth.

Mr. Herbert, again, is of those in whose works we may ever recognize an individuality, and an individuality pure and elevated, though in scope restricted. His picture of the present year, however, scarcely equals in genuine feeling that of the past. His excellence consists rather in sentiment than in power ; and thus he is always liable to partial failure. His St. John, a man of spare presence and yet sparer vesture, to atone for which his limbs and body are but feebly and timidly *suggested*, is stretching out his right arm, for the main indication that he is engaged in *reproof* ; his hair far too well combed and oiled ; and a very inadequate expression of earnestness generally, on his feeble countenance : though hints of something of this may, perhaps, be detected. In Herod's face, on the other hand, there is a good deal of subtile expression of characteristic mental working ; as in that of Herodias, less delicately rendered ; while Herodias's daughter is an effective figure ; the two last partaking, however, of somewhat the same type, though one diversely developed. But a complete whole is not in this way made up. As regards execution, a similar character of working may be noticed in the colour. The parts are elaborate and often forceful ; but the general effect is painfully white and incomplete. All things notwithstanding, there is *thought* here ; individual thoughtfulness on the part of the artist, and suggestiveness of thought for the spectator.

One among the leading rising artists has reached excellence of a kind, and in a manner, such as none of his elders might equal. The ' Cardinal Wolsey,' of Cope, may at once take rank as one among those few fine works our historical school can boast of having produced. Here, indeed, is manifested an advance beyond the Wests and the Northcotes ; an advance as decisive as that universally discoursed of advance of our time in the practical arts. And this, by the way, is a department of theoretic art, where something slightly analogous may well occur, though indeed, as regards only the working of the few, and for but a passing season of harvest ; where time and schooling for the realizing, though but once, of genuine consistent greatness, are especially needed. Drawing, and historic taste and aptitude do not come

by inspiration, though other essentials do. To say that Mr. Cope has made his canvass convey all the meaning of which the scene is capable, in the way a Leslie exhausts and impregnates with meaning one of his less pretentious, yet in spirit, and from him, equally significant incidents, would, indeed, be saying much, more than is due. But in fact, than this, there could not be reached a more imposing or arduous achievement within the range of art's striving. Something less, therefore, may well be acceptable. And this something less here is very noble. At first glance, the impression of a vigorous painting of costume and action, rather than of human individualities, may be suggested. This is an impression, the inducing of which modern art, with its enforced regard for formal accuracy, can in this direction seldom evade; can only evade through the fusing, harmonizing influence of some grand Etty-like faculty of colour. Such a faculty of general power and unity of colour, Mr. Cope is far from approaching; though his colouring of parts be vigorous and effective. This much,—however, and nothing more,—perhaps, only serves to aid the disuniting prominence of the costume feature. But on farther study, something beyond costume will be apprehended: a very noble spirit of individualisation. There is dramatic interest, and there is unity of dramatic interest. The action is told plainly, yet not tangibly and vulgarly. The conception of the sinking figure of the sick cardinal, pressing with his whole weight on his bending boy-supporter, cannot be too much admired for the expression and character so forcefully stamped upon the whole; as well on the general attitude, as on the pale, upturned countenance itself. The character of the abbot, with his fine-cut, intellectual type of features, is equally individual and refined in expression. Scarce less so are the heads of the priests and conventuals around. The men at arms to the left of the picture,—secondary features, are full of power and truth. The suggestion of some of the horsemen looking unconcernedly *from* the scene, out of the picture, in particular, is very dramatic. A female head, of refined character, but somewhat too much on a class 'pure' blue-eyed type, is introduced in the middle of the composition with great effect. The bending head too, and curved neck of one near, weeping, with averted face, is a very beautiful minor feature, as well in drawing as in dramatic suggestiveness. It is to be noted of this picture, it is not a mere translation: in itself a great merit; at the same time one important influence towards its success. The particular scene had not been described by Shakspeare; but its general conception and specific development are alike due to the artist. Altogether, we have here, the noble dramatic telling of a salient incident, a *genuine historic* piece; and this for the English school,

or any modern school, is much. Beginnings such as these may well point to some future continuous series of consistent achievements in this direction. Had not his first fresco already proved his capability, this work alone would have sufficed to lead us to rejoice that Mr. Cope had been appointed to a second panel in the House of Lords. Two smaller pieces of his we have here, of very different calibre. 'L'Allegro' and 'Il Penseroso' belong to no very recondite order of conception. Very admirably but far too elaborately painted, like some others previously, of similar character, these of themselves would have induced a very different impression of Mr. Cope's powers, from that his larger efforts cannot but extort. Instead of being 'buxom, blithe, and debonair,' L'Allegro is spare and sedate enough for Il Penseroso, had she a gloomier costume. It is the matter of costume and accessories in truth, with the additional circumstance of a few absurd, naked cupids perched about L'Allegro's head, which makes up all the diversity betwixt the two.

Passing from Cope to Maclise, we feel the difference between the actual embodiment of thought, and the mere working of *power*. The feeling of 'Chivalry, of the time of Henry VIII.' lies, and was perhaps meant to lie, rather in the armour and accessories, than in any human individualities; the huge two-handed sword and the mailed feet of the knight, the most prominent objects, at first view, in the picture. All indeed we have, very graphic and living; living, as only Maclise can make such matters, and chivalrous enough, as far as surface sentiment goes. Something more even is given, in the knight's stern emotion at the parting, and the wife's full grief: an obvious enough idea, yet suggestively expressed in the typical way; embodied in figures themselves simply on the Macliseish type. The retinue of mailed horsemen without, is another true Maclise-like suggestion, altogether in keeping, and vaguely effective. On the whole, it ever is a marvel with Maclise, worthy of consideration, how, with so many and fundamental deficiencies, so living an impression is reached. We have in his works, the very apotheosis of *power of hand*; power of hand it must be borne in mind, not self-subsisting, owing its being to mind, and bearing the marks of this, its origin. The same mannered power, more subdued in manifestation, united to salient impersonation in the character of Foster himself, we have in the portrait scene from 'Every Man in his Humour.'

Etty is in himself of those absolute commanding geniuses, the power of whose artistic individuality will ever impress and fascinate, as by a spell, whatever may be wanting in the specific performance. Ofttimes, with this manifestation of grand artistic power, has been united that of deep feeling, or of glowing imagi-

nation. It is not thus, this year. We are given nothing that may represent—to go no further back,—the painter of the noble Joan of Arc of last year,—that triumph of power, of feeling, of colour, however deficient in some lower, formal, *grammatical* aspects of its speech. And we feel the want. All we have are mere effluences of sketchy power of hand, and glory of colour; some intrinsically valuable, yet more so extrinsically, as grace-offerings of the great artist's declining years, the supererogatory additions to a noble store. For his artistic course cannot but be now approaching its termination. It every year necessarily grows doubtful, whether we shall receive much further from those liberal hands. We well may be grateful for that we do get. And this consideration should be ever held in mind, in regard to his present workings; as before was demanded in the case of Turner. That influence possessed by productions of a certain order, marked by the strong, broad impress of *genius*; which these have, to make the heart to leap up in recognition, and kindle in a flame,—however in themselves, slight, filled with but one eloquence, that of colour,—is characteristically exerted in the two small pieces, 'La Fleur de Lis,' and 'By the Waters of Babylon.' The latter is more especially glorious in colour and specific power, though dashy and sketchy enough in drawing. But we always recognise in Etty's bad drawing, the bad drawing of one that *can* draw well; the bad drawing of power and knowledge, not of feebleness and ignorance. Hence, it very little affects us, or interferes with our admiration of the other great attributes put forth. This slightness is carried too far, or rather comes to be not commensurately redeemed, in such unfinished sketches as 'Morning Prayer' and 'Aaron'; the latter, a mere study in colour, of strange nicknackeries in the way of imaginary priestly attributes of costume, and of a head, of which the intellectual claims rest in its expressionlessness, and its spreading hugeness and blackness of beard. The 'St. John' again, is a mere manifestation of power of brush,—here done at large; and an exclusive exertion of such, altogether out of place; given, where of course far other higher things were to have been given. It is simply the large-canvassed study of a colossal, black-bearded, standing figure, with thick wooden limbs; his head touching against an expanse of blue, typifying sky; his right hand raised on high, in his left a long cross,—to stand for the sentiment of the realization. Of course, there is the general effect of Etty-like power. The way in which the broken brushwood below is dashed in, is wonderfully fine; and might have called for an actual sky, such as Etty knows how to suggest. Why should a sky even in a piece like this, be reduced to a mere portrait painter's back-ground, done into deep blue?

A portrait-study of a factitious St. John, however, was, we suppose, all that was designed here. These pieces, in fact, notwithstanding their fictitious catalogue-titles, must be accepted and judged, as no other than what they are, and were really meant to be—simple painter's studies. The 'Still Life' is one of those pieces of eloquent colour, belonging to a class of realizations so peculiar to Etty, and unapproachable by others: colour standing for form, and the sole agent of effect. And what effect! how far fuller, more suggestive, than the most careful literal elaboration of the mere reality can produce! What a much more living matter is thus made of lifeless forms, than a Lance or Bullock can reach! Thus handled in fact, thus translated into altogether another existence than their own, are such representations alone brought within the range of *art*; made subservient to an idea, impressed with a meaning. In the 'Sketch of Landscape' we have the same educing of colour from nature realities. It is a mere sketch, in subject and drawing, — the trees and foliage not *drawn* at all, only given as a mass: the sky a noble suggestion of a sky; the general effect, in its absolute simplicity of rendering and its force of colour, grand and graphic.

The manifestation of mere tangible artistic power it is, mostly, we get from Edwin Landseer; power long enough universally acknowledged to be as complete in its kind, as in degree eminent and individual; excellence, like that of Mulready,—of a sort sure to meet with its ready recognition and reward. But it has oftentimes been made subservient in his hands, to far other and higher things, than the simple satisfying of its own being. Pity this plan should not always have been followed; that the painter of the 'Peace' and 'War' of two seasons since, should ever content himself with being a mere brute and still-life portrait painter, as in his 'Old Cover Hack' of this year; however living and significant he may make such matters. Even when unmixed with human feeling, his broad, expressive power, subordinated to the educing of feeling from animal incident, has been the vehicle for noble results; as to some extent witnessed now, in his 'Random Shot:' the poor doe lying with glazed eye turned to heaven, outstretched on the snow dead, after her last vain, agonized tramp, as betrayed by the foot-prints of blood around; her fawn essaying to suck in vain. The suggestion of feeling is in itself deep and complete; and, of course, graphically and expressively told. The actual matter of the composition, occupying but the centre of the picture itself, is too slight perhaps, as compared with the extent of the canvass, for sustained sufficiency of effect. The anecdote of 'Alexander and Diogenes' translated into animal life, is given with all that

power of animal character and expression, so peculiar an attainment of the individual artist; by the development of which he has opened up wholly a new vein of artistic thought; a vein, however, in which he is not likely to have a fellow-worker. There are some inconsistencies in the translation: in the giving the actual traditional attributes of the *human* Diogenes, the lantern, etc., to his canine representative. The white abomination, the fat, pursy, self-sufficiency made to stand for Alexander, though graphic in himself, a splendid satire on our George iv. type of royalty, is scarcely just to the Macedonian; who, in fact, according to our current version of him, was magnanimous enough, after the broad, tangible, clap-trap manner of kingly notoriety. The character of the Cynic is admirably translated. It is cynical and humorous, just as a dog might be, were he owner of intellect enough. The courtiers are fully as characteristic, subordinately; one little black dog to the right of the picture, whose very nature it seems to do nothing but curl up, body, and soul, had he one, especially notable. With the portraits in our annual exhibition, the chief artistic interest generally centres in the one or two scattered performances in this kind of unprofessional portraitists; where the customary broad power of a familiar, capable, general artist, has simply revealed itself in a less wonted direction: where effect has not been strained after, and has thus been gained. Such a work we have, in Landseer's piece of subtle, delicate, portrait-truth. Perhaps next to this, the other most notable portrait-rendering here is that of 'Lady Holland,' by G. F. Watts, the painter of the able, false-principled works which have been so successful in carrying off first prizes from the commissioners; but also, of that noble, *actual* poetic embodiment of 'Francesca de Rimini,' exhibited at the British Institution. This portrait evidences the artist's having studied in a very different school from that of the Grants and Buckners. There is not sufficient individuality, though much feeling and sympathy, put forth in the countenance itself. But the general effect of the work is quietly forceful, and truthfully ideal. The colouring in particular, is seriously effective and noble: which the more increases our astonishment at that unwarrantable slighting of so essential a constituent of the painter's language, in the *Alfred* of the last Westminster Hall competition.

In the poetically directed efforts of two among our rising artists, as in that historical of Cope, we find united to unmistakable power, the informing influence of somewhat of an individual meaning and thought; though not so much reached as attainable. Mr. Frost has, within a brief season, shown so much capability and poetic feeling,—at least, poetic *sympathy*,—

we could have wished him to have shown more. We would fain see him making actual progress, each year; advancing, not simply in regard to technical treatment, but as to essentials. That it has been thus with him, we cannot affirm. Some year or two ago, we were as well acquainted with the scope and resources of his poetical gamut, as we are now. His present picture makes the third or fourth of those classically poetic compositions he has presented us: each very beautiful in itself; yet all bearing a most striking family resemblance one to another. We have the same *corps de ballet*, but with variations; the same leading motive in composition. We fear Mr. Frost does not choose a subject, creatively to embody it, and set forth its capabilities; but that he may best exhibit *his*. He may, in this way, demonstrate to admiration, how much an academy may do for an artist; but scarcely, how much an artist may do for an academy. At the best, it is doubtful, whether he will ever become more than a kind of sublimated Hilton. He shows himself, but as one possessed of a fervent aspiration after the beautiful; rather than as an actual creative artist. The extreme beauty of parts in his 'Euphrosyne,' as in his previous works, is undeniable; the artist's knowledge and skill are undeniable; not so the fresh individual truth of the work; not so even, any strong, commanding, individual faithfulness in the worker. There is here, not that atmosphere of joy, the *abandon*, the unordered grace, the various freshness of movement, and gesture, and glance, befitting the scene and character of action chosen. But all is very quiet. None of these figures can be said to be dancing. They are advanced before us in studied order, as to the curtain, in the last scene of a play. The female realizations, it must be acknowledged, are chaste, and void of offence. But they are void of offence, not because they bear that ineffable mark of purity, which a high and pure mind may impress on the actual nude,—as witness, among ourselves and recently, the *Francesca* of Watts,—but simply because they are well draped, and of nature cold; a like coldness pervading the whole picture: these are cold beauties, and the beauty of the picture is cold. Though the forms be all on the same type, there is less verbatim repetition of past embodiments, than might have been expected; the artist's mode of working considered. One or two old friends, however, may be sworn to. The colouring, as usual, is very neat and pretty in parts, as in general effect; but does not witness the *Colourist*, in any high sense. Such an one would know truth of beauty in colour, whether by reference to nature or colour abstractedly, does not depend on these fair, white, polished skins, but on the glow of life and gradation of tints; resting not in the judicious

assemblage of wholes, but in the grand subtle fusing of parts: all constituent parts in this regard, but fragments tending to *one* whole. The picture cannot but give great delight, and frequently renewed, from that spirit of beauty informing it in the mass, and more determinately revealed, after academic sort, in the parts: as especially note that dark-haired form, with her blue, deep, laughing eyes, to the right of Euphrosyne herself,—the very embodiment of a full, quiet, questioning joyaunce. But this spirit of beauty is restricted in its play. We would have it free. That which is given makes us lament that which is not given. Mr. Frost has to learn beauty is not of the academy, but of the world: that there is divinity of feminine manifestation beyond the confines of a classic profile; that there may be grace of drapery without the limits of the classic mode; that nymphs *may* dance, without the edge of their garments flowing into one approved classic curve,—the stock type of the motion. Will he *ever* learn these things, and others? Why, in this present instance, should Milton's suggestion of the poetical realization of a scene of abstract animal joy have been treated after a mere classic, academic manner? Was it not the modern artist's part, to find out the right modern form of embodiment: lying within the region of the ideal, but of a new ideal? After all, do not the delightful realizations of Frith and Goodall, of last year, of a rustic merry-making, stand out as more genuine, consistent approximations on canvass, to the pervading feeling of *L'Allegro*?

F. R. Pickersgill is a man of more genuine original power than Frost. And he is a progressing artist, which is much. His two last poetical embodiments confirm him to be, what his fine *Harold*, of the Westminster Hall competition, first emphatically proclaimed him—a very noble artist. He has quietly gone through a long course of arduous striving, however, ere this has been generally acknowledged. Nor do we know now, that he is a favourite with the many. In the '*Britomartis unveiling Amoret*,' is involved a difficult subject—on poetical and on technical grounds. If the scene be not charged with all that fulness and luxury of various and delicate beauty, of which it may well be suggestive—a task, when Spenser is concerned, demanding more than a mere human painter's qualifications; yet, to represent this, there is the manifestation of the right poet's actual sight of his conceptions, with the general prevailing influence of power, in expression and characterization, in drawing, in colour. The one pre-eminent superlative beauty Spenser is so fond of introducing,—in itself a forced, unnatural conception, intangible and unimpressive in verse,—is always a dangerous matter for the painter to handle, entailing the straining after a

ated, ready for interference, with the objects of the others' calm delight: these two, the contending parties in the little society. One boy in the foreground—looking up, and screaming with all his might in his excitement—is an especially admirable conception; so, too, to the right, one flaxen-haired, ecstatic contemplator, restraining with all earnestness the mischievous influence of the unquiet spirit next him. The drawing and colouring are characteristic of the particular artist: the first, somewhat conventional in manner; the colouring, individual and appropriate, serious and solemn, without darkness or gloom; in parts vivid and glowing. A prominent extrinsic attribute of the picture, as of the artist's preceding contributions, is very acceptable and exhilarating: the manifestation on our English exhibition walls of a fresh, and though kindred, outwardly distinct style of artistic working—one too, healthful and consistent.

Among the comparatively younger men, the associate, Frith, has of late years raised himself to a foremost place in this class of workers. His performances have now taken their settled place, as leading points of the exhibition. His contributions this year are very effective. The 'Old Woman accused of having Bewitched a Peasant Girl,' as some of his previous efforts, worthily represents the school of Wilkie. It is one of those pieces teeming with thoughtful incident and character. The characterization is as true and individual as it is various. The calm, pale-complexioned, white-haired justice, with his expressively aristocratic attitude and bearing; the shrewish old woman pressing forward to the accusation; the poor, helpless, pseudo-witch herself; the old men,—are all, as individualities, admirable, beyond discourse: in their marked yet delicate truth, and significant life. The two children again—the one from the level of the table staring with great eyes at the dreadful witch, the other clinging to its protectress' gown, yet turning round to have a look—are especially dramatic conceptions. The girl herself, cowering by the side of the old man in the centre of the picture,—who protectingly gives her his hand for assurance,—and in startled wise looking out upon us, is very gracefully and delicately suggested. Frith's younger women generally, are very inferior as individualities, to his men. Though not of mere mechanic, *pretty* manufacture, they are yet all too much conceived on one particular piquant, costume type. The weakest point in the present picture, however, is that prominent figure of the handsome young man in green—the 'loved,' we presume,—a sad ninny; and one we have seen somewhere, before in Mr. Frith's canvasses. The general artistic finish of the piece is of very delicate truth and character, full of intelligent life

artistic. And all have *something to say* ; with more or less of distinctness and emphasis, and pregnancy of expression ; within a range more or less free or restricted ; but in very various fashions. Some are 'historical,' some are 'poetical,' some, nothing in particular ; some are *themselves*. One among them is a steady poet, quiet and subtile ; others are poets by fits and starts. They do not among themselves constitute what is commonly designated a 'school.' Scarce one holds much in common with another. Nor, though much discoursed of, is this in itself imperatively called for. These men are all distinct individualities, plainly enough evinced, for the most part. And is this not better than any part merging of these amid a common straining after one individual aim : the best, it may be, for some few ; by no means the best for all ? It is only as a sequence, as being the inevitable result of the exertion of a fixed, intelligent *demand* in any one direction, and of the attendant general schooling and steadying of talent, such a school is very desirable. It has levelling influences, and peculiar evils of its own ; as well as peculiar profits. What is pressingly called for, is, that some among these men of undeniable power, should have clearer, steadier, more consistent views of that required of the artist, in especial of the modern artist ; and that they should at no time expend their labour in beating upon air, but always, as far as may be, healthfully and intelligently. This knowledge may be possessed by a school, or it may not. History has examples of both kinds.

We now pass on to men of a different class from that of most of those hitherto embraced ; men who *also* have something to say, and in their own way : the thoughtful observers and humourists. These in the general sum of their manifestations, and character of appeal, more nearly approximate to the conditions of a school. To the *domestic* and *dramatic*, belong of rights, at all times, the two with whom we commenced—Leslie and Mulready. But they in their peculiar and unapproachable excellence—the one as a consummate higher artist, the other as a correlatively consummate artist within a lower range—stand sufficiently separated from these others ; who possess, also, more in common among themselves.

Synchronous with these, rather than *of* them, is the thoughtful and powerful Scottish artist, George Harvey ; whose offering this year is in a purely domestic vein. 'Blowing Bubbles' is a piece full of incident and character : a complete child-drama. Each bubble-blower, or bubble-watcher, is a distinct individuality, and an active and earnest. None are thinking of anything but their sport ; with their bubbles wholly absorbed : engaged in eager manufacture ; in ecstatic contemplation ; or sati-

ated, ready for interference, with the objects of the others' calm delight: these two, the contending parties in the little society. One boy in the foreground—looking up, and screaming with all his might in his excitement—is an especially admirable conception; so, too, to the right, one flaxen-haired, ecstatic contemplator, restraining with all earnestness the mischievous influence of the unquiet spirit next him. The drawing and colouring are characteristic of the particular artist: the first, somewhat conventional in manner; the colouring, individual and appropriate, serious and solemn, without darkness or gloom; in parts vivid and glowing. A prominent extrinsic attribute of the picture, as of the artist's preceding contributions, is very acceptable and exhilarating: the manifestation on our English exhibition walls of a fresh, and though kindred, outwardly distinct style of artistic working—one too, healthful and consistent.

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and meaning. The scene from the 'Bourgeois Gentilhomme' belongs to a very fine class of Mr. Frith's productions; charged with refined humour and forceful effect. The 'Stage Coach Adventure,' though not possessing humour of so keen an edge, nor the same unity of artistic execution, is even finer as a truthful rendering of familiar character. Mark, in particular, the gesture and grimace of the doubly alarmed soldier, attacked at once by lady and knight of the way; the fainting quakeress, and the calm, *judicious*, young quaker. We hope, however, Mr. Frith will not get into the habit of viewing life and living incident, only through the medium of the costume of a '*hundred years since*.' It is not thus, the great masters of the domestic among us have worked. The labour entailed by the seeking after costume precision, and that hankering after prettiness of effect therewith induced, do *tend* to bar the artist from higher seekings, and more essential achievements: as to general broad truth of rendering; and in the matter of human feeling and poetic elevation of the actual. This last is in itself, alone, the noblest, most real attainment of the domestic painter. And always, far greater credit is due to the artist who fairly, boldly grapples with the difficulties, the present surrounding realities of his time present him, than to him taking refuge in another and distant; thus tacitly confessing his weakness to cope with the task nature has set him.

A man who in a modest fashion, but a genuine and consistent, has remained true to the course suggested by his genius, is the academician, Webster. A fine vein for character and humour is possessed by him: though sometimes in its working bearing more marks of labour, than the highest in this field generally betray. His 'Rubber' of this year, however, reveals nothing of this. It is pregnant with the highest humour and character. The expression of each figure,—of the unfortunate posed player; of his alarmed partner, ready, should the other commit himself, to pounce upon him with terrible severity; of the two calm, supercilious expectants; of the old man without, looking in, and smoking his pipe with so ineffable a contentment,—is distinct and complete in itself, and quietly forcible. The small, minutely distinct piece of 'Dotheboy's Hall' is characteristic and well painted; but reminds one too much of the parent caricature sketch of Phiz: remembrances of whom are anything but satisfactory, or agreeable.

In his 'Country Cousins,' Mr. Redgrave has re-issued from out the slough of false sentiment, in which he has during the last few years been labouring. There are here no cheap vulgar tangibilities introduced. The obviousnesses of mere prosaic story-telling are not pressed upon us. The picture, as is usual with this

artist, is very neatly and cleverly painted, as regards execution ; and the suggestion of character is good. But this is not much *more* than a suggestion ; the generic suggestion of individual realities. It is all well to a certain point. But beyond this point, no advance is made. It is in vain to look for the seal of high individualization.

Another of the younger men, whose productions now enforce notice from the exhibition-goer, is E. M. Ward ; whose manifestation is ever that of very salient general talent and artistic power : whatever else be missing. Something is missing, however. The highest achievement in the direction chosen by him,—that of minor history, the *socially* historic and dramatic,—is not essayed. He would paint modes rather than passions, manners rather than men. Costume necessarily occupies an important place in his compositions, but is made more of even, than there is call for. If Frith betray a tendency to *lean* somewhat on the capabilities of an effective costume, Ward is absorbed in them. Of incident and action his pictures are full, sometimes bewilderingly ; and without any prevailing, specifically clear, informing unity of feeling. There is the pervading air of character, of general character ; but no strong perception of particular, no strong spirit of individual human realization evinced. His cavaliers are all handsome ; his high ladies, faultlessly fair. His chief performance of this year, 'Highgate Fields during the Great Fire,' exemplifies all these attributes ; at the same time that there is not, perhaps, so broad an atmosphere of talent about it, as was impressed upon his last year's picture. It is scarcely an advance ; though, it is to be noted, it has this merit of leaning to more tangible human interest. The two episodes, made to stand for the general scene, are not very essentially relevant, nor very succinctly told ; nor with very forcible appropriateness of action in some of the characters engaged ; though others again are very striking and effective. Accordantly, too, with that deficiency of general power of individualization noticed, there is some repetition of already familiar types.

F. Goodall, an artist of unequal manifestation, nor altogether steady aim, has by no means equalled his fine merry-making of the last exhibition ; a work, indeed, in which he far surpassed his ordinary self. It was a worthy rival of Frith's companion-picture ; full of incident, and thought, and expression. The pervading feeling of the 'Emigrant Departure,' as it has been with the generality of his performances, is not so unaffectedly genuine and healthful. The artistic execution stands in much the same category. This, though effective and forcible, is somewhat strained and laboured. The difficulties in colour, moreover, of the particular effect chosen, are not mastered.

Apart from this small body of successful, consistent workers : in a field affording full and available scope for healthful exertion,—for the reaching of expression, and action, and passion, of humour, of poetry ; stand such minor spirits of beauty, as the academician, Uwins, and his younger companion, R. M'Innes. To these, in the aspect of *subject*, the less refined executive artist, Goodall, may well lead : as fluctuating between the two classes ; not altogether sure of his mark, as the subject matter of his discourse is concerned, or in spirit constant. These two, in their several but analogous fashions, are possessed of an actual measure of delicate aspiration after beauty, and the educing of sentiment, in somewise falling within the range of the domestic. This, however, is not sufficiently deep, or self-subsisting and consistent, to find vent in renderings of home-bred matter, or within the working-field of home-bred life and feeling ; demanding for its satisfaction, the excitement of alien influences, and the facility of foreign picturesqueness. Seeking within one exclusive range for material, such men will, in the end,—as in fact it has been seen with Uwins,—come to be absolutely walled up therein, without hope of release ; and more tangibly be betrayed into the weakness, characteristic of all secondary artists, in whatever field, self-repetition : that perennial singing of the same song, under many disguises and various, beyond which very pure and noble artists and poets have never been able to advance. The two we are now discussing, are men with an individuality of their own ; and capable of expressing it. Their merit is not high ; yet it is merit. Uwins's vintage scene is a more complete and articulate utterance in his characteristic strain, than we have of late received from him : having incident, and feeling, and characteristicness ; with the artist's wonted refinement of execution. To be sure, these perfect-profiled women, and these handsome workmen, are but *painter's Italian* ; not actual, God-made, divine suggestions. Yet about the general scene there floats an individual atmosphere ; an atmosphere of character and suggestiveness : fresh, free, and truthful-seeming. In one of the two contributions of M'Innes, 'A Summer's Afternoon on the Lido,' we have infused more of actual character : general and specific. A clear sparkling joy freely runs through the piece ; and marks it as a whole. The rendering is, in fact, perfect : as of a quiet, retired merry-making ; after the Italian version. There is the impress of complete, unaffected abandonment to the innocent pleasure of the hour, in these careless, dancing, and sitting, and reposing figures. In these loving young ones, some bashful and distant, others free and confiding, there is a delightful freshness ; in some, the piquant suggestion of cha-

racter, or a careless hinting at domestic feeling. Altogether, in this little piece, is reached the very consummation of the beauty of the simply pretty:—of prettiness and something more; of prettiness carried beyond itself. And *genuine prettiness* is something; far better than false, ungenuine strainings after grander things. We are not of those, that contemn the reapers of the pretty: because, forsooth, it is not something else. If thus much be quietly reached, not spasmodically caricatured, we are content with the gift—as far as it goes. And nature justifies us. Every pleasing or stimulative landscape scene does not rise into the beautiful; nor every suggestive piece of feminine life.

At the head, as regards seniority, of a class of men working in the field of the dramatic and scenic; of clever artistic execution, and of general talent, but of not much more; men with one eye to the doing something good, and the other to the Art Union; stands an artist who once promised better things, but whom fortune has spoiled, one therefore that could not have had originally very much for fortune to spoil: Charles Landseer. ‘Henrietta Maria’s assisting at the toilette of Mlle. Montpensier,’ was not a very important or significant matter; nor one, through the representation of which, much was to be gained. But it presented a fair opportunity for the clever painting of jewels and millinery, and for general elaboration of inanities; therefore, was adopted. ‘Queen Margaret and the Robber of Hexham,’ offered more scope, though not of a very recondite kind. But this has not been taken advantage of. The neat, well got up robber, with his plate of ‘refreshment,’ is on his knees, an inch or two distant from the queen; but patiently waiting till she shall have become cognizant of his existence. She, indeed, looks over his head very calmly and unmeaningly; unheeding him: evidently, neither hungry, nor grateful. The general artistic workmanship of the associate, Elmore, is not only very clever, but possessed moreover, of life, and feeling. His drawing is often graphic and effective; his execution able, though painfully elaborate of surface. Yet he is *but* of the Clever. He revels in the scenic; yet reaches not more than the striking and bustling, and the expression of dumb show. Nor in his human realizations, can he rise much above the beauty of the painter’s version of the Barber’s Block; with variations of posture and incident; but substantial repetition, is *infinitum*. That repetition of favourite types, so common among the highest artists, becomes, of course, very prominent in painters of this class. Men such as Egg and H. N. O’Neill stand lower; but within the same range of the Clever: only yet more fervent worshippers of the beauty of the Barber’s Block, and the expressive action of dumb show; faithful aspirers too, more

especially, the former, after that finish, which rests in the polish of the surface.

Among the leading, more refined examples of this class, Frank Stone, it is to be noted, has at length emerged this year, we hope finally, from within the bounds of that pretty piece of sentiment on which he has rung so many changes : like a child, pleased with the jingling of his new toy ; who is not satisfied, till he has satiated himself with its ringing,—and every one else. It is in truth pity, so clever and fine-handed an artist should not be more fertile in ideas. He has now, however, taken a sufficiently wide leap ; adopting a scriptural rendering,—one, from some unknown subtle influence, among the stock favourites in the academy. His ‘Christ and the Sisters of Bethany,’ is according to the artist’s wont, well painted ; though with too much obvious elaboration. And there is the *suggesting* of feeling : this again, fixed half-way, amid elaboration, rather than developed into character. And so the real thing is not reached. And anything less here is not of great worth.

P. F. Poole is an artist, not to be placed in juxta-position with any of the class last noticed. By subject and general character of working, he belongs to that of such men as F. R. Pickersgill. Yet is he *beside* this latter ; not *of* it. Whether he will ever rise above the sphere of Talent, we know not. The power manifested within a certain mannered range, though great, is rather purely artistic,—in the secondary sense,—and general, than individual and specific. He has now followed up his able, though inadequate prize picture of the Westminster Hall exhibition, by a less pretentious, half-historic piece, falling more within the scope of his capability : the subject, Duke Robert’s first sight of the Peasant Girl Arlète, as with her companions, linen-washing. The drawing is very vigorous ; the colouring, ambitious ; full of feeling and truth in parts, and effective ; but scarce successful or truthful as a whole. The difficulty of the encompassing strong green of the trees, is not altogether overcome. The group of female figures, not indeed of the Barber’s Block beauty, rather of an individual and effective, though mannered type, savours too much of one model ;—as of studies of the same figure, in various positions, and with various arrangements of draperies. The general action and particular attitudes are well conceived ; as far as artistic effect is concerned. Yet ’tis pity these ladies are only making believe to wash,—and this, a very slight make-believe,—and that there is not given, more of a suggestion of an actual stream. By a different arrangement of the composition, this might have been compassed.

Another of the successful Westminster Hall competitors, C. Lucy, the obtainer of one of the third class prizes, has contributed a

fellow to his prize performance ; in the ' Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers : ' confirming us in the opinion we had formed, that on the whole, this artist's pictures are, *as yet*, scarcely fit subjects for prizes. The general effect of the action is as weak, as the colouring itself ; though there be evinced a *tendency* to feeling, in incident and action. Armitage, again, all along the triumphant competitor at Westminster Hall, the pet of the Commissioners, the fascinating, ill-conceived *Bottom*, with the fairy dispensers of good things in those venerable precincts, has come out with great salience,—of inefficiency : worthy of his alien studies ; and affording a significant comment on that uninformed mass of bad taste and irrelevance, which last year carried away one of the first prizes. Even the general craftsmanly talent, however, there put forth in discordant sort, is wanting in his ' Nelson.'

With Charles Landseer, Elmore, and the others of their class, we entered on that range of artists, by whom we begin to find disclosed, somewhat of relative poverty of thought, and inadequacy of feeling. But with them, such short-comings are united to considerable artistic power. In those beneath, where the latter attribute becomes less obvious of manifestation, that measure of earnestness, and actuality of embodiment, the presence of such will ever, to some superficial extent, ensure, is, of course, wholly missed. With Lucy, again, we enter upon the more inartificial display in the human realizations, of that transcendent neatness, and impossible, and unamiable polish of outward personal appearance, into which, more artistically, such men as Elmore are betrayed ; but the relial on which in the crowd below, runs riot. The hair now becomes *very* well oiled, and very smooth ; skin, very clean and glossy ; garments, very neat and new,—quite evidently, fresh from the tailor's. Work-y-day, unstudio-like realizations of externals belong indeed, only to the highest artist. But, the lower we descend among the clever men, the more do we find their conceptions, or the hintings of conceptions, which may have visited them, spoiled, through misdirected care on this head,—excess of regard for trivial extrinsic matters : because, perhaps, about higher matters, the painter may be less capable of caring. Points which should have been subordinately significant, become all-engrossing and offensive.

More scope for the exhibition of mere cleverness is afforded, within the compass of the dramatically-scenic, than within that of the purely domestic. In this latter, far higher requisites must be called into play ; or stark naught, or worse than naught will be reached. By the generality of the mediocre among our exhibitors, essaying renderings falling within this two-fold category, the capabilities of the scenic are very judiciously, the more

commonly taken advantage of. And, quite consistently, the efforts of this class are the more successful. There is a good deal of very clever painting of dress ; with the occasional suggestion of incident and action. Of the simply domestic itself, too, gleams of nice feeling may, here and there, be detected, in some slight, unpretentious performance. Within the range of the 'historic' and 'poetic,' and sentimental, at the least no larger a mass of matter, wide of the mark, is this year presented, than ordinarily ; perhaps not so large. Of course, there is to be found a sufficiency of instances, in regard to would-be poetical translations—the poet quoted, to give proof of the painter's *intention*,—where the *picture* occurs in the catalogue, not in the exhibition. And there is no lack of historical adaptations, from which it is but just to acknowledge, there is assuredly experienced not the remotest hurtful *touching* of the matter in hand ; our own preconception of the particular scene or action remaining undisturbed, and uninjured. But the casual visitor would do well to bear in mind, that, after excepting the dashing performances—it may be in craftsmanship, clever, it may be failures unredeemed,—of some few veteran incompetents, possessing a larger or smaller measure of power of brush, and nothing more ; with a few other showy, empty meretricious productions of successful art-union caterers ; these ambitious essays are the works of but yet rudimentary learners, the really, not figuratively young men of the academy. These are here wildly experimentalizing, and guessing out something to do ; feeling their way : some, to ultimate professional portrait-painting ; some to drawing-tutorships ; some, to earning their livelihood in other after modes than that of artistic exertion at all ; some, to doing fine things in the end, in this very direction itself,—to becoming, after much patient toil, and combat with artistic difficulties, the Copes and Pickersgills of a remote future. For, in fact, the *rising men*, it has been well said,—those, that is, the general public, begin to know something about, and become familiar with,—in art as in literature, are, for the most part, very steady, respectable fathers of families.

In their reading, our young artists may, perhaps, be affirmed to be slightly amending. This shows a tendency to become more various. We do not ourselves remember a single subject from the 'Vicar of Wakefield,' nor more than one from the 'Sentimental Journey.' The Don Quixote episode of Dorothea, indeed, is not as yet forgotten. And some particular passages from Spenser, doing duty not only in every year's catalogue, but in every part of the catalogue, we should conceive, the Messrs. Clowes had up in standing type. It is really remarkable, however,—without discredit to the artists,—how, when a

specific quotation occurs to one, it occurs to many. There seems to hang a fatality about the matter. The passage from Wordsworth, for instance, on which Leslie founds *his* new poem, meets us again at No. 452 in the catalogue, of which the canvass realization, we regret to say, continues yet unknown to us.

Of the remaining features of the exhibition—landscape, portrait, sculpture—we have left ourselves no space to speak; nor, of the two latter, is much speech needed, save it were in the way of homily and exhortation. Of landscape—as a matter of which the due consideration is somewhat neglected, both by the hanging committee and the generality of visitors—we fain would have had something to say; more especially about those minor landscapists, whose performances mostly adorn the floor, and sometimes the ceiling. By these, a considerable stock of nature-truth is annually contributed. Not, however, having the scope to treat on this matter of landscape adequately; commensurately with its interest and importance, or the occasion offered by it for thought, we will not discuss it at all. It may be sufficient to say, that as commonly, the performances in this direction are, for the most part, much nearer the mark than the average mass of those, where *human* nature is made the basis of exertion; inasmuch as the task, in the former case, the generality set themselves, of honest, unpretentious nature-rendering, is the more consistent and attainable. From the thoughtful, informing landscapists—the nature-*thinkers* as well as *renderers*—there is no such richness of display as in years past. Turner is no longer an exhibitor. Some of the great are no longer lives among us. And now that we have them not, Stanfield excepted, it does not seem very obvious, who will be the men to supply the place of these leading minds; though there be fine secondary spirits working in full vigour in this field; among these, one or two, who of late have risen to high notice and regard, and worthily.

On the whole, then, in a walk through our chief exhibition, something by the general observer is to be received—something of actual elevation, or of suggestiveness of mental action—something of thought, of feeling; some profit for all. And it were well, did he visit with the end of deriving thus much, rather than with that other, common, of satiating an empty *curiosity*. That thought, indirectly to be excited by all art manifestations in the minds of the few, conversant with art's requirements, and solicitous for their living fulfilment, is not so open a field for all. But thought direct is, by those of accessible, simple mind, and hearts sensitive to beauty and the natural language of art, to be received from every actual realization of such life. The English school—deficient in the mass, though not as individuals are regarded, in

some leading artistic requirements, and in some directions characterized on the whole but by emptiness and inanity,—has yet generally, as represented by a few of its workings, been moreregnant with *thought*, than any other modern school. In some among these latest of its productions already noticed, this character is well sustained. To those, indeed,—and they are many, and wholly without the pale of the thoughtless and obtuse of being,—to those, by nature incompetent to the reception of the influences, ranking among the most ennobling of humanity, with their resultant profit and delight, included within the range of art-developments, developments having their ground in nature and its manifestations, concluding with nature and its appeals, conventional only in form,—to those, we cannot promise such thought from this source. To all else, more fortunate of original temperament, and habits acquired, and not factitiously reduced to a stupid, reverent self sufficiency, and tacit callousness of apprehension, we can. And it is such openness to the receiving of art-influences, art-thought, art-feeling, we would wish to see growing up among us. Let there be reverence for art in its higher, living realizations—consideration for the mere attempts and blind strivings. For a large mass of the productions of our annual exhibitions, some can find no better criticism, than a passing laugh. Much, perhaps, is worthy of nothing better—rather, of something worse. But the general application of the test is in the last degree dangerous. The best of us are open to strictures on this head. The mood is catching; the trick is easy; the apprehended failure, may be, so tangible. And yet often, more thought and intellectual labour have been expended on the production laughed at, than hundreds of those laughing, during their entire lives, have in an abstract way, been guilty of.

And let it be remembered, art-*universal* in any of its manifestations—poetic, plastic, articulate,—is not restricted in its appeals—is not the vain heir-loom of the idler, the voluptuous, the frivolous, the technically schooled; but the common broad heritage of all, of all willing to enter and take possession: more specially, of all, of thought, and feeling, and elevated seekings. By these latter, alone, it is to be profitably cultured, and turned to highest account. In the hands of those others, it will become but a showy, glittering pleasure-ground; full of fair-seeming growths, but unsalutary, or noxious. In the hands of these, it will bear noble, healthful fruits; and a yet higher, fresher, freer beauty therewith be reached. Moreover, art-*formative*, though in itself and its specific realizations the most determinate, is, in its attendant action and hearings, of all art-manifestations, one among the most indeterminate, and large of speech; allowing the fullest scope for free profitable assimilation by the receiver.

It is essentially, in spirit, of no one creed, of no one sect ; however much some among its past manifestations may have been influenced by creeds, in *form*. Serious thought and elevated influences are to be gathered by all, husbanded by all ; with individual liberty of interpretation and appliance.

ART. III.—*The History of Auricular Confession*. By Count C. P. de Lasteyrie. Translated under the Author's Special Sanction. By Chas. Cocks, B.L., Professor Brevete of the University of France. Two vols. London : R. Bentley. 1848.

THE noble author of this remarkable work seems not to have escaped the errors of Pantheism, so prevalent on the Continent. He does not reject Christianity, but regards it as the best of 'revealed religions,' placing its principles in striking contrast with those of Romanism. We are sorry that a man of such venerable age and large experience, who has evidently devoted a great portion of his time to religious investigations, which he has pursued with a good moral purpose, has not arrived at the conclusion that Christianity is *the* revealed religion, and that the Bible is the only book which God has inspired. The Old Testament is treated by him with little reverence ; for he speaks of Isaiah rejecting the dogmas of Moses. These sceptical sentiments are contained only in a few allusions, chiefly in the introductory pages. We feel bound to refer to them, not merely for the purpose of expressing disapprobation, but also that the reader may be aware of the position of the author, and see that it is no ordinary work of controversy he is called upon to consider—no professional attack on the stronghold of the papal system, to which protestant prejudice might impart undue asperity, or a misleading bias.

We do not perceive in these volumes traces of the artistic hand of a Michelet or a Guinet. The materials are badly arranged and loosely put together. But they are valuable, the result of much careful and honest examination. We regard it as one of the most useful of those works which the revival of popery, and the arts of Jesuitism, have lately called forth in France. It furnishes a seasonable counteraction to the insidious and dangerous progress, to the bold and arrogant pretensions of Romanism, which every man is bound to expose and resist, as he values the welfare, present and future, of his fellows. Facts, the indubitable facts of history, are among the best weapons he can use for this purpose. An appeal to '*fruits*'

is a most convincing argument, when applied to systems, as well as to persons.

With the development of the apostacy, came the prevalence of *Auricular Confession*. It is the very heart of the catholic system—the source of its energies,—its confidence, and influence. Catholics boast of its power in regulating the unruly passions of men—in restraining from vice, in subduing and reforming the impenitent, and bringing wanderers back to the paths of rectitude and the favour of God. For a thousand years it prevailed more or less over all the nations of Christendom. Its force has been exerted under every possible advantage. It has reigned from the palace to the cottage, and been backed by all the powers of this world, as well as the assumed sanctions of heaven, in which its subjects have firmly believed. We have, therefore, the most ample means of judging of its effects on mankind, religiously, morally, and politically considered.

Fifty years ago very few in France went to confession. But Napoleon and his successors down to the present time, 'having considered it their interest to restore, not the sentiments of a rational and evangelical religion, but the mechanical and superstitious practices of the *ancien regime*, the result has been among many persons, a factitious opinion which has brought confession into vogue, without however, their believing in it or practising it.' But the friends of truth in that country, we are assured, feel bound to contend against it as contrary to true religion, intellectual liberty, and the progress of civilization. In doing this they prove that it has generated fanaticism, fostered vice, given impunity to crime, ministered to the lusts of despotism, perverted morality, and fearfully abused Christianity:—

'To know,' says Count de Lasteyrie, 'what are the pretended results of confession, it is proper to examine whether any improvement has been effected since it has come into more general use, especially among those who are its defenders. Have the despotism of princes, the servility and avidity of courtiers and public functionaries, the corruption and even the venality of legislators, the rapacity of monied men and monopolists, dishonesty in commerce, and the avarice of the clergy disappeared, or even diminished in any sensible degree? Far otherwise; we perceive a recrudescence everywhere, especially since material interests have been almost officially substituted for morality, and corruption has become a principle of state. It is, then, to cheat the people that they speak in one manner and act in another. Do we ever see priests openly attacking the misdeeds of those who go in crowds to applaud their eloquence and pastoral zeal, and fling themselves at their feet in a confessional? No: they must treat gently the great ones of the world, wink at the laxity of their morals, and maintain the old adage, '*non caste, sed caute*,' and they must absolve them every day, notwithstanding

their persevering in their sins. Such are the results of this confession, so useful and so necessary for salvation !'—p. xiii.

In his preliminary observations, our author ably defends himself against the objection made by the fastidious, that scandalous facts ought not to be published, and he thus turns the tables against the objectors :—

'There is another kind of scandal which has latterly excited the indignation of the public, that occasioned by priests, monks, and even bishops, who have exposed in works on morality and theology, designed for the instruction of seminarists, all the lewdness that the most licentious and audacious casuists have imagined, to guide young seminarists in the practice of confession. It is impossible to feel too indignant, when we see that these works are intended for the instruction of some 50,000 priests or monks, who may daily propagate, in every part of France, ideas and practices of unparalleled depravity. Such great evils require strong remedies. It is not sufficient to accuse vaguely, by insinuated and deprecatory charges, to make the public feel all the seriousness of the evil. We must state, in textual terms, as far as decency, outraged by these authors, allows, the maxims professed in their works, whatever be our repugnance.'—p. xvii.

The history of confession dates from a very early period, and seems to have accompanied religion in every land. Wherever a supreme Ruler was recognised, his justice was dreaded ; and the conscience sought to disburden itself of guilt, and to escape from the agonies of remorse by confession to the offended power.

Confession thus regarded, seems to be a dictate of natural religion. The nature of sin was pretty accurately defined by the ancient philosophers, who made it to consist in the violation of the Divine law by thought, word, or deed. But a greater or less degree of culpability was ascribed to it in different religions, according to the spirit, prejudices, or errors of the founders, or the craft of the priesthood, who delighted in loading the conscience with ceremonial offences, in order to increase the demand for their tranquilizing agency. The priests of all false religions have invariably placed the violation of their own arbitrary enactments above the weightiest matters of the eternal law of God. They have cunningly played upon the human heart, distressed with the sense of responsibility and the dread of retribution, and perverted to their own aggrandizement what was seen to be a great want of our nature.

Hence the doctrine of penance and expiation for sin (borrowed, no doubt, in part from God's revelation to our first parents) which pervades the systems of Brahma and Zoroaster. The disciples of the former carried their bodily mortifications to a degree of shocking extravagance, furnishing unapproachable

models of ascetic perfection to the wildest anchorites of the middle ages. The latter was far more sober and rational in his teaching on this subject, and paid more regard to the appropriate means of moral reformation. The ideas of the Pythagoreans approached still nearer to the true doctrine of repentance, as laid down in the gospel. 'For this reason,' says Pythagoras, 'we must endeavour in all things not to sin, and when we have sinned, we must run to meet the penalty, as the only remedy for our faults, by correcting our temerity and folly with the salutary help of prudence and reason ; for after we have fallen from our state of innocence by sin, we recover it by repentance, and the good use we make of the penance with which God chastens us in order to restore us. With this agrees the teaching of Seneca and Epictetus, as well as other philosophers of antiquity.

The pagan priesthoods of the West, traded like those of the East, in the fears of the guilty conscience, and built up for themselves a tremendous power over the human mind, by undertaking the office of mediators, and assuming to be the heaven-appointed dispensers of pardon. Many of their worst maxims and practices were embraced in the system of modern Romanism. Auricular confession, in special cases, was not unknown to them. It was established early in the East, the native region of religion and of most of its abuses, and thence travelled to Europe. Turpin, in his *Histoire de Siam*, relates that it existed there. 'The Tolapoin hierarchy,' he says, 'seems as if it had taken ours for a model. Their priests have preserved auricular confession, which was never practised among the early Christians. On certain days they approach his ear, to make an avowal of their faults or weaknesses. Accordingly they are not surprised that Christians admit auricular confession ; but they cannot conceive how women can confide the secret of their fall to men, they are convinced that it is exposing them to the danger of prevaricating from the truth through modesty.'

'The Abbe Dubois, who gave a few years ago a good description of the institutions of the Indians, relates different manners and practices, by which those people obtain the remission of their sins. The *Gourons*, who are the directors of their consciences, can remit all the sins of those who, after falling prostrate before them, receive their benediction, which is equivalent to the absolution of our Roman catholic priests. The Indians have a great number of prayers, the recitation of which, more or less frequently repeated, effaces their sins. Lustral water, prepared by certain ceremonies, also blots out impurity and sins.'—p. 38.

The Sad-Der, or sacred book of the Parsees, says regarding

him who has eaten human flesh, 'He must go and cast himself at the feet of a doctor (priest), and intreat him to recite in his favour the penitential prayer, and give him absolution of his sin. The priest whispers into his ear the following words :—' O Lord, forgive him all his sins, all his misdeeds, all his negligences.' 'Religion commands that every day, as soon as light begins to dawn, the priest shall make to God certain oblations for all the sins you have committed, and that you yourself shall also perform that duty.' Lastly, to complete the parallel with popery, a sovereign pontiff, *summus pontifex*, has the power of shutting and opening the gates of Paradise, and this power he receives from God.'—p. 40. There are specific institutions in this sacred book regarding the duty of confession, which are almost word for word identical with those given in Roman catholic books of devotion.

Confession at the point of death is practised even now among the Parsis or Guebres, the descendants of the primitive disciples of Zoroaster. 'When they are sick,' says Tavernier, 'they call for their priests, to whom they make a kind of confession, and the priests order them to do alms and other good works to obtain forgiveness of their sins.'

The sacred books of the Boudhists formally prescribe confession as a religious dogma. In Thibet, the clergy, and almost all the laity choose a *lama*, or spiritual father, and they accuse themselves before him in a general manner of their sins, and receive absolution from him. According to the Spanish historians, there existed among the natives of Peru, a form of confession which differed from that of the catholics, only in not requiring the avowal of sinful thoughts. 'It is very remarkable,' says the author, 'to find confession established, with only a slight modification in form, in almost all parts of the globe, even in places which have had no relation or communication with each other.'

This is not to be wondered at. Confession is a duty dictated by reason itself. It is the act of a noble mind, which abhors falsehood and hypocrisy. The consciousness of guilt, accompanied by true sorrow and a desire for amendment, naturally prompts an ingenuous confession, and an intense anxiety for pardon. Besides this, the society of which the offender is a member, which is compromised and scandalised by his conduct, properly demands reparation, and a public acknowledgment of the injury done.

Accordingly, this public confession was enjoined as a part of the discipline of the primitive churches. Members whose crimes were known to the public, went and accused themselves in the assembly of the faithful. They there testified their repentance,

and asked for pardon, which was granted to them after the fulfilment of the penance imposed by the elders, overseers, or bishops, with the formula of a few words, and the laying on of hands.

As the churches departed from their primitive simplicity, and imbibed more of the ascetic spirit from the systems of oriental philosophy, this penance became more severe and extravagant. The penitents stood under the church porches in an humble posture, covered with sackcloth and ashes. They groaned aloud, imploring forgiveness of their sins, and the indulgence and prayers of the congregation. They fell prostrate on the ground, smote their breasts, and kissed the feet of the bishops. The period of penance being ended, they were introduced into the church, and there, in presence of the elders, the widows, and all the people, they again manifested their regret for their transgressions, and recommended themselves to the prayers of the faithful.

The remission of sin thus granted, was not designed to affect the relation of the sinner to God, but to the church. The early fathers had no idea of usurping the throne of heavenly grace; for many centuries they taught the doctrine that none could forgive sins but God only, and that to him alone confession should be made, in order to his pardon—confession to men being demanded only when the publicity of the offence brought scandal on the church.

‘I do not require you,’ says Chrysostom, ‘to make a show of your sins and reveal them to men. Search your own conscience and lay bare its recesses to God. Why are you ashamed, and do you blush to confess your sins? Is it before a man who will despise you? Before an inferior who will divulge them? It is to your master, who takes care of you and cures your evils.’ He represents God as saying, ‘Discover to me alone your transgressions, so that I may remedy them, and you may be cured.’ Hilary and Basil teach that we must confess to none but God. The latter says, ‘if the power of remitting sins has been attributed to no one, as is certain, God alone can remit them.’ ‘Who,’ asks Tertullian, ‘remits sins but God alone?’ Ambrose well expresses the doctrine of the early church on this subject. ‘Men lend their ministry in the remission of sins, but not as having a right to absolve. They pray, and God pardons.’

These views prevailed more or less down to the time of Innocent III. ‘How does it happen that we find no mention of auricular confession in the acts of the Councils of Europe, Asia, and Africa, nor in those writings relative to the Christian religion, which appeared in the earlier ages of the church; whereas

since Innocent III., there are scarcely any that do not speak of this confession, and recommend it as a Divine institution? We see no where that, in the peril of death or in times of persecution, they ever had recourse to confession, as was the case according to this institution, and as we find numerous instances of it, especially in the accounts of the missionaries.'—i. p. 87.

Public confession was preserved till the church became too corrupt to endure it. A deacon, named Nectarius, having confessed publicly an intrigue he had with a Roman lady, occasioned such scandal, that the clergy, to avoid in future the discredit which such avowals might bring upon them, abolished public confession. Another reason was the fear of scaring away from the church multitudes, who would not subject themselves to the danger of exposure. 'The sins of those who come forward for penance,' says St. Leo, 'are not always of a nature not to dread publicity. We must, therefore, lay aside this custom, which cannot on this account be approved of, in order not to drive away a great many persons who blush to avow their faults, or who fear to unfold their conduct to their enemies, and to be exposed to the vengeance of the laws. (Epist. 80, ad Episc. Campgn.)

In those times, monks confessed their faults to one another, after the manner ordered by the apostle James. There was seldom a priest in the monasteries. 'The Pauls, Antonies, Hilarions, Ambroses, Chrysostoms, Jeromes, and Augustines, never went to confess at the feet of a priest.'

The nuns had a similar practice among themselves, and the abbesses formally gave absolution, with imposition of hands. They went even so far as to absolve men, an usurpation which was forbidden by a capitulary of Charlemagne:—'We have been informed that certain abbesses, contrary to the usage of the holy church, bless, impose hands, and make the sign of the cross upon the heads of men, and that they give the veil to virgins, with the sacerdotal benediction. Know most holy fathers, that you ought each of you in your parish to forbid it.'—(Cap. 76, lib. 1.)

A council held at Paris in 824, complains that women gave the communion to the people. The assumption of such functions by the female sex in those times, is by no means surprising, when we find five abbesses sitting in the council of Beaconsfield, in England, in 694, and put on the same footing as ecclesiastics; when the abbesses of Fontevrault, or Remirement had ecclesiastical privileges; when the nun of Las Hualgas, in the city of Burgos, exercised episcopal jurisdiction over twelve convents and fifty villages, and took upon herself to assemble

synods, to preach, and to confess. Some of them appointed delegates to hear the confessions of the nuns, and reserved to themselves cases of conscience, like the bishops.

This usage continued so long, that we find it prohibited by Innocent III., who finally established auricular confession. The reason he assigns for the prohibition is, that the holy virgin never heard confession or administered the sacraments ! Some of the most eminent casuists of the middle ages, laid down the same principle regarding confession and baptism, namely, that a layman, or even a woman, might absolve the dying, if no priest could be had.

'The custom of confession between laymen, was perpetuated and existed in some churches even as late as the beginning of the seventeenth century, in spite of the councils and the order of popes and bishops. In vain was it prohibited by Paul IV. in 1595, and by Gregory XIII. in 1574 ; since Clement VIII. was obliged to reiterate the same prohibition, in a bull published at the end of the sixteenth century. In this bull he thus invokes the arms of the inquisition, to abolish the last remnant of the people's priesthood in the church of Rome.

'We decree by this institution, to be for ever valid, that whoever shall be found to have celebrated mass, or administered the sacrament of confession, without having been promoted to the sacred order of the priesthood, be immediately given up by the judges of the holy inquisition, or by the ordinary of the place, to the civil power, in order that the secular judges may inflict upon him the punishment he deserves.'—Vol. i. p. 107.

The church of Rome delights in the exercise of her spiritual power, and the infliction of eternal vengeance. She is continually brandishing the spiritual sword ; and yet no church has been so often obliged to fall back upon the civil powers, to give effect to her authority. She has great faith in carnal weapons, and instead of ruling the body through the mind, she would subjugate the conscience by physical force. Fleury laments the loss of the primitive discipline, which, without aid from the rulers of this world, kept proud men in penance fifteen or twenty years for a single sin, exposed to public contempt, prostrate on the church floor, clothed in sackcloth, etc. These humiliations would not be endured by the savages of the middle ages ; but others were substituted, more accordant with the temper of the times. The monks, unable by ordinary means to keep their rebellious bodies under, had recourse to flagellation. Debarred from all useful exertions, from all the fields where charity might exert her purifying influence, they made violent efforts to subdue the pent up energies of their perverted nature. Hence the rod became in their estimation, the most effective means of grace. In the thirteenth century this practice became general

in the church. It was a current maxim that 'there exist two things which preserve man from sin in an admirable manner; namely, frequent confession, and the scourge employed still more frequently.' An old Chronicle says, 'Let Robert and Hervé do public penance; and being naked and barefoot, and holding rods in their hands during the procession which takes place in the church of Chartres, let them receive the lashes from the hand of the bishop, *according to the usage of the church.*'

At Soissons, in the middle of the ninth century, we see bishops armed with rods, whipping husbandmen, serfs, and slaves, and sometimes even their own priests. This ancient custom prevails in Ireland to the present day, only the priests, not the bishops are the flagellators. We know not whether there be reserved cases, where aristocratic backs are whipped by apostolic hands. It would be interesting to see Dr. M'Hale inflicting this sort of penance on Lord Shrewsbury.

St. Louis of France might serve as a model, 'That good king,' says the Chronicle, 'led so good a life, that he confessed his sins every Friday to his priest, and after his confession, stripped his shoulders and caused himself to be flogged by the said priest, with five little iron chains, which he carried with him in a box.' In the same manner, another allowed himself to be whipped on the shoulders by the hands of Pope Clement VIII., but he suffered by proxy, in the persons of his ministers, M. D'Ossat, and M. de Péron. 'While the choristers were chanting the psalm, *miserere mei, Deus*, the pope, at every verse, struck again and again with the rod, the shoulders of the proxy, as well as those of the persons who accompanied him.' By special favour, the nature of the penance was not mentioned in the bull of absolution.

It was to acquire and maintain power like this that auricular confession was established, and that it has been relied on as the corner-stone of the papal fabric. In the primitive churches, when persons received absolution, the formula was deprecatory, and conceived in these words—'May Jesus Christ absolve you, or may Almighty God grant you absolution and remission.' Here there was no intrusion of the minister into the place of God, he did not usurp the throne of grace, or the tribunal of justice. But the 'tribunal of confession' is the common phrase now in the church of Rome, and there the priest is taught to say—'*Ego te absolvo, in nomine,*' etc.

Innocent III. caused auricular confession to be decreed by the council of Lateran, in 1215, and made submission to this judicial power of the priesthood universally obligatory. The ordinance is to the following effect:—'Let every one of the

faithful of either sex, arrived at the age of reason, confess with exactness to the priest of the parish, and without witnesses, all his (other) sins, at least once a year, and make every effort to perform the penance that will be imposed, receiving devoutly, at least at Easter, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper,' etc. The same pope commands physicians 'to warn the patients they visit, in order that they may send and fetch a physician of souls,' and engages the bishops to excommunicate such physicians as neglected this duty.

The Council of Trent, composed of monks and priests devoted to the bishop of Rome, confirmed, as a matter of course, the decree of the council of Lateran, and pronounced an anathema, against all opposers, who were then very numerous:—'If any one says that penance is not in the catholic church, a true sacrament for the faithful, and that this sacrament was not instituted by Christ, our Lord, to reconcile us with God, let him be accursed.'—(Lesson 14, Can. 1.)

It is true that in very early times, some of the clergy arrogated to themselves the right of absolving from sin, for Jerome in explaining the passage, 'whatsoever ye bind,' etc., has these words:—'The bishops and priests, misunderstanding this passage, and influenced by a pride similar to that of the Pharisees, believe they have the right to condemn the innocent, and absolve the guilty, whereas, God has no regard to the sentence of priests, but much rather to the conduct of the guilty.'

It is an awful function which the priest assumes, in judging of the soul's condition in the sight of God, apportioning punishment for sin, and fixing the everlasting destiny of a fellow-sinner. Yet Bellarmine argues that his act in absolving must be *judicial*, for if not,' says he 'it can be just as well given by a layman—nay, by a woman, by a child, even by an infidel, by the devil himself, or by a parrot, if taught the words in which absolution is given.'

Our author applies this logic to baptism, and justly objects that, since it is lawful to have it administered, in case of necessity, by a layman or a woman, it might just as well be administered by the devil or a parrot.

The penitential system of Romanism has been, in all ages, an utter failure as a means of moral reform. The frequency and facility of absolution produced facility in yielding to temptation. Guilt so easily expiated was lightly incurred. Penance was seldom accompanied by repentance; and nobody seemed to expect that amendment of life should follow remission of sins. The natural effect of this system, in hardening the conscience, may be seen in the following injunction of a Council of Toledo:—'As we have perceived that several persons in the churches of Spain did

penance, not according to the canons, but in the most shameful manner, so that they asked for a reconciliation every time they chose to sin, it is in order to put an end to such execrable presumption, that the holy council enjoins,' etc.

The plan of substitution, or indulgence, made matters worse. Thus a rich man, who supported a great number of dependents, could in three days wipe out a seven years' fast. He commissioned 840 individuals to fast for him during three days, eating only bread, and abstaining from meat and wine. (Spelman, Council I. i. p. 443, etc).

'It had been imagined,' says Fleury, 'but I know not on what grounds, that every sin of the same species merited its penance; that if a homicide, for instance, was to be expiated by a penance of ten years, it would require one hundred years for ten homicides, which rendered penance impossible, and the canons ridiculous. There were psalms, genuflexions, lashes of discipline, alms, pilgrimages, and all actions which may be done without one's being converted. Thus, by reciting psalms, or by flagellation, one redeemed in a few days several years of penance.'

The monks undertook to do penance for others, sometimes through charity, but generally for money. Fleury says, that 'the lashes which the holy monk gave himself for a sinner were not a medicinal penance for such sinner.' (Discours sur l'Histoire Eccl. iii. p. 16.) It is strange that any one could believe, that such a corrupt adaptation of religion to the tastes of wealthy profligates, ought to be regarded as a means of grace.

Not only has auricular confession failed to restrain vice, but those who have considered its practical influence in catholic countries, do not hesitate to declare that it has greatly tended to demoralize society. It has done this by the books which it has occasioned, and which have been published with the sanction of the highest authorities, to guide young people of both sexes in the examination of conscience, making them familiar with vice in its most disgusting and abominable forms;—books which only monks could have written and sacerdotal libertines circulated—unless we suppose their authors and their followers the victims of theological insanity.

'Everybody,' says our author, 'has heard of the famous work, 'De Matrimoniis,' in which Sanchez, unveiling the mysteries of marriage, has perverted them to a degree of shameful turpitude. This writing, a true school of debauchery, printed for the first time in 1592, and dedicated to the Archbishop of Granada, was approved of by the ecclesiastical censorship even with *delight*, as we find in the licence where we meet with these words:—'*Legi, perlegi, maxima cum voluptate.*' This work of Sanchez, the Jesuit, has been the depository from which his brethren, manufacturers of cases of conscience, have drawn the licentious details

with which they pollute the seminaries, and the minds of those who are appointed to direct consciences.'—Vol. i. p. 213.

Another casuist, John Benedicti, a Franciscan friar, caused a book on Sin to be published at Lyons, in 1584, with a dedication to the holy virgin, 'which would not be accepted, in these days, by a harlot of Paris or London.' The casuists took pleasure in diving into the most hidden mysteries of religion, and assimilating them to the animal functions inherent in human nature; and they put cases of conscience and questions, so very disgusting, upon such unheard-of crimes, that we should not dare to mention them in any language. They refer to the state of morality in an age of the grossest ignorance and barbarism, but they are reproduced in the present day, and obtain an immense circulation, especially in France.

Among these is a 'Compendium of Moral Theology,' etc., by Moullet, printed with permission of Superiors, in 1834. This work recommends principles subversive of all morality and disruptive of all social bonds. In 1841, the Bishop of Mons published 'Institutiones Philosophicæ ad usum Collegiorum et Seminariorum,' etc. This work represents the teaching of Ultra Montane France, which embraces nearly the whole priesthood of that nation. It contrasts strangely with the letters of the present Archbishop of Paris, regarding the Revolution, and shows how pliant these Jesuits are, in their efforts to retain power and influence, at any cost of principle.

This bishop terms the sovereignty of the people an impious principle, which has given rise to deplorable calamities. That all things may be lawfully done by a legitimate prince—that an illegitimate one, or an usurper, may be assassinated by any of the faithful, and a great deal more to this effect. In other respects, the work abounds in obscenity so gross, that it could not be quoted even under the veil of the Latin language. The eyes of the world are now fixed with the deepest interest on France, whose recent revolution has been so sudden, and complete. Were the masses of the people imbued with sound, moral principles, we should have no fear for the future. But when we recollect that so many of them are infidels, and that the consciences of the religious are, to so large an extent, under a *direction* which perverts them, we have misgivings which we are unwilling to entertain. France must have a moral regeneration before we can calculate very sanguinely on the effect of political institutions, however excellent.

The morbid anatomy of human nature, which young men are obliged to study, in order to qualify themselves for the priesthood, at an age when prurient curiosity is most awake, when the

passions are most excitable, must exercise a pernicious influence on their minds and morals, especially as they are excluded from society. And the questioning of women, on the rise and progress of their temptations and the details of their sins, would require more than the virtue of a Joseph. Fenelon must have been well aware of this danger, when he represents Mentor as pushing Telemachus into the sea, as the only means of rescuing him from the fatal influence of Calypso's charms. Granted that the woman comes to the confessional in the most penitent mood—full of reverence and confidence in the man to whom she is disclosing the most humiliating secrets,—her very embarrassment and tears will have for him an exciting interest, unless his heart is very cold indeed. If he sympathises, he sins: what a perilous position for a man to occupy every day in the year! And if the same man, as often happens, be a frequent visitor at evening parties—the gayest among the gay,—our assurance is still less that he will not fearfully abuse his trust. It is a total mistake to suppose, that the ascetic education of Roman catholic colleges will secure him against this. On the contrary, it increases his danger tenfold, and gives to every allurement the violent stimulant of novelty.

We do not deny that many priests are chaste, and that the powerful restraints which surround them in protestant countries, preserve them from notorious and scandalous immorality, which would, indeed, be fatal to their influence with their people. But where such restraints do not exist in such force, the consequences have been awful.

In 1556, the public voice of Spain accused certain priests of using the confessional for the most infamous purposes; and Paul iv., to put a stop to so injurious a scandal, ordered the Inquisition to investigate the matter. It being found that the abuse had widely spread over Christendom, other bulls were subsequently issued, to extend the inquiries. An edict published at Seville, in 1563, gave rise, we are told by Llorente, to such numerous denunciations, that the recorders of the holy office were no longer able to receive them, which necessitated a term of thirty days to be allowed to every female plaintiff, to come forward a second time. It took no less than 120 days to register all the denunciations! But the inquisitors, alarmed at this vast number of guilty persons and the scandal which was occasioned, resolved to abandon their undertaking, and renounced the prosecution of the delinquents. Indeed, there were in this vast crowd of females some very respectable persons, nay, some of illustrious birth. Ashamed of all that had taken place, they used to disguise themselves and muffle up their heads, in order to repair to the inquisitors, who occupied

the castle of Friana, for fear of being met and recognised by their husbands. In spite of these precautions, several of the latter were informed of what was going on, and this affair was nearly occasioning a great disturbance.'

Early in the seventeenth century fresh bulls were issued, and decrees commanding women to denounce the priests guilty of the still prevailing crime. One of them was in these words:— 'You shall declare if you know, that any confessor, priest, or friar—no matter of what rank—has, in the act of confession, either immediately before or after, on account or under pretence of confession, in the confessional or any other place, solicited or endeavoured to solicit, women, by inciting and provoking them to shameful and dishonest actions, or has had with them illicit and scandalous conversations; and we exhort the confessors, and command them to warn all such of their female penitents as may have been solicited in this manner, of the obligation imposed upon them, to denounce the said suborners, to the holy office, to which the knowledge of this species of offence expressly belongs.' It was in vain, that bulls and decrees and investigations and imprisonments and tortures were multiplied in Spain, the evil could not be suppressed. Very slight punishments were inflicted on the guilty. They were sent to places where they were not known, forbidden to enter royal residences—or shut up in convents, and debarred from hearing confession during their lives. 'Yet we see but too often,' says Llorente, who was secretary of the inquisition, 'that these same prevaricators continue, by dint of prayers, promises, intrigues, and even hypocrisy, to get themselves reinstated by the Inquisition.'

The inquisition punished what they called heresy with dreadful severity, no matter how estimable the moral characters of their victims. 'This severity,' says Llorente, 'is the more shocking, as we see the inquisitors practising at the same time an extreme moderation, when there is any question about punishing the *prodigious number of infanticides* committed by the monks and nuns of Corella, the existence of which had been judicially proved.' 'Since the inquisition meddles with what passes in convents, it is surprizing that, after so many irregularities of this kind, *with which its archives are filled*, but of which decency does not permit us to give an account, it has not resolved to deprive monks of the direction of the convents of women.'—(Hist. del Inquis. t. 4, p. 33.) Among these trials is one of a Capuchin friar, who seduced thirteen out of a convent of seventeen nuns, of which he had charge, pretending that he had a commission from Jesus Christ, to lead them thus on to perfection! Of the four who escaped his snare, three were old, and one very ugly, and when the inquisitors asked him why it

happened, that such great virtue should be found in the thirteen young and beautiful ones, and not at all in the three old ones or in the ugly one, he replied, with blasphemous assurance, 'The Holy Spirit breathes wherever it will.'

It was the policy of these cowed wretches to carnalize everything spiritual, to work upon the fanaticism of ardent temperaments, exciting the imagination, and producing an exaltation of feeling which laid conscience asleep, and a credulity which made many of their victims firmly believe that in gratifying the libidinous passions of priests, they were doing God service! Even the blessed Saviour himself was made by them the object of the most abominable associations.

The second volume of this history of Auricular Confession, is chiefly occupied with the recital of such infamies, as were proved in courts of justice, freed, however, from indecency in details.

Some of the most remarkable of these are contained in the work entitled '*Vie de Scipion de Ricci, eveque de Pistoie et Preto,*' Bruxelles, 1825, 3 vols. 8vo, in which the pious and learned bishop presents us with the results of investigations ordered by the Grand Duke Leopold, in the monasteries of Tuscany. For the truly awful disclosures of these investigations, we must refer to the work itself. We shall, however, transcribe a few sentences from a letter written by the prioress of the Convent St. Catherine, at Pistoia:—'When the monks come to visit a sick person, it is their custom to sup with the nuns, to sing, dance, and play with them, and they sleep in the convent. Their maxim is, that God has forbidden hatred and not love. I affirm that they have the art of corrupting, not only the young and innocent, but even the most circumspect and knowing; and, without a miracle, no one can frequent their company without at length yielding to this species of diabolical temptation. The priests are the husbands of the nuns, and the lay brothers of the lay sisters. . . . Though secular priests are ever so wicked, they can never attain, in any respect, the wickedness of the friars: the artifices which the monks know how to employ, to impose on the world, are beyond all description.'

One of the maxims used to overcome modesty, was, that the greater the repugnance, the more meritorious the act, since virtue consists in self-denial. Like the rascally soldiers who seduce servants, and live upon their wages, as proved in the case of Annette Meyers, the rapacious monks in many cases deprived their veiled lovers of every thing, even the necessaries of life.

A considerable part of the second volume of Count de Lasteyrie's work, is occupied with well authenticated cases, giving an account of wickedness almost incredible, resulting from the

practice of auricular confession, and the 'direction' of nunneries by monks, particularly in the south of Europe. Some of these possess a deeply tragic interest, and exhibit a combination of lust and cruelty, which we should look for in vain among the most uncivilized nations.

An important portion of the work is devoted to 'Confession considered in its relation to Politics;' which is peculiarly seasonable at the present time, as showing how the priesthood has pandered to royal despotism, and how courtly confessors have advised the worst measures of oppression, which besotted rulers have adopted to their ruin. We also learn from these volumes how systematically confession, and all its kindred practices, have been used for the purpose of gratifying the avarice of the church. But we have already exceeded our space, and must conclude with cordially recommending this remarkable work to our readers. We are sorry there is so much of book making about it. The matter might be put into one volume, and sold for a third of the price. We would advise a cheap edition, and a condensation of the style in many parts, which would render the work more acceptable, and give it a wider circulation. The public mind cannot be made too familiar with such antidotes to popery.

ART. IV.—*Travels in Siberia: including Excursions Northwards down the Obi to the Polar Circle, and Southwards to the Chinese Frontier.*
By Adolf Erman. Translated from the German by W. T. Cooley.
London: Longmans. 1848.

IN the mind of the English reader, the name of Siberia is generally associated with vast chains of snow-capped ridges, illimitable forests, broad frozen rivers, and interminable winters, only broken occasionally by periods of sunshine, as intense as they are transitory; beneath whose influences, nevertheless, a rapid vegetation springs up, and verdant plains suddenly expand with almost imperceptible approaches before our eyes. The extreme civilization of Western Europe causes the imagination to be somewhat affrighted, at the extraordinary pictures presented by the traveller, of the modes of life pursued by the primitive tribes of Siberia, the supposed hardships and privations they undergo, and the utter absence from around them, of all those luxuries which lend a charm to our own social life. But Providence has wisely ordained, that people thus situated

should be endowed with feelings of endurance, which render them, in some measure, invulnerable to the attacks of the climate, the influence of dark winters, and the leaden atmosphere which weighs upon them. The peaceful hordes inhabiting the valleys of the Irtysh, and the banks of the Obi, are often a fine, hardy race of men; while some of the women are remarkable for the beauty of their persons.

Thus, though the distinguishing characteristics of Siberia are by no means promising, we shall yet, beneath this rude exterior, discover that riches, almost incalculable in their extent, lie concealed in the bosoms of its vast mountains, in the form of gold, and silver, and tin mines, whilst diamonds of a large size, and costly furs, add to the value of this extensive region. Traders from all parts of the globe flock to its plains, for the purpose of procuring those valuable furs, which are exhibited in the markets of Russia, and Germany, and England, as some of the finest in the world, and which once used to fetch an enormous price.

In connexion with Russia, Siberia is, at a superficial glance, generally regarded as the vast receptacle for those, among the population of its towns and provinces, whom it becomes no longer expedient to retain in the service of the Czar. The number of persons, consisting of men, women, and children, condemned for political, civil, or other offences, to a life in the dark forests of Siberia, or to settle upon the snow-clad plains, may be estimated from the fact that, at Yekaterimberg, it is computed that five thousand yearly pass through the town, on their way to their destination. At this place may be continually seen long, melancholy processions, composed weekly of ninety-five, or six persons; the men on foot, and the women in waggons. These prisoners are scarcely ever sent in large numbers from St. Petersburg, but are forwarded separately, in knots of two or three, to Nijni Novrogod, the scene of the great fair.

Siberia was scarcely known to the Russians, until the sixteenth century. The enormous distance of these wild tracts, even from the ancient capital, to a slow and apathetic nation, formed a sort of excuse for the absence of investigation of them. At a very early period, we hear of an incursion made by some few persons, but deterred, perhaps, by the rigours of the climate and the difficulties of the journey, they appear to have brought back accounts by no means inviting. All further investigation was neglected, until, in the reign of John Basilovitz, a Russian merchant proved the means of re-opening that connexion which has gone on steadily increasing until the present day. The rich furs and, perhaps, some few diamonds, brought to Archangel by some tribes from the west

of Siberia, excited his curiosity to know more of a country which yielded such productions; and, after ascertaining that behind the uninviting barrier of snow-clothed ridges, there stretched away forests which sheltered the rein-deer, and were capable of yielding timber of the most valuable kinds, he returned laden with the knowledge, to St. Petersburg.

Here, reporting these advantages to the Czar, he was incited to send troops forward, in the hope of reducing the country to subjection. The design partially failed. A few Tartar tribes were laid under contribution. The connection thus opened up, though abandoned for a time, was subsequently re-established in 1579, when the foundations of a permanent conquest were laid. Siberia was at that time divided into separate provinces, inhabited by various tribes, who owned allegiance to as many princes. But these petty sovereignties were gradually crumbled down, and, after many fluctuations of power, during the course of one century the whole of that vast tract of country, stretching from the confines of Europe to the eastern ocean, and from the frozen sea to the present frontier of China, was annexed to the Russian dominions.

Few travellers in Russia have been able to disclose much of its internal condition, because, in general, they only obtain a superficial view of the state of society at St. Petersburg. The population live in continual dread of the power of the Czar, and are deterred from making those revelations to strangers, which would throw a broader light upon the internal economy of that great country. Enough, however, is known of the slavish condition of the people, the tyranny under which they subsist, to raise our curiosity to the utmost. Knowing much, we yet desire to know more: and hail, with considerable eagerness, each new work which promises to cast fresh light upon the subject.

The author of the volumes before us is a man of great ability, possessing, as a traveller and a writer, considerable powers of discernment and observation. His imagination is ever upon the alert, to interweave into his narration little incidents and descriptions of manners, which lend the principal charm to writings of this kind. In the early portions of the first volume, we were struck with the absence of the very quality upon which we now insist. There was little of picturesqueness until he had passed through St. Petersburg, and felt himself at liberty to suffer his fancy to delight in the scenes around him. When a certain degree of novelty, however, began to attach itself to his route, he entered warmly into his task, and, in the midst of important magnetical observations, presents us with pictures of

the various tribes which inhabit Siberia, of their habits, superstitions, and modes of life.

Mr. Erman makes few revelations concerning the state of the higher classes of society at St. Petersburg, perhaps owing to the system of exclusiveness there practised, which debars the stranger, unless armed with powerful introductions, from an indiscriminate mingling with the *elite* of the capital. The Germans are regarded, at St. Petersburg, as sinful heretics, to associate with whom is considered an act to be avoided by every possible means. The foreigners thus settled at St. Petersburg are sufficient to form a very numerous class, which is never on any occasion visited by the Russians. The manners, which are the characteristics of their native country, are still preserved, the same rites observed, and the language maintained in all its original purity.

From the opportunities of observation he actually did enjoy, Mr. Erman is evidently by no means favourably impressed with the general state of society, as we perceive from the following bitter remarks :—

‘ The excessive eagerness of the Russians after outside creature comforts ; the hankering, which, in common with other nations of Eastern origin, they have after show, and the enjoyments of luxury—a disposition which has increased with the wealth of the capital—awaken in individuals keen feelings of self-interest, which encounter with an animosity so much the more deadly, as the restraints imposed by an absolute government, prevent a free and open rivalry. Outward self-denial, cloaking under a calm demeanour a spirit racked with jealous passions, is more in requisition here than elsewhere, and finds facilities of concealment in the national manners and genius of the language.’—p. 48.

We are furnished with much information concerning St. Petersburg, its inhabitants, their employments and opinions. Our author has rendered himself perfectly familiar with circumstances relating to all the industrial classes of the capital. His account, however, is so much more favourable than any other we have yet perused, that we are inclined to imagine it to be somewhat tempered by partiality, or an unwillingness to expound his true sentiments. We are accustomed to believe that the condition of serfs in Russia, is one of extreme oppression; but Mr. Erman throws a kind of fine gloss over their treatment, represents them as contented and happy, with frugal tastes, and satisfied with the most moderate sources of enjoyment. Their condition, happily, is one of unconsciousness. We cannot hope for that of which we know nothing, and therefore it would be absurd to say that the whole population of Russia are discontented and pining. But those who have once passed beyond the reach of

the tyrannical sway of the Czar, and tasted the sweets of liberty, would never willingly return to a state of bondage, or lay themselves open to a repetition of the tyranny they formerly endured. It was, perhaps, too much to expect of Mr. Erman any great sympathy with the humbler classes of Russia, since he has been accustomed to look upon them rather in the light of inferior beings, destined by Providence to fulfil certain tasks upon the earth. We are far from accusing Mr. Erman of inhumanity. He is only listening to the voice of prejudice and custom, which renders him somewhat less alive to the discomforts of the lower classes than he would otherwise have been.

It would be beside our purpose to linger longer at the capital, since our design at present is with the territory of Siberia, of which the English reader has heard less than of St. Petersburg, and the movements of the emperor.

Mr. Erman started from Berlin on the 25th of April, 1827, and made the best of his way forward, halting at few places, but permitting us to obtain many glimpses of the scenery and spots through which he passed. On the meadowed bank of the Oder, the willow was then in full bloom. The difference of climate is soon observable, for at Königsberg, the willows were still without a flower. The climate of St. Petersburg is extremely favourable to the growth of trees. On the islands, and along the banks of the Neva, the variety of trees and shrubs render the landscape one of extreme beauty. Cornel, mountain ash, and alder stand prominently forward between birches, elms, limes, poplars, and maples :—

‘During our stay in St. Petersburg, the villa gardens on the islands, and the various shrubberies between them, were all decked with young foliage. The fineness of the season added, no doubt, much to the beauty of the landscape; the charms of which, nevertheless, lay in the local details. The clear waters of the Neva winding through the islands, and overshadowed at times with groups of trees, then again issuing forth in brightness, together with the contrast between the waving foliage and the stately glittering palaces beyond, sufficiently explain the love of rural scenery, so manifest in St. Petersburg, and which seems so remarkable in a northern climate. While the sudden awakening of nature from her long winter sleep, loudly invites to the enjoyment of the country, the oppressive heat of summer makes the cool, umbrageous retreats of the islands, absolutely necessary.’—*Ib.* p. 66.

Armed with the necessary passports, Mr. Erman at length departed from the capital on the 11th of July, on his way to Moscow. The vicinity of St. Petersburg was marked by the land in a high state of cultivation, dotted here and there with snug hamlets, and groves, and shrubberies of Tsarkoe Selo and

Paolosh, beyond a dark forest of birch and fir, impenetrable and dense, stretches away as far as the eye can reach. The time of year was peculiarly favourable for travelling. The hay season, which had been a most abundant one, was just concluded, and a day or two's journey from St. Petersburg; finely cultivated meadows, bounded by a long range of hills, and waving corn fields, diversified the scene. At Novrogod, our author found the people in holiday attire, celebrating some festival, and proceeding through the town with gaiety and rejoicing.

Hospitality is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Russian peasants. Such as his humble roof affords, the traveller is welcome to, and that without the slightest prospect of remuneration. Few villages possess any regular inn, the cook's shop and the baker's, distinguished by the curiously shaped wheaten loaves hung up in front, are the only evidence of a desire to vend. Another trade, almost as thriving in Russia as that of the baker, is that of making shoes. At every post station a large supply is kept, as, though light and flexible, a very brief use incapacitates them from further service. One of the principal occupations of the villages along the road, is the care and nurture of horses, without continual relays of which the traveller could not perform his tedious journey. In order to be always ready, a number of men along the high road, day and night, are on the watch, lying upon the ground, wrapped in thick cloaks, waiting for the signal of a bell in the distance, which warns them that their services will be required. They then bring forth their horses, so as to have them in readiness when the carriage comes up.

At Moscow, of which our author gives a very capital account, he remained a few days, and then resumed his journey forward. On his way to Nijni Novrogod, the scene of the great fair often celebrated in books of travels, Mr. Erman relates that there exists, somewhere in the vicinity of Murom, a nightingale whose song is possessed of such power, that it entices travellers into the depths of the forests, and there kills them by the rich sweetness of its note!

Houses for the accommodation of travellers, after having passed Nijni Novrogod, begin to make their appearance. At Poläna, a large building is to be seen, destined for the reception of the exiles on their way to Siberia. At the village of Chúgunui, the first signs of the prisoners were obtained. They are here furnished with uniform linen at the public charge, and with every train are several waggons drawn by post horses, to carry the women and children.

At Erningash, the post-house stands in the midst of low wooden huts inhabited by the Cheremisses, one of the indige-

nous tribes of Russia. They differ essentially in appearance from the Russian peasants :—

‘ Their clothing, which is exactly the same for both sexes, consists of white linen trousers, and of an upper garment or smock of the same material and colour, fastened with a girdle round the hips. This smock is generally ornamented with embroidery in several colours on the breast and shoulders. On the other hand, the stripes of cloth which they wind round the leg, in the Russian manner, from the foot to the knee, are always black. Their embroidery closely resembles in its patterns, that usual among the Mordoi, but with this difference, that the latter mix black figures with the others, whereas the Cheremisses shew a decided preference for red and light blue. In their persons, the Cheremisses are much smaller and weaker than the Russians and the Mordvi. They allow their long, black hair, to hang about them in the wildest disorder, and in this respect there is no distinction between men and women, for it was only rarely, and on solemn occasions, that we saw the latter with their locks collected under a lofty pyramidal kind of hat. A peculiar shyness, manifest both in their physiognomy and demeanour, forms the chief characteristic of this people.’—Vol i. p. 135.

This tribe clings obstinately to its own ancient religious usages, and offers to the evil god sacrifices of cattle, horses, and sheep, in a consecrated wood near the village; and to the benevolent deities they do homage on the open plain, and propitiate them with offerings of vegetables, fruits, and flowers.

From this place Mr. Erman proceeded, towards evening, through an exceedingly dense oak forest, in which watch-fires, every three or four miles, surrounded by the white figures of the Cheremisses, had a wild and romantic effect. These were the posts of guards waiting for the trains of exiles, in order to meet them in succession.

At Kasan, a large town possessing very fine buildings and the ruins of many Tartar edifices, and, what seems indispensable to every Russian city, the prisons and workhouses for criminals, our author and his party, on the threshold, if we may so speak, of Siberia, provided themselves with furs from the large assortment of skins piled up, one on the other, in the fur-stalls of the Gostini Dvor. While the warm weather continues, the traveller finds it difficult to persuade himself that these heavy garments will be required, but the positive assurance of the natives, and a little reflection, convinces him of the necessity of the provision. Here he makes his selection from the fine, long, black fleece of the Kirgiz sheep, or the inferior white, the skin of the wolf from Yenisei, the most expensive fox skin, or of the still rarer light hide of the young bear, perfectly black throughout. In the bazaar of Kasan, every species of luxury which this portion of Russia can yield, may be found—dried fruits, such as apricots

with the sweet kernel, grapes or kishnush, plums, pistachio nuts, dates, with fish, and vegetables such as potatoes, peas, turnips, cabbages, pumpkins, sweet melons from the countries to the south, and a variety of others, too numerous to mention.

The original Asiatic inhabitant of the place may still be distinguished from the Russian, by the peculiarities incident to his caste. The dark, lean, angular visage, the close fitting cap worn over the shaven head, and a certain smartness of gait and demeanour, cause them to be readily singled out. Their settlements lie on the pretty hills encircling lake Kaban, and possess a mosque, at which they perform their evening and morning service, much in the same style as that of the East—a few verses of the Koran being read aloud, the people turning their faces towards the west. At a portion of the ceremony they permitted the strangers to be present, but, at a certain point, they were besought to withdraw.

About sixty-seven versts from Kasan, at Metyeshka, Mr. Erman saw a Tartar burial-ground:—

‘On every grave there is a rectangular chest, raised about four feet above the ground, about the length of a man, and filled with earth. It is formed in the same manner as the dwelling-houses, with rough-hewn posts laid one upon the other. The graves were in general parallel to one another, the large sides lying nearly east and west.’—*Ib.* 161.

Journeying on through an umbrageous wood of the richest green, beneath tall firs now and then obtruding between the lime, the oak, and the willow, and passing along a hilly country, with now and then large corn-fields or meadows stretching down the slopes, Mr. Erman arrived at Malmush, a Russian settlement. A coffee-room and billiard-table, remarks our author, kept by one of the bearded settlers, recalled to our minds the enjoyments of Western Europe.

The Votyaks are the last of the tribes settled in European Russia of which we shall take any notice. They are to be found, for the first time, at the hamlet of Kilme. They are possessed of broad, compact figures, while their hair, almost always red, and left in a state of nature, flows round their shoulders. Their clothes are made of dark grey, unbleached cloth, and in the girdle over the hip they always carry a broad knife, which proves a very effective weapon upon their hunting excursions.

Crossing the Ural range, famous for its gold mines and iron works, our author made a rapid descent into Siberia. We cannot linger over every interesting particular related during this portion, but must hurry forward, in order that we may be

enabled to penetrate into the very heart of Siberia, and draw forth to light those curious tribes of men inhabiting its more unfrequented portions. Before quitting Yekaterimburgh, however, we must present the reader with the following account of winter life in that place:—

‘ Winter life had begun, too, with the human denizens of the place; for the *Posediente*,* or evening meetings of the young women of the poorer classes, had already been established at Beresov, and the surrounding villages. As soon as darkness interrupts the out-door labour, the men come and enjoy themselves in the warm houses. They mount up to their sleeping places on the broad top of the stove, and scarcely leave it during the evening, till they are obliged to attend to their cattle, a little before midnight. For the sake of economising light, the young girls meet, in the mean time, at the house of some of the wealthier boors, partly to work, and partly to amuse themselves with their friends. Their occupation, and the songs and tales with which it is accompanied, remind one of the primitive German spinning-rooms. In one of their popular songs, the maidens are made to complain of the bad light given by their pine-torch (*Luchinka*), and accuse their host of having wetted it to get rid of his visitors; when one of their companions confesses it was a stratagem of hers, to get an excuse for stealing off to her lover.’—*Ib.* 271, 272.

The Bashkirs are the first indigenous tribe encountered in Siberia. Since the invasion of the Russians, they have never extended the northern limits of their residence beyond Yekaterimburgh, and between this town and that of Statonot, they form the chief part of the population. Few Siberian tribes present the interesting phenomenon of a mode of life regularly alternating from the roving to the fixed. The Bashkirs, however, possess, every one of them, a permanent village of wooden huts on the borders of some wood, where they pass the winter. As soon as the spring sets in, they betake themselves with their houses and herds to the plains. Each family has its tent-cloth of hair, which is rolled up and carried at a horseman's saddle. They rarely encamp quite separately, but unite into companies, and pitch their tents in military order. Their cattle wander where they will, and are only occasionally collected at their owner's dwellings. Horses are indispensable to the Bashkirs, who seem never to leave the saddle. Indefatigable and dexterous on horse-back, they are indolent and indocile every where else.

In the summer pastures, the grass is sometimes up to the horse's girth; still the Bashkir never thinks of provision for the winter. The cattle must then sustain life on the stunted herb-

* From *Posidete*, to sit. Russ.

age that may appear through the snow, or on the remains of the summer fodder that rests on the dunghills. The only occupation of the men, in summer, is to drive the mares home to be milked, the management of everything else is left to their wives. The foals are separated from the mares at an early age, and tethered near the tents. Out of the mare's milk, the Bashkirs make a very agreeable beverage. For winter provision they dry fish, and a favourite article of food is the bird cherry, rows of which border the public gardens at Yekaterimburgh.

Mr. Erman now commenced his journey towards Tobolsk, at which place he arrived on the seventh of October, and saw the broad yellow waters of the Irtysh, gliding between rows of fine willows, and breaking in white foam upon the banks, while lower down an inundation to the height of two feet had taken place. His entrance into the town was rendered remarkable by a heavy fall of snow, in which the drivers of the vehicles seemed to take much delight. Tobolsk was destitute of inns. The travellers, therefore, trusting to the well-known hospitality of the inhabitants of the country, were certain of being received, which at last they were, in the upper story of a well-built, wooden house, in the lower town, near the church *Rojdestvo Christovoe* (Christ's nativity.) The ferry of the Irtysh is big with fate for the numerous exiles who yearly cross it. Once past its limits, political death awaits them; no hope of return speaks in the broad swell of its waters, which sullenly roll forward to their destination, but over them the exile never hopes to pass again. The land of short summers and dreary winters is now his portion. Here he must content himself to pass the remainder of his days, gazing with regret, perhaps, on the dark furrowed ravines, in whose seclusion a number of leafy bushes seek shelter from the wind, and picturing to himself in imagination, a journey back to those regions where his family is left behind. In many instances, however, the exiles are followed by their wives and children, and in these cases, they settle down in comparative content. To others again, the Irtysh seems to offer rewards and honours, for any officer who presents himself for public service in Siberia, hopes for a step in promotion in crossing the Irtysh.

The German society at Tobolsk differs essentially from that of St. Petersburg. Here they form an exclusive class, and no effort is perceptible to adhere to the customs of the mother country; on the contrary, the strangers follow, with prudent flexibility, the example of the people among whom they have settled, and, like them, exert all their strength only to bring their riches closer around them. It is not easy to distinguish between the household of a genuine Siberian family, and that of a Ger-

man. In religious matters, however, they adhere strictly to the customs of their forefathers.

Tobolsk is in great part peopled by kirgis, who are kidnapped when young by those who attend the merchants of Bokhara through the steppes; and it is said that, in consequence, whenever a caravan in the steppes passes through the Aul or inhabited places, the mothers, with the anxious bustle of 'cackling hens,' drive their children into a felt-tent or kikitka, and there guard them from their itinerant fellow-countrymen. An instance of this is shown in the following extract:—

'The conversation of a kirgis belonging to our host, and who was a constant companion of our nocturnal trips in the sledge, contributed not a little to compensate us for our tedious disappointment while lingering in the lonely German churchyard. He told us how, when he was a lad of sixteen, and boding no good, he was enticed by his father from the steppe to the Siberian frontiers, and was there handed over to some Russian merchants, in discharge of a debt of one hundred and eighty roubles. He travelled with his new master to Tonsk, and being dismissed from thence, he entered immediately into the service of his present owner. The only tidings he had since received from his own home were, that his unnatural father had met with the punishment due to perfidy, being killed by some Russians with whom he had quarrelled. Perhaps for the sake of the appearance of revenging himself on fate, the otherwise good-natured man related with rare glee, how he, too, had renounced the children whom he had reared at Tobolsk from his marriage, and had given them into servitude to the Russians. Among the inhabitants of the steppes, the trade in the human being is ever a favourite business. Cases, however, like the present, which display an unnatural want of feeling in parents, are of rare occurrence. Sometimes the eldest son, on the death of the father, gets rid in this way of his sister, the support of whom devolves upon him; the kidnapping of children is generally the work of families at variance, who thus take revenge on one another.'—p. 379.

The kirgis are essentially cruel, but extremely sensitive in their temperament. They often commit violent deeds of revenge, and give way to fearful paroxysms of anger, and hence they are often to be seen in the ostrog, or prison, in Tobolsk, along with the Russian convicts, who are to be sent further east. They may be distinguished from the Russians, at first sight, by the black hair, the dark, sunburnt complexion, and small, lively eyes, between strongly projecting lids.

Preparations for travelling northward were at last commenced. The ice, which had been only drifting in large masses down the Irtysh on the 10th, became fixed on the following day, and on the 12th, peasants, with their horses and loaded sledges, crossed the river near the town. On the 14th, under a light moon and

a dark blue sky, the broad mirror of ice lent a new charm to the fine wintry landscape, and the travellers were able to view from the middle, and for the first time, the snow-clad houses of the lower town, and the picturesque hills, at one and the same moment. Mr. Erman's business was now to arm himself against all the obstructions that might arise from man, weather, or hunger, and then to look for suitable vehicles. To satisfy the demands of the stomach, he found it necessary to be provided with a copper kettle, to prepare water for tea from ice or snow, and to be able to dress the fish procured from the Ostyaks. Rude sledges the traveller provided himself, and, with proper guides he quitted the hospitable city of Tobolsk by moonlight, on the afternoon of the 22nd; the sledges gliding rapidly through the ravines that intersect the hills on the right bank of the river. Following the mountain road for some time, they then resumed the ice-track of the Irtuish, and, after crossing the river, travelled along the hardened snow, over ploughed fields and meadows; large flakes of snow were whirling round their heads, the wind breaking loudly among the hills, and yet the people of the village, active and hearty, were employed in the open air. Proceeding through a thick wood of firs and Siberian cedars, now descending to the ice roads; now travelling along the elevated tracks, they reached Tugalova; quitting which, they journeyed along the ice of the Irtuish, and beheld the various modes of fishing practised by the people. Ostyaks, for the most part, inhabit the village of Denjikovo, the next point of importance reached. The moon rose again upon the traveller, illumining broad patches of the snowy ground, over the rest of which fell the long, dark shadows of the hills, crowned on their summits with fir and stone pines.

In these wintry solitudes, the only sounds heard were the calls of the drivers, who held the reins of the shaft-horses. The whole night long there appeared in the dark blue sky, a white arch, which remained all unchanged in appearance. Above it were fragments of arches separated one from the other by blue spaces.

At Repolovo, our author found many of the huts empty, the inhabitants having gone on a fishing expedition. Most of them are Ostyaks; and in the brandy shop, we are here presented with the following graphic scene:—

‘We found in the dark room, hardly ten paces wide, of the public-house and place of revelry here, a European Russian, probably banished in former years, busy behind his counter; and, besides him, only the Ostyak women. Ten or twelve of them were assembled, and the brandy had already taken effect upon them all, in a way, however, not at all offensive to an even tempered spectator. A number of short and corpulent figures, with black, sparkling eyes, rather oblique, could be just

seen, moving and mingling together in the narrow space. They all talked with animation, and with remarkably delicate voices, which now gave expression only to soft and joyous emotions. They embraced, one after another, the Yamschiki who entered with us; and their soft voices, now almost whining, seemed attuned, not so much to words of old acquaintance, as to the endearments of young and growing love. They all wore frocks or shirt-like garments of nettle cloth, which were ornamented exactly like the dress of the Mordvi women, with embroidery in red and black, round the neck and breast. None of them were without the head dress, shaped as a cross, which serves them for a veil; but they had raised up the front part of it, and thrown it back completely over the head. We could perceive that, under the circumstances here described, and in other cases subsequently witnessed, this departure from the prevailing custom was not considered as in any degree irregular or improper.

'The very trifling means of the women are soon exhausted, while the pleasure of drinking had but just risen to its highest pitch. My promise, therefore, to pay the scot for the rest of their indulgence was received with the greatest thankfulness. But they now took especial pains to show themselves deserving of the European treat, by good Christian observance; for at every glass they took, they came up to us, and before they tasted the dram, crossed themselves with a most singular and laughable gravity. Devout Russians are in the habit of neutralizing the satanic operation of spirituous liquors by a rapid movement of the right hand, intended to describe the cross, or by a softly ejaculated prayer, or merely by blowing the breath on the glass. But the good-humoured Ostyaks, who were novices in both arts, of Christian prayer as well as drinking, were desirous of providing against the infirmities of the flesh, by some more ample, religious ceremony; and so they made the sign of the cross to such an extent, so slowly, and with such deep bowing of the body, as would be required by the church only on the most solemn occasions.'—p. 415.

The Ostyaks are a peculiar tribe, settled in large numbers in various places throughout Siberia. They have long bows, six feet in length, which they purchase from the Kasimunkian people, who come from the east, it is said, with rein-deer sledges, towards the end of winter, and exchange their inimitable furs, and other accoutrements, for dried fish, and, probably, some Russian articles.

The Sosnovians are the next tribes with whom we encounter. They do not wear furs, but clothe themselves in fish-skins. They are a delicate-looking race, and their obligation to the state consists in paying the Yasak, and tribute of half a rouble for every man, and in keeping a few post-horses, which may be performed without much trouble. The traveller's road lay constantly on the ice of the Obi, which was cracked in several places; and, though the cracks were filled up by new ice, they might easily escape the notice of those not steadfastly on the

look out, and thus plunge them into the river, when death would be almost inevitable.

At Kirdavansk, they beheld a curious object :—

‘ The most remarkable object here, was an old woman who sat in the corner of her bed place, with her head completely veiled over, working industriously at some skin clothing, which she sowed with thread made of the reindeer fibre sinew. She declared that day and night were alike equal to her, and that she guided the needle only by the sense of feeling, her tongue helping her to thread it. We saw enough to satisfy us of the correctness of her statement. However, she was no greater loser by the singular custom of veiling, for inflammation of the eyes had nearly blinded her; there was no fire at this time in the chubal, and hardly a ray of light penetrated from the ice window to the corner where she sat.’—*Ib.* p. 451.

We are unable, in the brief limits of one paper, to present our readers with a correct idea of the vast amount of interesting matter which still remains to be dwelt upon. Our author proceeds towards Beresa, the scene of the death of the exiles, Osterman, Dolgarukof, and Menchikof, whose tomb, opened in 1821, was found to contain relics of the deceased, which were forwarded to his descendants. Quitting this place, he journeyed on to Obdorsk, gaining, as he went, much curious information respecting the Ostyaks, the Samoyedes, describing the winter tents. After making an excursion to the mountains of Obdorsk, and remaining in and about the town long enough to be acquainted with all its most interesting points, he returned to Tobolsk, where he spent the remaining portion of the winter. Again setting out, he accomplished the journey to the Chinese frontier, obtained a glimpse of the Celestials, and then resumed his journey onwards. Here, however, we must take our farewell of Mr. Erman, and leave to our readers the task of further investigation.

With respect to that portion of the work which has been Mr. Cooley's peculiar care,—the translation,—we can only say, that it redounds greatly to his credit. There is all the polish of style which the relations of an English traveller sometimes present; and we forget, while we read, that we are not perusing a book in its original language. Few translations from the German present so great an absence of the rough idiom of the native tongue. The extremely elegant style in which the work is rendered, will go far towards recommending this important addition to the literature of the present season to our English readers.

ART. V.—*Posthumous Works of the late Rev. John Ely.* With an Introductory Memoir. Under the care of R. W. Hamilton, L.L.D., D.D. 8vo. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. Leeds: J. Y. Knight.

WE do not affect to have read this beautiful volume with the impartiality of mere criticism. It was our happiness for many years to know the eminent minister who, 'being dead, yet speaketh' in these '*Posthumous Works*;' and the biographer and editor, under whose care they come forth, has long filled a sacred place in our love and admiration.

We offer to Dr. Hamilton our unfeigned thanks for the service he has here so promptly and so gracefully rendered to the Christian public. His elegant Memoir will not be the less valued for the evident restraint, the delicate shrinking from vulgar laudation, with which it has been composed. This appears to us to be in the best possible taste, both literary and religious; and we can scarcely conceive of a biography better suited to the manly and devout refinement of the departed saint, or more worthy of the high standing and well-earned reputation of the writer. We congratulate his readers on so early a possession of a work which bears unquestionable marks of elaborate and careful preparation. It breathes the solemnity, the reverence, the sanctity, the love, of the death-chamber and the grave. It preserves the continuity of our knowledge, before the lapse of time throws us back on the efforts of memory. It is a funeral wreath in its freshness, laid on the tomb with the first tears of sorrow.

The sermons in this volume have an intrinsic value. They are specimens of pulpit instruction. We can testify that they present a fair average of the sermons from which they are selected, and that they will enable the reader to frame a just conception of Mr. Ely's ordinary ministrations. They are, emphatically, the discourses of a *practical* man, wisely aiming at one end, and earnestly bracing his faculties to present the truths of scripture in a way that shall secure attention, convey instruction, and at the same time leave the right impression on the conscience, the imagination, and the feelings; leading his hearers, individually, to believe the doctrine, to do the thing, to act out the character, which is placed before them. The expositions of scripture are not so dilated and ample, as those which this enlightened teacher was in the habit of giving, when instruction in the meaning of scripture simply, was his avowed object; yet every sermon indicates a conscientious and intelligent study of the true force of the particular passage on which it is based, to-

gether with a fine power of presenting the local, historical, or poetic allusions of his text in the most vividly descriptive language. We know not a better illustration of our meaning than the introductory sentences of the first sermon, on Rev. xiv., 14—20.

How fully the preacher could grasp the sublimest themes, rendering thoughts, otherwise abstruse, in familiar and glowing words; how he could harmonise the vast with the minute—the terrible with the tender—the contemplative with the practical; how he could both discriminate and paint; how he could unite the results of severe reasoning with the urgency and the pathos of passionate entreaty, his sermon on ‘God is Love’ bears witness! Not a little of the charm of this sermon is derived from the fact, that the preacher came to his pulpit to deliver it from ‘the chamber of sickness and pain,’ and the silence of six weeks’ confinement, with an augmented sense of the great truth which the apostle attests; and, as he said, ‘If you ask the result of all that I have been called to experience, I would re-echo, in my humble attestation, that which is proclaimed in the text with all the authority of an inspired testimony—*‘God is love.’*’ He explains *the sense of this announcement* (after hinting at the reasons for assuming the elementary truth, that God is, and the importance of knowing *what* he is) by showing that the words indicate *the true nature of God*, his personality, his infinite intelligence, his being the subject of holy affection; that the text *asserts the characteristic attribute of God* in opposition to the misconceptions of the unbelieving heart, and to every system of doctrine which would represent God as indifferent to the happiness of his creatures, and in opposition to the exclusion, or the detriment, of any other attribute; *that it must be estimated according to the infinite and glorious nature of God*, all the fullness of his infinite perfections, and all the energy of his infinite nature, going to give efficiency to his benevolence; *that it is specially illustrated and demonstrated by the mission of the Son of God for human salvation*, saving not by mere power, but by the incarnation and sacrifice of his own Son, providing the costliest victim, one infinitely dear, to bear the stroke. *In availing ourselves of this testimony for practical use*, which is the second and larger division of the sermon, the preacher calls on his hearers, first of all, *to dwell on the lovely character of God*; then, to observe how he is *pre-eminently lovely in his relation to fallen man*; to trace how *love pervades all the dispensations of God*; to meditate on the *special happiness of those that are the special objects of Divine love*; to see that, *since God is love, he is entitled to our fullest confidence*; to acknowledge *our obligations to love God with all our hearts, and minds, and strength*; to take the love of God for our

pattern; to let our love *exert a similar influence with the love of God*, inducing zeal for the salvation of souls; to *think of heaven as consisting in perfect love*; and, in conclusion, ‘one word in sorrow and remonstrance must be uttered respecting the guilt and misery of those who yield not to the love of God.’ We give an extract, illustrating the position that, since God is love, he is entitled to our fullest confidence.

‘*Have faith in God.*’ Sinner, when he puts himself in the gracious overture, he is sincere, in earnest. He means it when he says to each one of you, ‘Be ye reconciled.’ Penitent! confess your sin; plead the precious atoning blood; he will receive you graciously, and love you freely. Disciple! confide in his goodness; your unworthiness, your meanness, are no reasons why he should reject you; much beyond all that you conceive is the hatefulness of your sin; much lower is your debasement than you have yet learnt; but your plea is the Saviour’s merit; your encouragement is the love of God. Flee, not *from* God to Christ, but flee to God *by* Christ. Be not faithless, but believing. Believer! Rejoice in full assurance. You are entitled to be assured of pardon, acceptance, life. The instant you fled to Christ, that instant you were justified; you became a child; you were safe for eternity. ‘These things have I written unto you that believe on the name of the Son of God, that ye may know that ye have eternal life, and that ye may believe on the name of the Son of God.’ Christian! discard all doubt, suspicion, dissatisfaction; no storm can engulph you; no enemy can do more than love permits him to do; death itself is a vanquished foe. ‘O ye of little faith, wherefore should ye doubt?’ Suppliant! pour out your heart before God; his heart is open to you. Never had you affectionate friend, or tender parent, to whom you might so readily unbosom yourself. Jesus is your intercessor; but hearken to what he says, ‘I say not unto you, I will pray for you, for the Father himself loveth you.’ Ye children, saints of God! cast out fear: for fear hath torment. ‘We have known and believed the love which God hath to us;’ thus ‘we may have boldness in the day of judgment.’—p. 43, 44.

We need not analyse any more of these sermons. Each is worthy of a separate publication. Two or three of them deserve special attention. One of them entitled, ‘Warning against Hesitancy and Procrastination,’ is among the happiest examples we have met with, of the wise and kind mode of dealing with a numerous class of persons, in every community of Christians, by pressing on the individual mind, with seriousness and affection, an immediate attention to the voice of God in the gospel. After describing the persons he has specially in view, as having a knowledge of the truth, a conviction of sinfulness, and frequent impressions of a religious tendency, the preacher proceeds:—

‘But with all these favourable circumstances, the case is one in which there is a lack of true faith and decision, and in which there is, of conse-

quence, no real interest in the blessing of salvation. There is a *struggle against conviction*, and an effort to obliterate impression. The thoughts of eternity are unwelcome ; they bring terror and remorse, and they are driven from the mind. Company, business, spiritual opiates are resorted to, that the spirit may be kept quiet and undisturbed. Or, *impression is so feeble*, that no such struggles are necessary. There is a misgiving, but it does not disturb the peace, and it is soon forgotten ; there is a passing alarm, but it is gone with the sound of the preacher's voice ; there is no solemn contemplation, much less holy resolve. It is *indecision*. There is a halting between two opinions—judgment against inclination. Now conscience demanding, hearkening for attention, now the heart going after the world ; now an hour of tenderness, and now a season of carelessness. Or it is simple *postponement*. There is a settled conviction of the indispensable importance of religion, there is an intention formed of seeking at some future time, its blessings. But there is always some impediment in the way of present determination. Maturer age will be more suitable ; a time of greater leisure will arrive ; there is a present pressure of business, or of domestic, or of social duty. It is assumed that such impediments will be temporary. It is fully purposed that at the more convenient season there shall be decision. These persons would shudder at the thought of dying undecided ; yet they are contented to continue *now* undecided. . . . It is infatuation to calculate that *the future will present a state of things more favourable for decision than the present*. Many of you are conscious that you are unconverted. You cannot, however, endure the idea of dying unconverted, you see a truth, a beauty about religion, which renders it obviously desirable ; but you do not decide. Still you anticipate that you shall decide, and are looking forward to circumstances when decision will be easier than it now is. This is one case of infatuation. What are the circumstances so much more favourable, to which you are looking forward ? A period of life more sedate ; seasons of greater leisure ; periods when distracting cares will less press upon you ; times of sickness ; the calm of old age. It is delusion, all. Not to speak of the high probability that life may terminate, early and suddenly, what reason have you to think that the case supposed will be more favourable than the present ? A period of life more sedate will be also less impressible. Every season brings its occupation, and it is folly to think of some golden hours of leisure ; or if leisure come, it is no fitter for devout decision than the period of active duty ; religion is not a matter of cloisters and deserts, distracting cares will always more or less press ; increased wealth will bring them ; children bring them in infancy, but more in advancing youth ; as long as you have duties to perform, and sensibilities to work within, you must expect distracting care. You look forward to the profit of a sick chamber, that is to say, *you will set your affairs in order when the day of bankruptcy comes ; you will learn the art of navigation when your bark is amid rocks and shoals ; you will learn to swim when the vessel has gone to pieces, and you are plunged among the breakers*. Sickness brings pain that almost precludes thought ; exhaustion that forbids attention ; anxieties that distract the mind. When consumption tears with cough first, and then prostrates with debility ; when asthma

struggles for breath; when the blood issues in terrifying streams from the lungs; when fever produces delirium; when apoplexy heaves and sinks in utter insensibility; when the ossified valve breaks, and death is instantaneous; are these seasons for religious contemplation and decision? And calm old age, with blunted sensibilities, and enfeebled powers, and probable suffering,—is that the time for decision? Oh! it is infatuation, all—the debtor promising to pay when his debts are still more accumulated; a workman promising to complete (begin) his task when the hour of completion has arrived.’—pp. 113—116.

We turn to a sermon of a very different character, proving that the preacher possessed in a high degree the mastery of consecrated rhetoric, that he could light up his discourses with the brilliancy of a gorgeous oratory, when his theme was one that justified and even demanded the highest style of language. We can scarcely read a passage of it without admiration; and the effect it produces upon us as a whole, is, we confess, enchanting. The text is Rev. xxi. 24.; the *scene of splendour*, and the *dwellers* in that *scene*, are the chosen topics. We will not anticipate the delight with which the glowing illustration of themes, so attractive in the hands of such a master, will be read in their own place.

Called, as Mr. Ely was, to labour in the midst of a large manufacturing population in Lancashire, and afterwards in a still larger sphere of the same general character in Yorkshire, it is not without deep interest that we observe the sagacity, the honest and authoritative fidelity, the far-seeing application of Christianity to our social economy, which so greatly characterized his preaching in the midst of such a people. Here is a sermon on ‘Consecration to God.’ (Zech. xiv. 21, 22.):—

‘I fear,’ says the preacher, ‘religion is but too often regarded rather as a state of security, and as a *sort of negative sanctification*, than as a state of holy devotedness to God. It is not enough for you to flee to religion as a sanctuary from the curse, nor to adopt it as an inclosure from which flagrant wickedness is to be excluded: it is, it must be, a consecration of being and faculty to God. It is not enough that you are good fathers, masters, citizens, children, servants. Christianity will make you these; but it will make you much more: it will make you feel that life is given, salvation vouchsafed, and grace conferred, that you may be given up in dedication to God. Earth will appear to you, not an outpost of the universe where you are merely to occupy a trust, but a precinct of God’s temple, where you are to serve him. You are not merely husbandmen, who are to work diligently, and to pay a rental to the great proprietor, but you are priests, who are to serve and honour him as the very office of your whole being. One comprehensive passage, in the very spirit of the imagery, may suffice as illustration. ‘Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people;

that ye should shew forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light.'

'This dedication originates in the renewing grace of God. The materials of the temple were of the common earth; the family of Aaron was of the sinful stock; but both were separated by the divine will to their hallowed purpose. A similar separation takes place when the soul is regenerated by the grace of God. Originally, it was estranged from God, but now it is brought nigh. * * * I am very jealous of your character, and dealings, and reputation, in this department. Christian consecration should be far more effective than worldly honour. The just measure and the even balance,—the conscientious bargain and the honourable fulfilment of it,—the fair price and the reasonable profit, are indispensable to the Christian. They say it is hard, in these times of competition, for buyers and sellers to maintain conscience; and, I admit, without self-denial and circumspection, it may be so. But consistency will make it easy. Let speculation be proportioned only to capital; let the style of living be kept down to the level of those profits that may be reasonably calculated on; let expenditure never go before a fair calculation of the means that are at command; and the tradesman may maintain conscience. Industry, regularity, skill, are the imperative duties of the tradesman: and he that will not, or cannot exert them, should curtail his affairs, or seek a department where the interests of others will not be involved. There is a royal rule, 'Owe no man anything.' I wish it could be literally adopted. The spirit of it must never be violated; and it will not be so, if the account that is necessarily a running one is so provided for, that in the day when it is due it shall be honoured.

'This will render the exact knowledge of your affairs indispensable. With these rules, and such as these, how rare would be the case of bankruptcy; and when such as have thus acted shall become the sufferers in such a case, sympathy and respect will greet them on every side; Christian character will suffer no damage; the very creditors would examine the vessels of the house, and the pages of the ledger, and report that they had found both inscribed, 'Holiness to the Lord.'—pp. 182—188.

The last sermon in the volume was prepared by Mr. Ely, to be delivered on the Sabbath morning previous to his fatal seizure. 'He thought that his people looked too invariably for consolatory or instructive discourse at that season; he resolved, as he told the editor, to surprize them by a more conscience-stirring appeal. The composition is evidently not a finished sermon, but rather, copious and suggestive notes.' What conscience could there be, in the large and intelligent congregation to which he had hoped to speak, that would *not* be struck with such appeals as these, coming from him?

'We are not saved.' 'To how many has no spring, no summer, ever been vouchsafed! God seen only in his works. False systems of doc-

trine. They and you in contrast ; if they perish, who can wonder ? If you, what apology can be offered ? How many in this privileged country have never had your opportunities ! Publicans and harlots nevertheless press into the kingdom of God, and you perish. What contrast might be drawn between you and multitudes around you, in whose families there is no prayer, before whose eyes no example of piety is, whose feet were never conducted to sanctuaries of evangelical instruction ! Estimate your own privileges, opportunities, obligations : will you be excused if you are not saved ? Will you say to me, as a hearer once said in my previous charge, with a serious, sad tone, ‘ If we perish, you will be blameless.’ O, see yourself arraigned before God ! What witnesses ! seasons ! years ! What contrasts ! Then with inferior means, repentant, believing, saved ! What associations ! with the vilest, the worst, and most miserable.’—p. 333.

Besides their intrinsic value, many of these sermons—all of them, perhaps—will be read with mournful, yet not unprofitable, interest, because of the associations with which they are connected. The last time we had the benefit of listening to one whom we heard too seldom, the sermon was on *The Warning against Hesitancy and Procrastination*. The circumstances were unusual. It was in a foreign country, and addressed to a people surrounded by the snares of a populous and pleasure-seeking city. On the following morning, at an early hour, Mr. Ely was accompanied by two English friends,—one residing in Germany,—on a short tour. They visited together the cities of Brunswick, Hanover, and some neighbouring places. No common privilege did they esteem it to share his conversation, his intelligent, and sometimes playful remarks on the places they visited, the men with whom they mingled, the historical recollections, the political state, the literature, the philosophy, and, above all, the religious condition and prospects of the noble people through whose country they were travelling. After that short excursion, we remained behind, in Germany ; and beheld our honoured and beloved fellow-traveller no more, till we went to see him die. It is not likely, not possible, that we should ever forget that solemn and pathetic warning.

In the course of Mr. Ely’s active and laborious ministry, he found time to publish about a score of separate pamphlets, and discourses delivered on special and public occasions, and urgently called for by various congregations. It is now more than twenty years since he sent from the press a charming little volume, ‘Female Piety and Zeal exemplified in Memoirs of Mary Ann Ely,’—the writer’s sister, together with some account of Jane M’Allan. The ‘Memoir,’ which appeared four years after Miss Ely’s death, we could not characterize in any lan-

guage, so just and appropriate, as that of his own biographer: 'It is written in the manner of one who has not forgotten his grief or love. He seems to check himself, lest either should lend an extravagance to his delineation. Part is autobiography. It is a sweetly elegiac production. Its higher value is its tendency to excite to a holy emulation. It is the fraternal tribute; but the faithful pastor pays it.' Of the sketch of Jane M'Allan, we agree with Dr. Hamilton in saying, 'It is a delightful pencilling, and a master's hand is in it. It should be in the possession of every Sabbath-school child.'

In the winter of 1831, Mr. Ely delivered to his congregation, at Rochdale, a series of discourses, which, though in some respects miscellaneous, were connected by the principle of illustrating the Divine dispensation in our own world. These discourses he published soon after, in a volume which we have been in the habit of regarding as entitled to much more attention than it has received, and which we cannot but hope will be brought into wider circulation, now that its modest but accomplished author is no more among us.

Each of the topics treated of in it is elucidated by much reading, by thoughtful disquisition, and by illustrations of great force and beauty, delivered in a style of elevated perspicuity, and with great command of language. Had the author devoted himself to dogmatic theology, we know not of any chair of that faculty, in any of our universities, which he might not have adorned by his well-balanced judgment and varied information. The comparison of these almost academic prælections with Mr. Ely's popular sermons, would tend greatly to exalt our views of the firm self-devotion to the one object of his ministry, which induced him to forego the charms of literary acquisition, or of theological fame, for the practical work of preaching the gospel, and raising the spiritual and active character of the churches. And the composition of this volume, so calm, so meditative, so imbued with the elegance and taste of genuine scholarship, is a proof that the bolder, broader, more pungent modes of expression were chosen on principle, as best adapted to impress the truths he loved to preach, on the minds of the multitudes he longed to save. A similar conviction, as it strikes us, will arise on the perusal of the addresses he delivered at the colleges of Lancashire and Yorkshire, of some of his controversial pamphlets, and of the 'Literary Remains' in prose and in verse, which are printed in this volume of his posthumous works.

In hallowing our pages with the reminiscences of one so recently departed, and followed by the deep and thoughtful

regrets of so many in this country, and in other lands, we can find no words so fitted to express our feeling, as those in which Dr. Raffles has beautifully conveyed, the sentiments of the brethren who met in sadness, to 'carry him to his burial.'

'Oh! how we loved him! And how could we do otherwise than love him? Was it possible for any one, susceptible of that emotion, capable of appreciating as fine and rare an example of the great and the good as, in our fallen but renewed and sanctified humanity, it has been ever our lot to witness, to know and not to love him? Who, amongst us, but esteemed it an honour and a privilege to call him friend? so faithful, so generous, so affectionate, so constant, so far removed from anything like selfishness, so utterly a stranger to every feeling that had in it the most distant approach to envy or jealousy; how safe was a brother's reputation in his hands! It was dear to him as his own; and in all that appertained to it, was guarded with an equal vigilance. Who ever heard him speak unkindly of the absent, or propagate reports to their disadvantage? And then, how prompt he was to every public service, to *every work of faith, to every labour of love!*' How he compassed, I may say, sea and land—for other lands beside his own have had the benefit of his labours, travelling night and day, oft-times, no doubt, in weariness and watching, worn and jaded alike in body and in mind; that he might be at the call of his brethren, that he might be the servant of all the churches; and that the people whom he loved, and to whom his first and highest regards were due, might not incur the imputation of monopoly of talent and of influence in him, which neither their own generosity and public spirit, nor the demands and necessities of the times in which we live, would allow.'

We have already referred to the dignified reserve with which Mr. Ely's biographer has chastened his memoir, under the impression of that 'truthful spirit looking down upon him, and adjuring him to its holiest severity.' *Had he loved him less, he would have praised him more.* Fearful of the exaggerations of friendship, and of the narrowness of sectarian attachment, he seems to have penned every word as though he would say nothing but what would have been said, and said more freely, by 'other men.' He has also kept in view the object so congenial to the now perfect spirit of his friend, the practical improvement of the reader, in that steadfast course of Christian diligence and ever-growing virtue which is too sacred for eulogy, and which can be secured only by the cultivation of a watchful and humble spirit. Not the least valuable portions of this memoir, are those in which the writer naturally and appropriately introduces his thoughts on many subjects of great

interest to all men, especially young men, and still more specially, to youthful ministers, and aspirants to the sacred office.

The outline of Mr. Ely's life may be given in a few brief sentences. He was born at Rochester, on the 20th of August, 1793. When he was but a few months old, his father, an architect in that city, was suddenly removed by death, leaving the infant to the charge of his widowed mother, with an elder brother, and a sister. His childhood was piously and assiduously tended by that mother, who still survives him, sweetly ripening for the better world. After being grounded in learning at home, he was removed to the academy of Mr. Young, of East Malling, some ten miles from Rochester; but, after two years, he returned to renew the course of private instruction under his mother's roof. He now enjoyed the pastoral and preceptive guardianship of the late Rev. J. Slatterie, the Independent minister of Chatham, to whose rare piety and genius, and manifold excellences as a man, as a minister, and as the guardian of his friend's youth, Dr. Hamilton pays just and honourable tribute. At the age of fifteen, Mr. Ely was received into Mr. Slatterie's church. He became a teacher, and, in teaching, a learner in the Sabbath-school. He was soon desired to exhort the children. 'His elocution would well befit him for the task. Others heard, and pronounced his future destiny. How many a good minister of Jesus Christ there first put on his harness! What masculine speech fell in its shriller accents upon children's ears! This has been to many a pastor his own normal school.' Advised by Mr. Slatterie, and recommended by the church, the youthful teacher in the Sabbath-school gave himself to the work of the ministry. His term of preparatory study at Hoxton College was employed in learning Hebrew and divinity, under the superintendence of Dr. Simpson, who is well described as a man whose 'life was wrapped up in his work.' The classical chair was well filled by the Rev. John Hooper, A.M.; the philosophical, by Dr. H. F. Burder. 'The two former honoured men have long since descended to their graves. The last still lives in high personal esteem, and pastoral honour; and, though long since he vacated his post, is remembered with deep gratitude by all his pupils.' The scholarship of Mr. Ely 'gave him a foremost stand among his companions. Here his friendship with his biographer began. They were nearly of an age, and both very young. 'They struck their covenant. Thirty-six years only strengthened it. There was not a momentary disturbance. It never was broken by an interval of coolness. The very enamel was without a flaw.' The academic course is spoken of as one of diligence, correctness, improving taste, rather than of hard study. His deport-

ment at this period is described as respectful and amiable. He was a general favourite. He was playful without frivolity, and firm without obstinacy. His character was singularly formed. It opened and mellowed till the last of life, but even at that time it was fixed in its shape. That was a gentle decision. *He was made up of conscience.* He was indisputably superior in every consideration to many of his fellows; but no sense of this was ever shown by him.' His preaching at this time was marked by the same evangelical fulness and ardour which it retained to the last. After remaining three years and a half at college, Mr. Ely entered on his first pastoral charge at Rochdale. There he began with a small and unsettled congregation, in a chapel which had been purchased from other parties, burdened with debt, and not popular in the town. By vigorous and constant preaching in that chapel, and in the surrounding villages; by patience, prayer, and perseverance; by circumspection; by the concentration of his whole soul on details soberly and deliberately calculated; and, at the same time, by so husbanding his time as to secure leisure for large and liberal studies, he grew stronger and stronger, and became the beloved minister of a flourishing congregation, the centre of a very wide field of usefulness, the rising strength and hope of his neighbouring brother ministers, the helper of every public institution in his own denomination, and the friend of all good men. Until the year 1824, Mr. Ely's mother and sister lived under the same roof with him at Rochdale. In that year, his sister, two years older than himself, from whom he had scarcely ever been separated, except during his abode at Malling, and at Hoxton, was removed by death. 'Her memory is still precious. She was made to be loved. Hundreds gathered round her bier, and hearsed it with great lamentations to the grave. Her fellow-teachers, and fellow-members, raised a monument to her excellencies and usefulness, and on the mural tablet of marble, above the ascent to her brother's former pulpit, may be read the register of their admiration and love.'

The high qualities of Mr. Ely's ministry were not likely to be overlooked by churches in larger towns, when vacancies occurred in the pastoral office. He received, in 1826, a unanimous and earnest invitation to succeed the Rev. P. S. Charrier, at Liverpool; and the acceptance of the invitation was urged by considerations of great weight and force, by his old friend Mr. Slat-terie, and the Rev. J. A. James, of Birmingham. 'The state of mind which these solicitations produced in him who was the subject of them, may barely be conceived. He was not given to change. To set up his judgment against a general opinion was not a natural bias. He wept and prayed. He inclined

and reverted. For weeks he wavered in an agonising alternation. His own congregation was agitated with a species of dismay. They could not hear of his withdrawal from them. They met him with tears and remonstrances. They overcame him. He consented to abide with them. In many respects his refusal cost him much. It was an expensive sacrifice. He demonstrated that gold had nothing to do with his decision; nor, what was dearer, an enlightened popularity and influence.'

Three years after his sister's death, in his thirty-fourth year, Mr. Ely married. He had but one child, a daughter bearing his sister's name, now the surviving companion of his mother and his widow.

Mr. Ely's nearness to Manchester brought him into frequent association with the independent churches of that great city. In 1829, the late Mr. Roby, whose strength was giving way under the weight of years, was anxious to have Mr. Ely as his colleague; and the venerable pastor's wishes were warmly supported by the congregation. There were public attractions of a very high order to draw him; and to these were added numberless personal inducements. But, as before, he yielded to his strong sense of duty, and remained at Rochdale. After serving that church nineteen years, and having resisted the overtures of nearly twenty other churches, by each of which he had been invited to become its pastor, it is deeply interesting, and highly illustrative, too, of the principle on which he acted, to observe the reasons which at last determined him to remove to Leeds. They are given with much clearness and fulness in the memoir. We could not abridge them: to extract them is beyond our limits. The whole of his biographer's reference to this important event in Mr. Ely's life is in the most delightful spirit. It is not for us now to record the welcome with which the dissenters of the West-Riding generally, and of Leeds especially, hailed so rich an accession. 'He took his own place at once.'

For more than fifteen years he *kept* that place; the faithful and unflinching advocate of the gospel in its peculiar doctrines, and in its practical spirit; the unremitting pastor; the courteous yet firm polemic; the gentle comforter; the wise adviser; the energetic secretary of a large county mission. He lived to see his congregation expend munificent sums in the erection of the noble building in which he ministered for the last seven years of his life, and setting to other churches an example of order, and peace, and liberality; and, in the midst of his growing usefulness, and widely extending influence, there were none who knew him that did not look on him as likely to retain and adorn his honourable position for many years to come. The work of death

had, however, been going on much earlier than was suspected. His constitution was undermined. In 1846 he was laid aside for many weeks. A tour on the Continent much invigorated him; but it was apparent to close observers that he was permanently altered; though he resumed all his public engagements with his wonted alacrity and energy. In addition to former services, he now gave himself, most seriously, to the work of opposing the 'Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education.' On the first Sabbath in September, 1847, he preached twice, and presided at the Lord's table, among his people. On the following Thursday evening, he prayed publicly at a meeting of the independent and baptist churches of Leeds, for thanksgiving on account of the harvest. On Saturday, he officiated at a funeral. After reaching home, and retiring to his study early in the evening, he was attacked with a shivering fit. It was the prelude of death. The history of his dying chamber, and of his last interviews with friends, till he 'sank away into the stillness of death,' is given with much judgment and feeling. The summing up of his character is all that might be expected from the long friendship that subsisted between the subject and the writer. But to the volume itself, we remit our readers. It is a precious memorial of a holy man and a faithful minister, which none can read without being wiser and better. We cannot give expression to all the thoughts and purposes with which we rise from its perusal. We doubt not that it will have a large circulation, and that it will greatly serve that noble cause—the cause of truth, piety, and conscientious usefulness, to which, John Ely, by the grace of God, devoted his well-furnished mind, and his blameless life. May it be long, very long, before the same office will have to be performed for his bereaved friend; and may he find, if not as able, a not less discreet, and equally affectionate, biographer.

ART. VI.—*The Female Poets of Great Britain: Chronologically Arranged.* With copious Selections and Critical Remarks. By Frederic Rowton. 8vo. London: Longman and Co.

MR. ROWTON'S design, he tells us, 'is in the following pages, to supply a want which must have been frequently experienced by every student of our literary annals—the want of a history of our female poets,' and the portly volume before us is the result. Although the editor has collected many specimens, from

the era of a rather apocryphal personage, dame Juliana Berners, who takes the first place, to the present day,—we are compelled to acknowledge that little, if any, real poetry is to be found until we arrive at the specimens of that graceful, though singularly precocious writer, Caroline Symonds. The earlier pieces are indeed curious for their utter want of poetic feeling, and many might be far more appropriately termed doggrel than poetry. The piece attributed to Anne Boleyn, and which ranks second in the volume, is far more likely to have been the production of some ballad writer of the time, than of Anne herself. There is a touching simplicity in it, which reminds us of Heywood, and attached to the queen, and the protestant cause, as he was, it is not at all unlikely, that he was the writer. The homely, but forcible lines of Anne Askewe, written just before she suffered, have the stamp of authenticity upon them; ‘the true martyr spirit,’ as Mr. Rowton says, ‘is visible in every word.’

‘ Like as an arméd knight
Appointed to the field,
With this world will I fight,
And faith shall be my shield.

‘ Faith is that weapon strong,
Which will not fail at need;
My foes therefore among,
Therewith I will proceed.’

This, however, is not poetry, nor can we admit any one to claim the title of poet, whose productions do not exceed two or three. We are aware, our view of the subject would reduce the size of the volume before us to a thin duodecimo, but its real value would be increased. We are much disappointed at the specimens from Lady Pembroke’s works. Among that glorious choir of poets who sang in the reign of Elizabeth, Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke, was the only woman whose voice was heard; and although disfigured by much quaint conceit, and occasional inharmoniousness, many of her poems have much grace and feeling. About a dozen of the rhymsters who follow, might have been safely left to their original obscurity, for indeed our chief surprise is, how women who *must* have been familiar with the delicious poetry—delicious in its melody, as well as in its sweet, and abundant imagery—of the earlier poets of the seventeenth century, could have strung together such common-place phraseology, in such jolting verse, and fancied even for a moment that they were poets!

Less ruggedness characterizes the female verse-makers of the

Restoration, and we are less disappointed at *their* common-place, because it was the character of their times. Constantia Phillips, highly lauded Anne Killegrew,—what even third-rate magazine of the present day would admit their verses? and yet wits, and learned men joined to applaud them. We really think their admirers must have imagined that a mere capability of tagging rhymes, was as wonderful in a woman, as card-playing by the learned pig, and consequently, in the very exaggeration of their compliments, a lordly sense of the vast inferiority of womanhood was implied. The first modern female writer, whose poems, especially many of the serious ones, may be read, in the present day, with pleasure, is Mrs. Rowe. Mr. Rowton is in error in describing her as of a London family, and as the wife of a 'literary' gentleman. Thomas Rowe was certainly a man of literary taste, but it was as a dissenting minister, that his accomplished wife wished him rather to be known. It is to us a gratifying fact, that unquestionably the first female writer of Queen Anne's days, was no court lady, no nursling of the high church clergy, but the daughter of a sufferer at Sedgemoor, and the consistent member of Paul's Meeting at Taunton. Mr. Rowton's specimens of Elizabeth Rowe's poetry, only two, form an utterly inadequate representation of her poetical merits. Although, indeed, many of her poems, like some of her friend Dr. Watts's, from the variations of taste, would not in the present day receive the high measure of praise originally bestowed on them, a very pleasing selection might yet be made, which we think would much gratify the reader. The poems of Mary, Countess of Winchelsea, have much merit; the minute touches of nature they display, afford pleasing evidence of a simple taste, which the frigid classicalities of that so-called 'Augustan age' could not destroy.

Jane Brereton, a contemporary English poetess, wrote with much vigour. Several of the epigrams which form the staple of our 'Elegant Extracts,' are her composition; and among them, that admirable one, which doubtless our readers remember, on Beau Nash's full-length picture at Bath, between the busts of Sir Isaac Newton and Pope.

Specimens from about a dozen obscure writers follow; among them, we may remark, that over-praised ode to 'Indifference,' by Mrs. Greville, and then we arrive at Caroline Symonds, who died, however, in her thirteenth, not her eleventh year. What an exquisite sonnet is that on the 'Blighted Rosebud!' we, however, give the following, as it is less known:—

‘ TO LADY LUCY FOLEY, ON HER BIRTHDAY.

‘ No morn now blushes on the enamoured sight,
 No genial sun now warms the torpid day ;
 Since February sternly checked his ray,
 When Lucy's eyes first beamed their azure light.
 What though no vernal flowers my hand invite
 To crop their fragrance on your natal day ;
 Lucy, for you, the snow-drop and the bay
 Shall blend the unfading green and modest white.
 Though on this festive hour, with aspect bleak,
 Stern winter frowns, in icy garments drest ;
 Still may the rosy summer robe your cheek,
 And the green spring still bud within your breast ;
 Till the world fading on your closing eyes,
 You find a golden autumn in the skies.’—p. 180.

Charlotte Smith's sonnets have great merit ; their gloomy tendency, however, takes much from their effect, for the true poetic spirit is joyous. This is very graceful :—

‘ Should the lone wanderer, fainting on his way,
 Rest for a moment of the sultry hours,
 And, though his path through thorns and roughness lay,
 Pluck the wild rose, or woodbine's gadding flowers,
 Weaving gay wreaths beneath some sheltering tree,
 The sense of sorrow he awhile may lose.
 So have I sought thy flowers, fair Poesy !
 So charmed my way with Friendship and the Muse.
 But darker now grows life's unhappy day,
 Dark with new clouds of evil yet to come,
 Her pencil sickening Fancy throws away,
 And weary Hope reclines upon the tomb,
 And points my wishes to that tranquil shore,
 Where the pale spectre, Care, pursues no more.’—p. 186.

We cannot agree with Mr. Rowton, that ‘ Hannah More has scarcely received her merited share of fame, as a poet,’ still less can we allow that there is anything in her verses approaching ‘ the real poetry of inspiration.’ The whole character of Hannah More's writings prove her to have been a strong and clear-minded woman, but one in whom the imaginative faculty was wholly wanting. Indeed, it was only while surrounded by an artificial atmosphere, that she ever thought of writing poetry. Left to pursue her own bent, she turned instinctively to prose—clear, condensed prose—but still, prose that showed the poetical element to be wanting. Passing over names, and poems which have passed into oblivion, and others which, half forgotten,—

such as Mrs. Grant, Mrs. Hunter, Mrs. Piozzi,—are scarcely worth the care of recalling, we come to a genuine poetess—one who stands in the foremost rank of the poets of England—Joanna Baillie. We are not at all pleased with Mr. Rowton's selection from the works of this marvellous woman. We rather think he fails to appreciate the genuine character of such writers as Joanna Baillie, and Elizabeth Browning. There is more than 'a Scott-like spirit' in that exquisite lyric, 'Oh, quit thy bower,'—a spirit akin to Chaucer and Spenser, rather, and which breathes through all her descriptive poetry. How fine are her battle songs, too! how sweet every short snatch of song, scattered through her noble dramas! The devotional poems of this great poetess are less known than they deserve to be. We therefore subjoin the two following. How magnificent is the 'lofty verse' of the first!

I.

'O God! who mad'st earth, sea and air,
And living creatures, free and fair,
Thy hallowed praise is everywhere,
Halleluja!

'All blended in the swelling song
Are wise and simple, weak and strong,
Sweet woman's voice and infant's tongue,
Halleluja!

'Yea, woods and winds and waves convey
To the rapt ear a hymn, and say
'He who hath made us we obey,
Halleluja!'

II.

'Up! sluggard soul! awake and raise,
To thy blest Lord a song of praise,
Who lifts thee from the gloomy grave,
When low on earth thou liest,—
To Him who lived and died to save,
Hosanna in the highest!

'To Him, thy friend of friends, whose love
Invites thee to a home above,
When thou, the world's poor outcast slave,
In grief and anguish criest,—
To Him who lived and died to save,
Hosanna in the highest!

'His love a living stream hath found
For pilgrims faint, on barren ground,
Their parched and languid souls to lave,
When earthly streams are driest,—
To Him who lived and died to save,
Hosanna in the highest!—p. 302.

With all our admiration of Mary Russel Mitford, we should scarcely place her in the rank of our poets. She has much poetic feeling, much descriptive fancy, but she seems trammelled with verse, while, in prose, nothing can be more unconstrained and delightful than her style. Of Mary Howitt, we have lately spoken—we fully agree in the high character Mr. Rowton has given her, yet we admire her rather as a writer of exquisitely wild and beautiful ballads, than as ‘a philosopher,’ as she is curiously enough called.

Caroline Southey has many points of resemblance to Mary Howitt, although the two writers stand so widely removed in opinion. For exquisite pathos, many of Caroline Southey’s poems are unrivalled; some, too, display a solemn force, which reminds us of our elder, religious poets. Such is this:—

‘ THE PAUPER’S DEATH-BED.

‘ Tread softly!—bow the head—
In reverent silence bow!
No passing bell doth toll,
Yet an immortal soul
Is passing now.

‘ Stranger! however great,
With lowly reverence bow:
There’s one in that poor shed—
One by that paltry bed,
Greater than thou.

‘ Beneath that beggar’s roof,
Lo! Death doth keep his state;
Enter!—no crowds attend—
Enter!—no guards defend
This palace-gate!

‘ That pavement, damp and cold,
No smiling courtiers tread;
One silent woman stands,
Lifting with meagre hands
A dying head.

‘ No mingling voices sound—
An infant wail alone;
A sob suppressed—again
That short, deep gasp, and then
The parting groan.

‘ Oh, change! oh, wondrous change!
Burst are the prison bars:
This moment there, so low,
So agonised, and now
Beyond the stars!

' Oh, change ! stupendous change !
 There lies the soulless clod :
 The sun eternal breaks—
 The new immortal wakes—
 Wakes with his God !'— pp. 397, 398.

Mr. Rowton has made a mistake in regard to this lady's parentage. She is not the *daughter* of Lisle Bowles, but his sister, we believe.

Mrs. Hemans deservedly occupies a high place among our female poets, far higher, we think, than Mrs. Norton. Of poor L. E. L., her untimely fate forbids us speaking slightly; otherwise, we might remark how much of her verse consisted in mere brilliant phraseology, and how little of it appeared to be the spontaneous outpouring of her mind. For deep and earnest utterance of profound and eloquent thought, for fine and lofty imagination—for the true poet's eye—we must turn to Elizabeth Barrett Browning, whose works Mr. Rowton most strangely characterizes as 'the poetry of pure reason!' That she is a 'learned' lady, seems to be the reason of the modified praise our editor bestows upon her; but, as learning has never been considered to have spoiled either Dante, Milton, or Goethe, we have yet to learn why it should spoil a poetess. As to its injuring such writers as Mrs. Carter, and Hannah More, the case was, they had not the poet mind to arrange, and make use of their stores. But the simplicity of Elizabeth Barrett's poems are equalled by no female writer, save Mary Howitt. That exquisite lay of a broken heart, 'Bertha in the Lane;' that vivid record of childish pleasures, 'The Forsaken Garden;' that playful little poem, 'The Swan's Nest,'—could a writer ignorant of aught but her mother-tongue, have composed more beautifully-simple poetry? But then, who can blame her stores of learning, as he reads that magnificent poem, 'The Dead Pan,' where 'the fair, false gods of Hellas' sweep by—each distinct in character and office, each as vivid to the reader's imagination, as of yore they appeared to the tranced worshipper in the ancient mysteries.' And then her large acquaintance with mediæval legend,—what noble use has she made of it in her metrical romances—the 'Lay of the Page,' 'The Brown Rosary,' and that finest, with its solemn refrain, 'Toll Slowly,' 'The Rhyme of the Duchess May!' Truly in the very first rank of our poetesses—highest among the high, must Elizabeth Barrett Browning be placed.

Besides the contemporary writers omitted, whose claim to notice in such a collection cannot fairly be disputed, there are several of the last century that should have had a

place. Anne Bannerman was surely as well deserving notice, as the authoress of 'Auld Robin Gray;' and Mrs. Steele, as Ann Yearsley, the Bristol milk-woman. We are surprised, too, at the omission of Jane Taylor; her 'Squire's Pew' reads like Wordsworth. Her sister, Mrs. Gilbert, too, has written many very graceful pieces of poetry; Mrs. Josiah Conder's beautiful sonnets and poems, also, ought not to have been overlooked. Mr. Rowton promises, 'should public favour encourage him, he will continue the criticisms here interrupted.' A far better plan, we think, would be, to exclude in a future edition, Mrs. Carters and Mrs. Chapones, — and Hannah Mores, too, — for they more appropriately take their place among our prose writers; — to pass over all those ladies also, whose fame rests on merely two or three copies of 'sweetly pretty' verses; and to fill up the large space which would thus be left with specimens from those who wrote, not merely rhyme, but poetry.

ART. VII.—*A Treatise on the Physical Cause of the Death of Christ, and its Relation to the Principles and Practice of Christianity.* By William Stroud, M.D. London: Hamilton and Adams.

THE main object of this valuable contribution to the scientific part of theology, which is dedicated to Dr. Pye Smith, is to prove that the death of Christ was immediately occasioned by *rupture of the heart*. It is a work which has evidently cost the author, much research. An outline of it was drawn up seventeen years ago, since which time, Dr. Stroud states that it 'has been repeatedly revised, corrected, and enlarged; and the result is at length laid before the public, with as much accuracy and fulness as the author has been able to impart.'

The first part of the work contains a most elaborate investigation of the immediate cause of the death of Christ; and consists of a minute detail of the evangelical narrative of the event, a summary of the principal circumstances which attended it, the rejection of erroneous explanations of the fact, and a demonstration of its immediate cause. The second part consists of the elucidation of scriptural truth by the foregoing explanation, and contains five chapters; on the Doctrine of Atonement in Relation to the Death of Christ, on the Types and Prophecies of the Old Testament which refer to it, on the Narratives and Symbols of the New Testament in relation to

the Death of Christ, and on the peculiar Evidence of the Truth of Christianity furnished by the foregoing explanation. The subjects of the notes and illustrations, occupying about a hundred and forty pages, are as follows:—the erroneous readings of the Vatican Manuscript, on Crucifixion, on Agony and Bloody Sweat, on the Rupture of the Heart from Mental Emotion, on the Blood and Water which flowed from the Side of Christ, on the Darkness of the Sun and Moon during the sufferings of Christ, on Peter's Denials of Christ, on the Scriptural use of the terms Covenant and Testament. The volume closes with a list of about two hundred authors and works that have been consulted and quoted in the volume.

Our readers will see that this work is by no means a flimsy or hasty production. It is such as none but a medical man could have been expected to write, considering the minute information on anatomy, physiology, and the cognate subjects, which it contains; but it is at the same time sufficiently popular thoroughly to interest the general reader. The author has brought forward a mass of illustrations, which are both surprising and appalling; surprising, as tending to show what corporeal sufferings and tortures human nature is capable of enduring, and with fortitude, too; and appalling, as not unfrequently exhibiting the worse than brutal, the fiendish cruelty which beings, in the shape of men, can sometimes find it in their hearts to inflict on their fellow-men. We quote the following:—

‘The fortitude displayed under crucifixion by Bomilcar is thus described by the pagan historian, Justin. ‘He was nailed by the Carthaginians to a gibbet in the middle of the forum, that the same place which had been the scene of his honours, might now witness his punishment. But Bomilcar bore the cruelty of the citizens with magnanimity, and from the height of the cross, as from a tribunal, declaimed against their crimes.’ When describing the punishments used in Madagascar, the Rev. Mr. Ellis remarks:—‘In a few cases of great enormity, a sort of crucifixion has been resorted to; and in addition to this, burning or roasting at a slow fire, kept at some distance from the sufferer, has completed the horrors of this miserable death. In the year 1825, a man was condemned to crucifixion, who had murdered a female for the sake of stealing her child. He carried the child for sale to the public market, where the child was recognised, and the murderer detected. He bore his punishment in the most hardened manner, avenging himself by all the violence he was capable of exercising, upon those who dragged him to the place of execution. Not a single groan escaped him during the period he was nailed to the wood, nor while the cross was fixed upright in the earth.’ Even the punishments of impalement, and suspension on a hook, whereby the vital organs are severely bruised or lacerated, are longer protracted and better supported than might be imagined. After

describing the manner in which the former is executed amongst the Turks, the Rev. Mr. Maundrell continues as follows :—‘ The criminal, sitting on the stake, remains not only still alive, but also drinks, smokes, and talks, as one perfectly sensible, and thus some have continued for twenty-four hours : but generally, after the tortured wretch has remained in this deplorable and ignominious posture an hour or two, some one of the by-standers is permitted to give him a gracious stab to the heart, so putting an end to his inexpressible misery.’ Referring to numerous executions which took place at Constantinople in 1829, Mr. Slade says :—‘ Death triumphed in many shapes during this terrible fortnight. Two wretches, convicted of attempting to fire the new seraglio at Baglerbey, on the Bosphorus, were impaled ; one still breathed on the following day. The same author reports the execution at Salonica, in the ensuing year, of Chaban, a captain of banditti, described as a very fine-looking man, of about thirty-five. As a preparatory exercise, he was suspended by his arms for twelve hours. The following day, a hook was thrust into his side, by which he was suspended to a tree, and there hung, enduring the agony of thirst till the third evening, when death closed the scene ; but before that, about an hour, the birds, already considering him their own, had alighted on his brow to peck his eyes. During this frightful period, he uttered no unmanly complaints, only repeating several times—‘ Had I known that I was to suffer this infernal death, I would never have done what I have done. From the moment I led the Klephte’s life, I had death before my eyes, and was prepared to meet it, but I expected to die, as my predecessors, by decapitation.’ Bishop Wiseman borrows an interesting narrative, originally written in Arabic, and remarkably apposite to the present purpose, of the execution of a Mameluke, who was crucified under the walls of Damascus, for the murder of his master, and although quite a youth, was possessed of great strength and prowess. His hands, arms, and feet, having been nailed to the cross, he remained alive from mid-day on Friday, to the same hour on Sunday, when he died. He bore his punishment with great firmness, without uttering a groan, or changing his countenance, complaining only of thirst during the whole of the first day ; after which, he was patient and silent till he died.’—Chapter iii.

In the fourth chapter, in which Dr. Stroud treats of the immediate cause of the death of Christ, he maintains the theory, partially and occasionally admitted by others, but never before so distinctly brought out, and so fortified by illustrations, that this event was occasioned *by agony of mind, producing rupture of the heart*. In the garden of Gethsemane, the author thinks that Christ endured mental agony so intense, that, if divine interposition had not limited it, his life would have been destroyed, without the aid of any other sufferings ; but, in consequence of its being thus mitigated, its immediate effects were confined to violent palpitation of the heart, accompanied with bloody sweat. The agony being renewed on the cross, in connexion with the usual bodily sufferings attending crucifixion, and no divine

interference now checking the causes or the effects, sudden death took place; and that the cause was rupture of the heart, was indicated by a discharge of blood and water from his side, when it was afterwards pierced with a spear.

It is well known, that all strong emotions are attended with very sensible effects about the region of the præcordia. Common phraseology indicates, that this also is the general impression of mankind. The heart is said to *jump for joy*, to be *oppressed*, to *ache*, to be burdened with a *heavy load*, and the like. Nay, we hear sometimes of persons having died of a *broken heart*, when, although the death may not be sudden, there may be more truth in the description of its real cause than many are aware of, regarding the expression as a mere figure of speech, or, at most, as only indicating a conviction that death was, somehow, produced by anxiety of mind. Dr. Stroud has entered into a minute detail of the effects produced on the action of the heart, the diaphragm, and the organs of respiration, by the excitement of strong emotions; and he adduces numerous instances of death having been occasioned in this way, either more suddenly or more protractedly, as appeared on dissection. Many examples are also referred to, of *diapedesis*, or sweating of blood, a phenomenon which was taken notice of even by that marvellous early scientific investigator, Aristotle.* Lucan and Theophrastus mention the same thing. We quote the following illustrations:—

‘Of all the maladies which affect cutaneous transpiration,’ says Dr Millingen, ‘sweating of blood is the most singular. The base Charles ix. of France sank under this disorder, as stated by Mezeray. The same historian relates the case of a governor of a town taken by storm, and condemned to die: he was seized with a profuse sweating of blood the moment he beheld the scaffold. Lombard mentions a general who was affected in a similar manner, on losing a battle. The same writer tells us of a man who was so terrified, when falling into the hands of a ruthless banditti, that blood oozed from every pore. Henry ab Heer records the case of a man, in whom small worms accompanied the bloody secretion. Dr. Fournier relates the case of a magistrate who was attacked with diapedesis after any excitement, whether of a pleasurable or painful nature. Baron Haller declares, that passions of the mind sometimes force blood from the skin, and infers that the sudoriferous tubes are not much smaller than the capillary blood-vessels.’

These and many other similar cases are given, some of them at full length, from the German Ephemerides, De Thou, Maldonato, Zacchias, and Schenk.

Our author also adduces many examples of death arising from violent emotions of the mind, from Zimmermann, Vaterus,

* Lib. iii. de part. animal. cap. v.; et lib. iii. de histor. animal. cap. xvi.

Dr. Mead, the Annual Register, Bedingfield, etc.; most of which, there was reason to believe, were caused by rupture of the heart. Numerous medical testimonies are also brought forward to prove, that in case more especially of sudden rupture of parts in or about the heart, the pericardium has been found to contain crassamentum and serum in a separated state, or in popular language, *blood* and *water*. Dr. Stroud concludes, from the vast mass of evidence which he has adduced, and from a comparison of the different views that have been taken, by various writers, of the proximate cause of the death of Jesus, that 'all the (other) explanations which have been proposed are either incapable of accounting for the facts recorded, or inconsistent with them; whilst, on the other hand, that which is here substituted in their place has been proved to be real, adequate, and in perfect accordance with all the circumstances and requirements of the case.'

We cannot take leave of this work without assuring our readers, that they will find very much both of instruction and of interest in it. It contains a mass of information respecting the bodily phenomena of Gethsemane and the cross, which can be found in no other volume. The author has been indefatigable in his researches into all the testimony of this kind which is to be found, both ancient and modern; and, as far as our non-medical judgment goes, we should say that he has succeeded in rendering his thesis exceedingly probable, if not in placing it even beyond a doubt. The volume is replete with valuable matter, and will be read with great advantage by those readers who are anxious to justify the theological sentiments which they adhere to, by a true and scientific appreciation of facts so important as those which are here so elaborately discussed. We think that the work, as a whole, may be regarded as a very valuable contribution to theological science, and as one in which a medical man has turned his talents and his indefatigable researches to excellent account, in the elucidation of Christian history.

We close our remarks with one more reference to a different subject, 'the darkness of the sun and moon during the sufferings of Christ.' Dr. Stroud adopts the opinion that, at the time of Christ's agony in the garden, there was a natural eclipse of the moon, and during the three last hours of his crucifixion, an extraordinary darkness of the sun, occasioned by a shower of volcanic ashes, which at that time overspread the land of Palestine. In the former opinion, the author follows Vogler, professor of Philosophy and Medicine in the University of Helmstadt, in 1673, and Kennedy, author of a 'System of Astronomical Chronology.' Dr. Stroud, however, wisely treats

the question respecting the eclipse, as undecided; remarking that 'the final determination of this interesting point must be left to astronomers.' The darkness at the crucifixion, he thinks, was not necessarily universal; and might have proceeded from a 'simultaneous eruption in Asia Minor, or some other neighbouring volcanic country, whence it would naturally have been wafted over Palestine by the westerly winds, which always prevail at the paschal season.' The author then adduces the memorable instance at Detroit, in North America, in the year 1762, recorded in the transactions of the Royal Society; the case at Tripoli, in 1787; that at St. Vincent, in 1812; and the still more awful instances of the eruption of the Tomboro mountain, in 1815, quoted from Sir. T. S. Raffles; and that at Rio Mopan, in Central America, in 1835. We quote the account of the eruption of the Souffrier Mountain, in the island of St. Vincent, April 30, 1812:—

'The break of day, if such it could be called, was truly terrific. Darkness was only visible at eight o'clock, and the birth of May dawned like the day of judgment. A chaotic gloom enveloped the mountain, and an impenetrable haze hung over the sea, with black sluggish clouds, of a sulphureous cast. The whole island was covered with favilla, cinders, scoria, and broken masses of volcanic matter. It was not until the afternoon, the muttering noise of the mountain sank gradually into a solemn yet suspicious silence. An enormous shower of ashes from this eruption drifted with the wind to the island of Barbadoes, distant from St. Vincent about 110 miles, and the darkness thereby produced is thus depicted by a resident planter:—'About half-past seven o'clock (A. M. May 1,) it was so dark that candles were brought in. At eight o'clock it was pitch dark in the open air; or, in other words, so dark that we could not perceive our hands when held up before our faces, at two feet distance. No night at home in winter, when neither the moon nor a star is to be seen, was ever more sombre. This darkness continued of the same intenseness until twenty-five minutes past twelve o'clock, that is, for the space of four hours and twenty minutes; at which time we perceived, very indistinctly, the outlines of large or near objects. Until eight o'clock in the evening, there was a constant fall from the clouds of a substance in extremely fine flakes, which, when first gathered from our clothes, had the appearance of the dust of wood-ashes, but which, when suffered to accumulate, assumed the resemblance of powdered rotten-stone, and possessed the same quality of cleaning brass. Assuming the product of an experiment, as the medium quantity which fell on a foot square throughout the island, and estimating from our best maps the quantity of land in the island at 106,470 acres, the total quantity of this extraneous substance which is now on its surface, independent of that which is upon the trees, could not be less than 1,739,187,750 gallons, wine measure, or 6,811,817,512 pounds avoirdupois.

'The eruption of Tomboro extended evidences of its existence over the whole of the Molucca islands. The distance to which the cloud of ashes

was carried so quickly as to produce utter darkness was clearly pointed out to have been the island of Celebes, and the district of Grésik, on Java. The former is 217 nautical miles distant from the seat of the volcano; the latter, in a direct line, more than 300 geographical miles.'—Notes and Illustrations, vi.

ART. VIII.—*The Life of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke; with Selections from his Correspondence, Diaries, Speeches and Judgments.* By George Harris, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 3 Vols. London: Edward Moxon. 1847.

It is not to the credit of the English bar that the *Life* of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke has remained to be written in our day. His professional skill and high station, the authority which his name commands, and the political services he rendered, might well have gained earlier attention, and have insured a more prompt and adequate discharge of the duties of the biographer. Nor is it easy to account for the neglect which he has experienced in the department of legal literature. Few men were more indebted to their profession for the honors attained. Other members of the bar have been greatly aided in their ascent to power by qualities which were extra-legal. Splendid oratory in some, and signal political services in others, have facilitated professional success. Parliamentary eloquence has paved the way for judicial elevation, and qualities beside the bench have placed their possessor on the seat of judgment. Not so in the case of Lord Hardwicke. He was a thorough lawyer, and labored diligently in his vocation. His legal abilities laid the foundation of his fame, and opened up to him the highest honors of his profession. The patronage of Lord Macclesfield was a favorable circumstance in his early career, and other attributes than those of a lawyer doubtless contributed to his later promotions, but on the whole, his legal reputation preceded his political. He approved himself in his own proper walk before he essayed the more questionable path of politics. His reputation at the bar, the confidence reposed in his legal erudition and pains-taking, constituted the basis of his success. He was first a lawyer and afterwards a politician. His acknowledged success in the former character, recommended him to the notice of those who had to dispense the honors and rewards attendant on the latter. His career in the Commons was not marked by any extraordinary success. He did not possess the qualities of a first-rate debater, nor was there anything splendid, or genius-like in his oratory. But his judgment was sound, his style of speaking

clear, forcible, and manly, and his power of application vastly greater than that of most of his compeers. Had he been without repute as a lawyer, his parliamentary efforts would have done little more than command the respect of his auditors. Unlike many of his legal brethren, he would have escaped failure, but could not have achieved a high name amongst the national representatives. As it was, however, his senatorial efforts were set off by his legal fame. Westminster Hall contributed to the success of St. Stephen's,—the acknowledged ability and learning of the advocate gave weight and force to the addresses of the representative. The reputation of Lord Hardwicke ought, therefore, to be cherished by the bar. It reflects honor on their profession. Its lustre is their own; and we are, consequently, the more surprised that his career has not been duly traced, and his merits discriminated, before this.

It is due to the present biographer to remark, that he has had peculiar difficulties to contend with. Nearly three-quarters of a century have elapsed since the death of Lord Hardwicke, and there is, consequently, a lack of the freshness and living truth which personal intercourse alone can secure. This, however, it may be conceded, is somewhat counterbalanced by freedom from the partialities which such intercourse begets, and the more perfect rectitude with which a biographer may be expected to pronounce his judgments. But, in the present case, a large portion of the materials requisite for the elucidation of his lordship's character has already been communicated to the public, owing to the great liberality evinced by the Hardwicke family, 'in giving to the world, whenever they have been called for, whatever of interest or value has been found amongst his papers.' An honorable example has thus been set, which tells somewhat prejudicially on the novelty, though not certainly on the sterling value, of the present biography. 'There are few,' says Mr. Harris, 'if any, productions of importance relating to the transactions of his time, whether biographical, political, legal, or historical, but what have been enriched by contributions from these relics.' It must not, however, be supposed that the materials of these volumes are wanting in novelty. Some are unquestionably familiar to the historical reader, but the great mass of them are now for the first time made public, and even those which were previously known, derive additional interest from the light thrown on them by the letters now printed. 'The private correspondence of this great man with his own family and personal friends, and which forms by far the largest and most interesting portion of these biographical materials, is almost entirely unpublished, as is, indeed, the principal part of that of an official character.' Mr. Harris

has had the advantage of a free access to the family papers preserved at Wimpole; and, whatever may be thought of the skill with which he has woven his materials together, two opinions cannot be entertained of his great diligence and research. He has labored through an immense mass of private and public documents, has sought information from every accessible source, and in the extent of his solicitude to do justice to his theme, has encumbered his pages with many matters which were but very slightly, if at all, connected with the subject of his biography. His fault is that of repletion, not of deficiency, and his work is consequently extended beyond the limits which are desirable. There is no lack of substance in his narrative, though the light of genius, the play of imagination, and the disquisitions of philosophy are wholly wanting.

Philip Yorke, Lord Hardwicke, was born at Dover on the 1st of December, 1690. His father was an attorney, of good extraction and respectably connected, though somewhat straightened in his circumstances. He was placed, at an early age, under the tuition of Mr. Samuel Morland, at Bethnal Green, whose taste and classical acquirements constituted him one of the best scholars of his day. Mr. Morland's academy was in great repute amongst dissenters, and our young lawyer's repairing thither, was probably owing to the influence of his mother, who was a presbyterian. There is no record of Philip Yorke's schoolboy days, nor any evidence of his powers having been precocious, or his diligence exemplary. The Latin letters of Mr. Morland, which have been preserved, convey the impression of an idle but clever boy,—a pupil who might do credit to his tutor, if he could but be induced to apply vigorously to his proper studies. About the age of sixteen he was articled to Mr. Salkeld, of Brooke Street, London, 'an attorney of great intelligence, leading practice, and respectable connection.' His mother is said to have opposed this destination, wishing her son to be put to some 'honest trade,' but the husband carried his point, and young Yorke, during the two years he remained with Mr. Salkeld, 'applied himself to business with great diligence, and gained the entire goodwill and esteem of his master.'

'A curious and amusing anecdote is told of his career while in his clerkship, which is certainly not uncharacteristic of Yorke. Mrs. Salkeld, who considered herself as his mistress, and who was a notable woman, thinking she might take such liberties with a clerk with whom the writer says no premium had been received, used frequently to send him from his business on family errands, and to fetch in little necessities from Covent Garden and other markets. This, when he became a favorite with his master, and was entrusted with his business and cash, he thought an indignity, and got rid of by a stratagem which prevented

complaints or expostulation. In his accounts with his master, there frequently occurred coach-hire for roots of celery and turnips from Covent Garden, or a barrel of oysters from the fishmonger's, and other sundries for the carriage of similar dainties, indicative alike of Mrs. Salkeld's love of good cheer, and the young clerk's dexterity and spirit in freeing himself from her attempted domination. Mr. Salkeld observing this, urged on his spouse the impropriety and ill housewifery of such a practice, and thus Yorke's device for its discontinuance proved completely successful. From this circumstance, however, it may surely be rather inferred that Yorke paid a handsome premium for being articulated to Mr. Salkeld, than that he was a 'gratis' clerk; as in the former case he might consider an unwarrantable liberty had been taken with him in requesting him to perform menial offices of this nature. In the latter event, he would have been somewhat restrained from any active resistance to the petty tyranny of Mrs. Salkeld, by which her ire might have been roused to a degree dangerous to a dependent on her husband's generosity or favour.'—Vol. i. p. 32.

He entered as a student of the Middle Temple on the 29th of November, 1708, and applied himself with diligence to the studies adapted to fit him for professional eminence. He was very fond of collecting old law works in manuscripts, and occupied much of his time in copying out cases and opinions, and also in familiarising himself with the judgments which had been pronounced on important points. It is impossible to over-rate the value to a young lawyer of such studies. The future chancellor was probably greatly indebted to them for his subsequent eminence, and drew from the investigations to which they led, many of the materials that contributed to the soundness and permanent worth of his judicial judgments. Mere genius may assist the advocate, but misleads the judge. Where the passions of a jury are to be moved, it plays an important part, but when the decisions of a sage are to be pronounced, its coruscations too frequently lead astray. The introduction of Mr. Yorke to Lord Macclesfield, then lord chief justice, was an important event in his life. He is reported—though of this there is no certain evidence—to have been engaged as a law-tutor to his lordship's son. One thing, however, is clear; an acquaintance occurred which speedily ripened into friendship, and proved most auspicious to the fortunes of the young barrister. The character of Macclesfield renders his patronage a somewhat doubtful honor, but it is due to the young student to whom it was extended to remark, that however flagitious his lordship's subsequent dishonesty as chancellor, he was a clear discernor of merit, and not indisposed to acknowledge its worth. Mr. Yorke was called to the bar on the 27th of May, 1715, and was soon afterwards—through the influence, probably, of Lord Macclesfield—retained as junior counsel on the behalf of the crown,

in the prosecution of Dorrell and others for attempting to raise the Pretender's standard at Oxford and Bath. His progress was much more rapid than is usual, which may be in part, though not wholly, accounted for by the circumstances referred to in the following extract:—

‘Two circumstances undoubtedly conduced to give Yorke a very great advantage in entering on his career, so far, at least, as regards the opportunity he had for exhibiting his proficiency and powers, and of obtaining a favourable hearing from the court. The first of these was the patronage of Lord Macclesfield, who was then the Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, and shortly afterwards became Lord Chancellor; and who is said to have manifested his favour towards his young *protégé* in a very marked manner, so as to excite the anger of some of the older members of the profession. And it is recorded that Serjeant Pengelly, in particular, was so disgusted at frequently hearing Lord Macclesfield, when Chancellor, observe, that ‘what Mr. Yorke said had not been answered,’ that he one day threw down his brief, and declared he would no more attend a court where he found ‘Mr. Yorke was not to be answered.’ That Lord Macclesfield was very partial to Yorke, no doubt can be entertained; and it is also said that he did not lose an opportunity to compliment him from the bench on the learning and skill which he exhibited in his arguments, which it would be satisfactory to see obtained the fullest attention from the presiding judge. But that Lord Macclesfield was ever induced unduly to favour him, by giving more weight to his arguments than they deserved, there is no reason to suppose. * * * * *

‘The other circumstance which must be considered as greatly favouring the rise of Mr. Yorke at the bar, was his connection with Mr. Salkeld, who, it can hardly be doubted, would not fail to employ his influence, and the opportunities afforded by his very large professional practice and connection, in advancing the progress of one, whose adoption of the bar as his profession he had been mainly instrumental in promoting.’ —*Ib.* p. 76.

Such circumstances may facilitate the early success of the advocate, but cannot permanently sustain him. They secure a fair opportunity for the display of talent, by enabling the aspirant to show what he is, to prove his power, and to win confidence. The lack of such patronage may be fatal to some who would otherwise rise to distinction, but the possession of it does little more than clear the stage on which a man may shape his own fortune, and achieve for himself a name. In the present instance there were other and more powerful causes, so far at least as professional rank and permanent reputation are concerned. ‘Not only,’ says Mr. Harris, ‘did Yorke take due care to qualify himself by hard reading and extensive research before his call to the bar, for the successful pursuit of his profession, but when he commenced practice, he appears to have attended

all the different courts, both law and equity, and to have taken very elaborate notes of their proceedings.'

His reputation now pointed him out to the administration as a desirable supporter in the lower house, and he was accordingly returned in the spring of 1719 for Lewes, in Sussex. The expences of his election were defrayed by the government, and his qualification, like that of many in the present day, was fictitious. The old borough system — not wholly extinct, unhappily, even in these reform days — afforded facilities for the introduction of members which threw contempt on the representative principle of our constitution; and no difficulty, consequently, was experienced in securing Mr. Yorke's return. It was only for the minister to resolve on his course, and the means of accomplishing it were ready to his hand. The state of parties rendered the ministry anxious to strengthen their parliamentary phalanx. The great Whig party was disunited. There was mutiny in its camp. Insubordination was rapidly spreading, and various cliques were in the course of formation, which severally sought their own aggrandizement at the cost of the nation they ruled. The intrigues of the Tories during the latter part of the reign of Queen Anne had, for a time, excluded them from power, and their recent sympathy with the Pretender, had extended the term of their banishment from court. In the struggle of parties the Whigs had been successful, and though their triumph was shaded by the Septennial Act, and the wholesale corruption subsequently practised by Walpole, we must not forget, that to their prompt and vigorous action, nobly seconded by the unbought services of dissenters, we owe the continued exclusion of the House of Stuart from the British throne. The diminished weight of the Tory party, allowed the Whigs an opportunity of quarrelling amongst themselves, of which they eagerly and in right-earnest availed themselves. Sunderland was premier at the time of Mr. Yorke's entrance into parliament, but possessed only a feeble hold on the support of the most able and energetic members of the Whig party. His precarious tenure of office was shown in the defeat of the Peerage bill in 1719, one of the most shortsighted and undisguised attempts of political faction to perpetuate itself. Walpole was mainly concerned in its rejection, and was clearly regarded as the only man who could save his party, and the country, from the difficulties which were gathering around them. Such was the state of affairs when Mr. Yorke entered the Commons' House.

A few days after his election, he married a young widow, the niece of Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls; and an amusing anecdote is related in connexion with this event, that illustrates

the sordid spirit in which such matters are frequently arranged. The consent of the lady having been obtained, we are told :—

‘Yorke went to Worcester, and presented to Mr. Charles Cocks, the father of the young lady, and who was a highly respectable, though somewhat eccentric magistrate and country gentleman, who had married Mary, the eldest sister of Lord Chancellor Somers, a letter from his brother-in-law, Sir Joseph Jekyll, recommending the bearer as a proper match for his eldest daughter Margaret. On perusing the letter, the old gentleman told Mr. Yorke to leave his rental and writings with him, and he should have an answer without delay ; nor could he easily believe, on finding the bearer of this letter was furnished with nothing of that sort, that he was the man his brother Jekyll so strongly recommended to him. On representing his doubts and difficulties to Sir Joseph, he received for answer not to hesitate a moment accepting the present proposal ; for that the gentleman who made it, and was now content with his daughter’s fortune of six thousand pounds, would, in another year, expect not less than three or four times that sum with a wife. This argument had its effect, all objections ceased, and the marriage took place on the 16th of May, 1719.’—*Ib.* p. 94.

The solicitor-generalship having become vacant by the resignation of Sir W. Thompson, Mr. Yorke was appointed his successor, in March, 1720, and was soon afterwards knighted. This appointment created great dissatisfaction at the bar, many of Mr. Yorke’s seniors complaining of so young a man being advanced over them. We are not surprised at this. There was much ground for it, according to all the conventional rules of the profession. The Lord Chancellor’s patronage, however,—for Macclesfield had now succeeded to the woolsack—determined the appointment, and, happily for the country, the man for whom it was exerted, was worthy of the honor. The presidency annexed to his post, called him to lead in the causes he undertook, and his biographer remarks :—

‘From the constitution of his mind, Yorke was probably naturally better fitted for a leader than for a junior. Many of his principal powers and qualifications would be quite lost in the latter capacity, and could only be displayed to full advantage in the former. Knowledge of principles, reasoning power, eloquence, discrimination, and all the great resources of the mind which enable the leader to distinguish himself, in the junior have no opportunity of being evinced, in whom an accurate acquaintance with the details of the case, and a knowledge of the legal decisions bearing upon it, are mainly expected. Yorke, accordingly, seems to have gained far more credit as a leader than as a junior. While in the latter position he appears to have been distrusted and underrated, in the former he astonished and delighted all who confided to him their suits. The greater the undertakings he engaged in, the greater did he prove himself by his mode of conducting them. In some ordinary cases he seems not to have been successful. It has, indeed, happened that

several great lawyers, who have been eminently distinguished as leading counsel, as juniors either failed, or, at any rate, acquired no celebrity while acting in this subordinate situation. This was more or less the case with Lord Mansfield, Lord Camden, and also Dunning.—*Ib.* p. 100.

Very different accounts have been given of his parliamentary efforts. By some they have been described as total failures. Horace Walpole—no authority, by-the-bye, in matters concerning his opponents—sneers at them; Smollett, who knew no merit without the circle of toryism, describes them as worthless, and Lord Campbell has placed them in a very inferior rank. Yet it is obvious to remark, that his speeches commanded most respectful attention, that they were usually replied to by the leading personages of the House, and that those of which we have the fullest reports are distinguished, not, indeed, by showy, but by sterling qualities. Nor is it likely, as Mr. Harris remarks, that accession to office would so speedily have followed his election to the House of Commons, 'unless his success there had answered the expectations that had been formed respecting him; more especially as there were at that time in the House several much older and leading members of the profession, to whom recourse might have been had.'

In January, 1724, he was advanced to the Attorney-Generalship, and thus rose to the head of his profession in less than nine years. So rapid a promotion could not well fail to produce much jealousy, which it required all his urbanity and legal acquirements to allay. He was now engaged in a variety of crown prosecutions, some of which are detailed by our author, at much greater length than their importance, or their connection with the subject of his narrative, required. This is the case more particularly with that of John Sheppard and Jonathan Wild, with whose adventures, certainly, we had no expectation of meeting in the biography of an English chancellor. One passage, however, we are tempted to quote, as illustrating the barbarity of our criminal code, in the first half of the last century. It describes the custom of burning prisoners in the hand, and is taken from a contemporary newspaper. In reading the following passage, we can scarcely believe that it is descriptive of an English practice, and rejoice that the more enlightened spirit of recent legislation has removed such foul blots from our jurisprudence:—

'They write from Nottingham, that at the Assizes there two persons were burnt in the hand, one of them in such a manner that he lost above twelve ounces of blood in the court, for which the executioner was reprimanded; and the judge ordered the undersheriff to send a surgeon to the jail to take care of the man's hand, in which there is a hole to the very bone.'—*Ib.* p. 166.

The prosecution of Lord Macclesfield, for conniving at the sale of masterships in Chancery, and at the embezzlement of the money of suitors, occurred soon after Sir Philip Yorke's promotion. He declined to take part in the trial, and has been severely censured for not undertaking the defence of his patron. It is due to his memory, however, to bear in mind that he could only have done so by resigning his office, and that, had he adopted this course, he could not possibly have rendered any effectual aid to his lordship, as the facts of the case were clear, and the gross misconduct of the chancellor did not admit of doubt. Had the case been questionable, the attorney-general would have been bound to take the most favorable view of it, and to spurn all personal considerations, in order to discharge the duty he owed to his early friend. It would have been mean and base to do otherwise, however costly the sacrifice required. But in the actual circumstances no such sacrifice could be demanded. He was satisfied of the guilt of his patron, and discharged, therefore, every obligation of gratitude by declining to employ his official influence against him. He is said to have had considerable difficulty in obtaining the assent of the government to the course he pursued, but his decision was immovable, and the cabinet yielded to his wishes. Lord Macclesfield was fined £30,000, and committed a prisoner to the Tower, till it was paid. 'To the disgrace,' remarks Mr. Harris, 'of the times in which he lived, the infamy with which he had been thus covered, debarred him neither from the favour of the great, nor even from that of his sovereign.'

Of his conduct as attorney-general, we need say little. Lord Chesterfield, a political opponent, does it honor, affirming, that 'he was by no means a prerogative lawyer;' that 'he was naturally humane, moderate, and decent; and, when obliged to prosecute state-criminals, he discharged that duty in a very different manner from most of his predecessors, who were too justly called the bloodhounds of the crown.' The offices he filled furnish, it must be acknowledged, powerful temptations to unprincipled or weak men. The crown is their client, and, to advance its prerogatives, may appear, on a superficial consideration, to be the duty of him who holds them. But a larger view of the matter reveals a higher and more ennobling obligation, and he deserves well of his country who keeps it steadfastly in sight. The unpopularity of the king, and the peculiar position of parties at the time, may possibly have aided the patriotism of the aspiring lawyer; but it would be ungenerous and cynical to deny the operation of nobler causes.

In 1733, the two highest judicial offices became vacant by

the death of Lord Chief Justice Raymond, and the resignation of the Lord Chancellor King. Sir Philip Yorke, as attorney-general, expected the chancellorship, but Sir Robert Walpole was desirous of elevating Mr. Talbot, the solicitor. Both Yorke and Talbot were ambitious men, and the former, therefore, hesitated to concur in the arrangement of the Premier. He had been in office much longer than his associate, and had taken a more active part in the debates of the Commons. Walpole, however, resolved on carrying his end, and resorted, as was his practice, to a pecuniary bribe. Money was the instrument of his power. He employed it unscrupulously, and for the most atrocious ends. Few ministers have done more to corrupt public men. He had little faith in patriotism, or, indeed, in any virtuous principle. The exigencies of party warfare may reduce able writers to the discreditable necessity of palliating his deeds; but no talent or ingenuity, can rescue his name from the foul charge of wholesale and systematic corruption. In the present case, he had to do with a man not inaccessible to this argument, and his measures were arranged accordingly. Yorke resigned his pretensions to the woolsack, and became chief justice, the salary of the latter office being raised from two thousand to four thousand a-year.

'This proposal,' says Mr. Harris, 'came from the minister, and did not originate with Sir Philip Yorke, who only stipulated that the increase of salary should be continued to his successors, and not be made a personal distinction to himself. Nor was the offer of money the only one which was made to and accepted by him. A peerage was at once promised him, and shortly afterwards conferred. This circumstance, at any rate, affords the best possible proof of the great value set on his services, which is shown by the extraordinary price at which they were secured; two such inducements, both of them out of the ordinary course, being offered to obtain them, and that too by such a minister as Walpole.'—*Ib.* p. 257.

On the 23rd of November, 1733, Sir Philip was raised to the peerage, under the title of Baron Hardwicke, of Hardwicke, in Gloucestershire, and the manner in which he discharged the duties of his high post, commanded universal admiration. Even Horace Walpole admits, that he gained great credit for his humanity in criminal cases. 'His judgments,' says Mr. Harris, 'are distinguished by extensive knowledge, both of the principle and practice of law, sound reasoning, and a desire to administer strict justice in each case that came before him. . . Though many of his dicta are founded on no previous decision of any of his predecessors, yet the correctness of them has been fully recognized, and they have formed a lasting guide to all his successors.'

Lord Talbot did not long retain the seals. His death occurred

in February, 1737, and Lord Hardwicke succeeded to his office in the following April. His legal career was now completed. He had attained the highest honor of his profession. There was nothing before him but to sustain his reputation, and on the more public and exciting theatre of political action, to perform a part beneficial to his country. It is, indeed, much to be deplored, that the highest judicial appointment should be united with political service. This is an anomaly in our system, for which no justification can be pleaded, and which reflecting men of all parties join to condemn. Our law reformers will do well to give it their attention, and the people at large are deeply interested in its correction. At the period of Lord Hardwicke's elevation, a very serious contention existed between the king and his eldest son, Prince Frederick, of which frequent mention is made in his lordship's journal. Sir Robert Walpole, considering the prince as the centre of disaffection to his cabinet, appears to have regarded him with bitter feeling, and to have aimed at compelling his absolute submission. The prince, on the other hand, confided mainly in Lords Chesterfield and Carteret, whose hostility to Walpole was notorious. The general tenor and grave character of these differences, may be imagined from the following brief extract :—

‘This day, Sir R. W. informed me of certain passages between the King & himself, & the Queen & the Prince, of too high & secret a nature even to be trusted to this narrative ; but from thence I found great reason to think that this unhappy difference between the King & the Queen and his R. H., turned upon some points of a more interesting & important nature than have hitherto appeared.’—*Ib.* p. 383.

The members of the administration were, at this time, far from being cordial amongst themselves. The dictation of Walpole was felt severely by some of them, amongst whom the Duke of Newcastle was most conspicuous. His high rank in the peerage led him to aspire to greater influence than comported with his ability. He was perpetually dissatisfied, frequently threatened resignation, and yet contrived, by an easy acquiescence in the counsel of friends, to retain the emoluments and patronage of office. He was a statesman of a secondary order, and the premier not unnaturally withheld the confidence he sought. An overweening conceit led him to estimate himself too highly, and he was, therefore, piqued by the consciousness of his power being far less than his expectations. His complaints were frequently addressed to Lord Hardwicke, whose services were in constant requisition to soothe the official jealousy of his colleague, and to heal the disputes which occurred between him and the premier. ‘My situation,’ said the duke

one of his earlier letters printed by Mr. Harris, 'has long been very disagreeable to me; my only comfort, I can with truth say it, has been the friendship and unreserved confidence you have hitherto honoured me with. If that is thought by anybody, though never so unjustly, to be capable of a diminution, there can be no ease, I had almost said no safety, for me in this administration.' The solicitude thus expressed for a cordial understanding with the chancellor continued undiminished, and appears to have ripened into friendship, in which the duke's brother, Mr. Pelham, shared. The correspondence that passed was voluminous, and throws considerable light on the character of parties. The duke evidently felt the sound judgment and self-possession of Lord Hardwicke to be essential to his support in the ministry, and the latter probably did not forget the premier having selected the Solicitor General in preference to himself, for the highest office of his profession. The temper of the Duke of Newcastle was quick and irascible, while his power of will was feeble. In the cabinet he frequently laid himself open to his more wary chief, and received, in consequence, rebukes which his pride could ill endure. Our space prevents our extracting, as we designed, from the correspondence of the duke and the chancellor. The following passage, however, will sufficiently explain the position of parties, and foreshadows what speedily occurred, when the latter retained the seals on Mr. Pelham becoming premier.

'I have observed, as I mentioned some time ago, less activity in business than formerly, which I have feared may arise from an inclination to withdraw from the active part of it, by degrees, & confine yourself chiefly to your own office. If this is in any measure the case, I must beg you would consider in what situation you would leave me; diffident of myself, doubtful without the previous advice & opinion of my friends, (& as to that I must reckon only my brother & yourself,) whether measures started in a hurry, often first in the closet, executed with precipitation, are or may be advisable; & utterly unable, without the assistance above mentioned, to resist by myself the torrent. My brother has all the prudence, knowledge, experience, & good intention that I can wish or hope in a man; but it will, or may, be difficult for us alone to stem that which, with your weight, authority, & character, would not be twice mentioned. Besides, my brother & I may differ in opinion, in which case, I am sure your's would determine both. There has been for many years a unity of thought & action between you & me; & if I have ever regretted any thing, it has been, (forgive me for saying it,) too much caution in the execution, which I have sometimes observed has rather produced, than avoided, the mischief apprehended.

'Forgive me, therefore, my dear lord, if I own most freely to you, that it will be impossible for me, in these circumstances, to go on with credit & security to myself, or with advantage to my friends, if the

world don't see & understand, that you, my brother, & I, are one ; not in the thought only, but in action ; not in action barely, but in the first conception or digestion of things. This will give us real weight ; this will add strength to us in the closet, & in the ministry, but this can be done only by yourself. I have desired my brother to talk very fully to you, who I believe, intends it some evening this week. I think I can guess from whence, or rather from what, any tendency to what I so much apprehend can arise. That is to be prevented only by the union I have recommended amongst us three.'—Ib. p. 514.

At the close of 1741, the duke still talked of retirement. 'I cannot,' he says in a letter to his brother, 'but be of opinion that it is very improper for me to continue in business.' The day of his resignation, however, was yet far distant. 'For many years he continued to talk of his resignation, and to murmur at his colleagues, without any other result being produced, than an occasional remonstrance to him from the chancellor.'

In the meantime the popularity of Sir Robert Walpole had rapidly declined. The nation complained of the heavy imposts laid upon it, and of the unproductive character of the military and naval expeditions. England was sacrificed to Hanover, and the popular discontent found expression in the speeches of disappointed place-hunters, and of the smaller but more noble class of patriots. The minister saw the storm and endeavored to avert it. For upwards of twenty years he had ruled by arts which could not bear the light, and he knew that his opponents were both able and disposed to convict him. He sought, therefore, reconciliation with the Prince of Wales, but his overtures were rejected, and being left in a minority of sixteen, he resigned in February, 1742. Like many other culprits, he was raised to the Upper House, under the title of the Earl of Orford. His chief opponent, Mr. Pulteney, bartered his patriotism and popularity for a similar distinction, and was told by his former rival, on their meeting amongst the peers, 'Here we are, my lord, the two most insignificant men in Europe.'

The great genius of the coming generation of politicians was now rising into fame. The 'terrible cornet of horse!' as Walpole styled the elder Pitt, found a fruitful topic for his splendid declamation in the malpractices and continental policy of that minister. As yet he was unfettered by office. His ambition was of the loftiest kind, as his talents were of the highest order. He excelled particularly in those qualities which give weight and influence in a popular assembly. 'Pitt,' says one of the sons of the chancellor, in writing to a brother in 1743, 'grows the most popular speaker in the House of Commons, and is at the head of his party.' A brilliant career was opening to him, and though,

yet, the hostility of the king excluded him from power, he was evidently destined to become the leading spirit of the Commons. The fame of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, is national, and though somewhat shaded in the later stages of his course, he remains to this day one of the best, as he was undoubtedly the ablest, English statesman of the eighteenth century. The administration which succeeded Walpole, contained within itself the seeds of early dissolution. It was composed of motley materials, representing the views of different classes, and was, therefore, wanting in the cohesion and good faith which are essential to stability. The friends of the king and of the Prince of Wales, the adherents of Walpole and of Pulteney, moderate Tories and hereditary Whigs, were not likely to work cordially together. They had co-operated for the overthrow of an obnoxious minister, but when this was accomplished, the bond of their union was gone, and they soon quarrelled amongst themselves. The Earl of Wilmington was first lord of the treasury, Lord Carteret and the Duke of Newcastle were secretaries of state, and Lord Hardwicke retained the great seal. Frequent allusions to cabinet differences occur throughout the correspondence of the chancellor, and these were sometimes so serious as to threaten an entire breaking up of the administration. In the mean time the rebellion of 1745 filled the nation with alarm; but before adverting to its progress and issue, we must give insertion to a brief extract from a letter of Mr. Charles Yorke, dated June 27th, adverting to the death of Pope, which occurred June 18th, 1744. The fame of the poet has been more lasting than that of many of his political compeers, and thousands are now interested in his biography, who care little about the Pelhams, and the other statesmen, who probably regarded his lot as ignoble. Judged by the standard of the hour, *they* were the great men, but the names of many of them are now scarcely remembered; while his retains its freshness and renews perpetually its youth. So false are the temporary judgments of mankind, and so sure the reversal of them which posterity pronounces. It is deeply to be deplored that the cultivated intellect and fine genius of Pope, should have regarded Christianity through such miserable caricatures.

'Death,' says Mr. Yorke, 'has at last made an end of his greatness, & the plans which he had formed for odes of the sublime kind, epic poems, etc., must now prove abortive, & lie hid in Lord Bolingbroke's study, instead of being brought out to view for the increase of his own fame & fortune. He was fond of Erasmus's principles in matters of religious opinion, & the last thing he said that had either sense or wit in it was to Spence, of Oxford, who attended him in his illness, alluding to this favourite character. Spence earnestly recommended it to

him to call in another physician. 'No,' says he, 'I am weary of them. They have all mistaken my case, & a new one will but add new blunders to the former. It would be like quitting the errors of the church of Rome for the errors of the church of England.' '—Vol. ii. p. 89.

Lord Bolingbroke was at this time a frequent correspondent of the chancellor, and his letters abound with mysterious hints of the dangers to be apprehended from the schemes of the Pretender. His restless spirit knew no quiet, and as he was debarred from the more honorable occupations of the state, he sought to alarm the fears of those in power. No adequate measures, however, were adopted, and the report, which was speedily raised, of Charles Edward, eldest son of the Pretender, having landed in Scotland, failed for some time to command belief. This event occurred in July 1745, soon after the death of Walpole, and during the absence of the king in Germany. Mr. Harris has detailed much more minutely than his biography required, the progress of this rash and fatal expedition. His narrative is out of all proportion, and tends to distract attention from his hero rather than to illustrate his character. The ministry acted with irresolution and feebleness. They were kept in discreditable ignorance of the earlier movements of the Pretender, and an opportunity was thus afforded for the temporary success, which, like a gleam of sunshine, shot across his dark and disastrous path. 'What a reproach,' the chancellor might well write to his son, 'that such a handful should be suffered to make such a progress.' The defeat of the royal troops at Preston Pans happily broke the delusion. The Duke of Cumberland, youngest son of George II. was recalled from Germany, and placed at the head of a considerable force, for the purpose of crushing, by one vigorous action, the daring intruder. Yet, strange to say, the Pretender marched through the northern counties as far as Derby without serious molestation, and then returned to Scotland with similar impunity. Had he continued his march on London, there is no saying what might have been the immediate result. The permanent restoration of the Stuarts we regard as impossible, but the occupation of the capital, and a large expenditure of life and treasure, would probably have ensued. The battle of Culloden, however, terminated the enterprise, and a terrible retribution was inflicted. The Duke of Cumberland knew no mercy, and those who had been cravens in the hour of danger, were meanly revengeful in the season of triumph. The following letter, written by the Archbishop of York, when the rebels were advancing southward, shows the alarm that was universal. The writer was no coward, and cannot be suspected of overcharging

the picture. If open to any censure, it was that of merging the ecclesiastic in the soldier.

'The rebels,' he tells the Chancellor, 'are come to Penrith, & we are told to-day that the most advanced party of them are on the Lancashire route to Kendall. It is not to be conceived, how frightful the hurry was in the city of York on Wednesday, while the apprehension was strong that they would take this road. They are a little quieted to-day by the hopes that they are turned towards Lancashire. If the next express differs from this, & they come this way, not a soul will stay at York that can move from it. . . . Every sensible gentleman who I converse with in this country sees this matter now in a light the most alarming; & if it be otherwise in London, it is an infatuation that will ruin us. I should think from some of my correspondents to-day, that London is in great security, but, for my part, I have so strong a sense of the public danger, as Wade is so far off, & so fatigued & encumbered, and Legonier not come much forwards, that had I my royal master's ear, I should think it the duty of an honest man & good subject, to tell him that his crown was in danger of being shaken; & that whoever at this juncture could give him contrary advice, either knew nothing as he ought to know, or meant to betray him. This is warm, my Lord, but uttered in no spirit of fear, but from the clearest and strongest evidence.

'As to my own safety for the present, I will stay to the last moment, & if a scheme of defence of any likelihood can be formed, I will share in the common danger. If not, I know of no duty that obliges me to run the hazard of being knocked on the head, or taken prisoner. I stand ready to escape at half an hour's warning, & shall endeavour to do so. This, upon supposition that the ruffians take the York road: if they pursue the other, I am determined to fix my abode, and wait the fate of, & as I may, serve my country here. I have taken the best method I could think of to persuade the Lord Mayor, if he can't stand it out, to fly rather than submit to proclaim the Pretender.'—*Ib.* p. 194.

Lord Hardwicke presided at the trial of the rebel lords, and his conduct was free from just reproach. The Earl of Kilmarnock, Lord Balmerino, and Lord Lovat were convicted of high treason by the verdict of their peers, and suffered the extreme penalty of the law. They were men of blood, and their violence recoiled on their own heads. We hate capital punishments, as vicious both in principle and operation, but if ever they are to be justified, it is in such cases as the present, where thousands of lives had been sacrificed at the shrine of ambition or of personal resentment. Happily, we have had no repetition of the scenes of 1745, and the changes which were speedily introduced amongst the Highland clans have guarded against the possibility of their recurrence.

On the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury, in October,

1747, some difficulty was experienced in from the unwillingness of different parties. Thus, it must be confessed, was a circumstance; and the following letter, from Archbishop of York, to whom, in the third post was tendered, is equally remarkable for shrewdness and good sense in the epistle, and independence, which we love. Writing to the

'I have considered the thing, my best friend & lord, with all the coolness, & deliberation, & comparison I am master of; & am come to a very firm & most resolute opinion not to quit the see of York, on any account, or condition; & I beg it of your I p as the most material piece yet to be exerted by you, to prevent the offer of Canterbury or to support me in the refusal, if the other cannot be procured.'

'I am really poor, I am not ambitious of being rich, much pride, with, I hope, a small mixture of honesty, to debt; I am now out of it, and in possession of a clear, of that sort. I must not go back, & begin the work fifty-five.'

'The honour of Canterbury is a thing of glare & splendour, hopes of it a proper incentive to school-boys to industry & considered all its inward parts, & examined all its duties; & quit my present station to take it, I will not answer for it, than a twelvemonth I did not sink & die with regret & envy of who should succeed me here, & quit the place in my power ought to do, to one wiser & better than myself.'

'I have used great freedom, my most esteemed lord, but my heart without disguise, & I do beg it of you, as a most reasonable, that I may be entirely passed over on this occasion, or the crown & perfection of your friendship, to order matters as marked out, by which I may decline the offer without offending high & incomparable Prince, whom I obey & reverence as my love, next to God, as my best friend & benefactor.'—1b. p. 346.

The chancellor reiterated his request, informing his confidant, that the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham were astonished at his decision, and that if announced, 'it would be the worst appearance, and create the worst impression—the people doubt the stability of his Majesty's government, and a new triumph to the Jacobites, as if nobody of merit would venture to accept the highest and most important dignity in the church. . . . For God's sake, for the sake of the king, the country, and your friends, don't decline.' Never before on such importunity needed, and never, surely, was the acceptance of so high a post couched in such terms as the following—

‘ Mr good Lord,—If you had been a witness of my agonies when the express came, & could have seen me tossing in my bed afterwards, & regret of what the great ones often want, you would have pitied me, & repented of this last instance of your excellent friendship. But, about an hour agoe, I took my resolution, & as I have no reason to repent of the removes, your lordship gave me, I will hope the best of the third, & am now stepping to the fire to burn three letters of refusal, & I verily believe, I should have got the better of every other argument; but where your lordship is pleased to say my refusal might have affected your credit & weight, I knew the consequence of that too much, not to hold it in the highest regard. And now, my lord, after having said so much, & with a little spirit, give me leave to say, that if His Majesty could be prevailed on to alter his arrangement by keeping me where I am, & let Hutton take the chair pontifical, I will still leap for joy, & send you ten thousand thanks.’—Ib. p. 349.

The religious bearings of the case do not appear to have entered into the consideration either of Dr. Herring, or of the chancellor. They treated the matter as they would any purely secular appointment, and in doing so, only acted in accordance with the spirit of the theory they administered. Religion may be the plea used by statesmen in the disposal of ecclesiastical patronage, but the world need scarcely now be told, that the end really sought is something different, and infinitely inferior. Men do not gather grapes from thorns, nor figs from thistles. We have, however, no space for the comments suggested by the correspondence before us. It forms an instructive incident in the history of ecclesiastical establishments, and may be usefully referred to as illustrating their character.

Lord Hardwicke retained the chancellorship under the successive administrations of Mr. Pelham, and of the Duke of Newcastle. The premiership of the latter was, indeed, mainly owing to his influence. On the death of Mr. Pelham, in March, 1754, the king was desirous of appointing Mr. Fox, and the utmost exertions of the chancellor were required to prevent it. His views were stated in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, an extract from which will sufficiently explain the state of parties, and the object proposed in the arrangement contemplated:—

‘ The opinion therefore which I, with my friends in the cabinet have formed is, that there is, at present, no person in the House of Commons fit to place entirely in Mr. Pelham’s *situation* with safety to this administration, & the Whig party. Upon this, they have proceeded to think of advising His Majesty to place *some peer* at the head of the Treasury, with a Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons under him. That peer must be somebody of great figure & credit in the nation, in whom the Whigs will have an entire confidence. He must be one who will carry on the election of the next Parliament upon the

same plan on which Mr. Pelham had settled it, without deviation. This is at present the *immediate fundamental point*. That once well settled & effected, the rest will follow with time. The Duke of Devonshire has declined it, but is entirely connected with the Duke of Newcastle, the Duke of Grafton & myself. In consequence of this, the Duke of Newcastle has been entreated by his friends to quit his present office, & go to the head of the Treasury, if His Majesty shall approve it. In him the Whigs will have confidence. His Grace is much averse to it, & has good reasons against it, but will, I believe, for the sake of the whole, submit to the entreaties of his friends.'—Ib. p. 513.

Mr. Fox was not on friendly terms with the chancellor, whose zeal in securing the premiership of his old colleague and friend, was somewhat stimulated probably by this fact. Mr. Pitt, on the other hand, whom the ministers desired to secure, was personally offensive to the king, on account of his opposition to the monarch's German policy. There was, therefore, much difficulty in reconciling George II. to the introduction of 'the great commoner.' Lord Hardwicke's letters evince great anxiety to satisfy Mr. Pitt, that the ministers had done their utmost to overcome the repugnance of the monarch, and that they had made some progress, though not to the extent they desired. 'It might,' he says, in a letter of April 2, 1754, 'have the appearance of something which I would wish to avoid being suspected of, if I told you all I said of particular persons. I was not wanting to do justice to true merit, nor backward to show how real strength might be acquired. Some way I made, though not all I wished. . . I sincerely, and without affectation, wish that it had been possible for you to have heard all that I presumed to say on this subject.' Mr. Pitt's reply was illustrative of the weak point of his character. It was in keeping with the failing shown at the close of his career. In the latter case, his intemperate gratitude to George III. for the suspicious favor conferred by that monarch, has been justly regarded as unworthy of his fame; and in the present case, he evinced a morbid sensibility to the disfavor of the court, which every enlightened admirer must regret. The craving for retirement, named in the following passage of his reply to the Chancellor, awakens a smile, which, however, is restrained by a deeper and more sombre feeling.

'Your lordship,' he says, 'is pleased kindly to say that some way is made, and that some future occasion may be more favourable for me. I am not able to conceive any such occasion possible. God forbid, the wants of his Majesty's government should ever become more urgent! Such an unhappy distress can only arise from an event so fatal to this country, and which must deprive me of one of the two great protectors, whose friendship constitutes the only honour of my public life, that I

will not carry my views or reasonings forward to that melancholy day. I might likewise add, (I conceive not unreasonably), that every acquiescence to his Majesty's negative, (necessary as I am convinced it was to acquiesce,) must confirm and render more insurmountable the resolution taken for my perpetual exclusion.

This, I confess, continues to be strongly my view of my situation. It is very kind and generous in your lordship to suggest a ray of distant, general hope to a man you see despairing, and to turn his view forward from the present scene to the future. But, my lord, after having set out under suggestions of this general hope ten years ago, and bearing long a load of obloquy for supporting the King's measures, and never obtaining in recompense the smallest remission of that displeasure I vainly laboured to soften, all ardour for public business is really extinguished in my mind, and I am totally deprived of all consideration by which alone I could have been of any use. The weight of irremovable royal displeasure is a load too great to move under; it must crush any man; it has sunk and broke me. I succumb, and wish for nothing but a decent and innocent retreat, wherein I may no longer, by continuing in the public stream of promotion, for ever stick fast aground, and afford to the world the ridiculous spectacle of being passed by every boat that navigates the same river. To speak without a figure, I will presume upon your lordship's great goodness to me, to tell my utmost wish:—it is, that a retreat, not void of advantage, or derogatory to the rank of the office I hold, might, as soon as practicable, be opened to me. In this view, I take the liberty to recommend myself to your lordship's friendship, as I have done to the Duke of Newcastle's. Out of his Grace's immediate province accommodations of this kind rise, and to your joint protection, and to that only, I wish to owe the future satisfaction of my life.' —Vol. iii. p. 8.

Pitt's feelings speedily underwent a marked change. His alienation from Newcastle became complete and permanent, and he therefore spurned both his friendship and his confidence. He was too clear-sighted not to perceive the instability of the duke's cabinet, at the same time that he probably felt his own power increase daily. He was, moreover, dissatisfied with the ready compliance which had been evinced with the hostility of the king, and disapproved the continental policy pursued. His own hour was in truth come. He felt the inspiration of his genius, and aspired to a station far higher than the aristocracism of the premier deemed befitting a commoner. When Mr. Charles Yorke, therefore, was employed by the duke to negotiate with him, 'he was at once stopped by Mr. Pitt, who said that as to friendship and confidence, there was none between them; if any had ever existed they were now at an end; it was loss of time to talk in that strain; he would neither take nor hold anything as a favour from his grace.' The same haughty temper was evinced in a subsequent interview with the chancellor, whom he assured 'that if they could prevail upon the king to give him the seals

under his present dislike, the only use he would make of them would be to lay them at his majesty's feet; that till the king desired it, and thought it necessary to his service, he never would accept them.' What Pitt foresaw speedily occurred. After various ineffectual attempts to strengthen himself, the duke resigned, and Lord Hardwicke followed him into retirement, 'full of honours and of well-earned reputation.' This event occurred on the 19th of November, 1756, after he had held the chancellorship nearly twenty years. One, only, of his predecessors, Lord Egerton, the immediate precursor of Bacon, and one, only, of his successors, Lord Eldon, have retained the great seal so long. Of the manner in which he discharged the duties of his high station, it is scarcely possible to speak in exaggerated terms. Men of all parties have united in his praise, and his judgments are now deemed the richest treasure and surest guides of our equity judges. 'If you wish to employ your abilities,' said Lord Mansfield, one of the brightest ornaments of the law, to Mr. Roscoe, 'in writing the life of a truly great and wonderful man in our profession, take the life of Lord Hardwicke for your subject; he was, indeed, a wonderful character, he became chief justice of England, and chancellor, from his own abilities and virtues.' The testimony of Lord Campbell in his recent 'Lives of the Chancellors,' is to the same effect. The following brief extract from his elaborate summary is all for which we can make room, and will suffice for the general reader:—

'Viewed as a magistrate sitting on his tribunal to administer justice, I believe that his fame has not been exceeded by that of any man in ancient or modern times; and the long series of enlightened rules laid down by him having, from their wisdom, been recognized as binding on all who have succeeded him, he may be considered a great legislator. His decisions have been, and ever will continue to be, appealed to as fixing the limits and establishing the principles of that great judicial system called equity, which now, not only in this country and in our colonies, but over the whole extent of the United States of America, regulates property and personal rights more than the ancient common law.'—*Ib.* p. 86.

Having followed the chancellor to his resignation of office, we must dispatch, rapidly, the subsequent events of his life. He had been previously created Earl of Hardwicke, and carried with him into private life a far more than ordinary portion of public goodwill and gratitude. In his private capacity, as a peer, he continued faithfully to serve his prince, and was continually referred to in all matters of leading interest. On the accession of George III., he received from the young monarch the most flattering expressions of regard, and was urged to re-

sume his former station, which, however, he declined. 'He has been much caressed by the king and his ministers,' says Col. Yorke in a letter to Sir Andrew Mitchell, 'and continues to give his helping hand without place or pension.' He finally retired from public life in 1762, and died on the 6th of March, 1764, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

We need add nothing respecting his character, in the way of elucidation or comment. He is one of the few statesmen on whom a grateful posterity look back with admiration. His failings are greatly outweighed by his virtues, while his public services are recorded in the improved jurisprudence of his country. In compiling his life, Mr. Harris has rendered an invaluable service. The professional student will find his volumes replete with legal erudition, while the general reader will discover in them much to enlarge his knowledge of the period embraced, and to perfect his acquaintance with many of its leading personages. There are minute points, on which, were we so disposed, we might captiously dwell, but an honest appreciation of the service rendered prevents our doing so. We, therefore, content ourselves with simply recommending to the author, in the event of a second edition, the omission of some of his episodes, and a severe revision of his style. We part from Mr. Harris with unfeigned respect for his industry, and a grateful sense of the value of the information communicated in his volumes.

Brief Notices.

Lectures on the Bible to the Young; for their Instruction and Excitement. By John Eadie, L.L.D. Edinburgh: Oliphant and Sons.

THIS is just such a book as we are always glad to see in the hands of our young people. It is worthy of their attentive perusal, and can scarcely fail to minister to their instruction and pleasure. The substance of it originally appeared in the 'Juvenile Missionary Magazine' of the United Presbyterian Church, but the matter has been greatly enlarged, and is now issued in the hope of more permanent usefulness. The style, both of language and arrangement, is adapted to juvenile readers, though not meant for mere children, and we very cordially recommend it to their favor. Dr. Eadie is entitled to the thanks of Christian parents and guardians, for having contributed from the abundance of his biblical erudition, so unpretending but so valuable an auxiliary to their labors.

The National Cyclopædia of Useful Knowledge. 8vo. Vol. IV.
London: Charles Knight.

WE are glad to report the steady progress of this work, which forms one of the best and most useful publications of the day. It is admirably adapted by its moderate price for general circulation, and the sterling worth of its articles must insure the respect of all competent judges. Such a work is eminently fitted to store the popular mind with sound and healthy information. There is nothing flimsy or ephemeral in it; no marks of haste, or traces of book-making. It is a store-house, at once rich and varied, to which the scholar, the historian, the man of science, and the lover of polite literature, have severally contributed. The present volume extends from *Cæsar* to *Cotes-Du-Nord*, and confirms the favorable opinions we have expressed on the appearance of its predecessors. We only discharge a public duty in warmly recommending the work to our readers. They may search the whole range of English literature without finding its substitute.

The Sacred History of the World, attempted to be Philosophically Considered, in a series of Letters to a Son. By Sharon Turner, F.S.A. and R.A.S.L. Eighth edition. Vol. I. London: Longman and Co.

THIS work is too well known to require comment. Having now reached an eighth edition, it may be presumed to be in the hands of many of our readers, who would smile at our folly in commending to their confidence a work with which they are already familiar, and from whose pages they have gathered both knowledge and moral culture. We therefore content ourselves with specifying the distinctive features of this edition. At his decease, in February, 1847, the author left various corrections and additions, which he intended to insert in a future issue of the work. These have been incorporated, 'and the whole contents of the work have been carefully revised and edited, according to his latest wishes and directions.' A somewhat cheaper form has also been adopted, in compliance with the 'earnestly expressed desire' of Mr. Turner, and we shall be glad to learn that the usefulness of his labors has thus been enlarged.

A Book of Stories for Young People. By Mary Howitt, Mrs. S. C. Hall, Mrs. Cowden Clarke, etc. With illustrations from designs by Absolon. London: W. S. Orr and Co.

A SMALL, neat volume, full of entertainment, which most readers will be pleased with, and which the young especially will peruse with avidity. We shrink from the invidious and ungallant task of comparing the merits of the several fair authors. Each has her distinctive characteristic, while they have features in common which commend all to the favor of the reader.

Sketches from the Cross ; a review of the Characters connected with the Crucifixion of our Lord, to which is added, a Notice of the Character of Balaam. By John Jordan Davies. London: Ward and Co.

THE doctrine associated with the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, constitutes the living, centre, truth of Christianity. There are, however, many, it is to be feared, very zealous for what they esteem the preaching of the cross, who seldom exercise prolonged and careful thought on the great subjects which that preaching should proclaim. Pre-eminently valuable as are the Christian dogmas to which we refer, they do not form the only instruction to be learnt from a serious contemplation of the scenes accompanying our Lord's crucifixion. Human character is there before us under varied aspects, both of the bad and of the good, and we may learn valuable lessons of what is in man, by musing on the pictures given in the concluding pages of the four evangelists.

Mr. Davies has done good service, by laying open this vein of Christian meditation, and pursuing it sufficiently to encourage others to follow his example. The substance of his book appeared in several numbers of the 'Baptist Record,' and is now incorporated into one volume, popular, yet full of thought, and very superior in sound scriptural sentiments, to a large class of books for devotional reading. The different persons connected with our Lord's final hours of humiliation are brought before us, and their motives are laid bare, with great probability, and with a constant reference to the information which the scriptures convey. There is nothing purely imaginary in the representations we have of them, but the detached notices which are given in the gospels are brought together, and the skeletons of thought which in many instances we have loosely beheld before, here appear clothed with flesh and blood. Many of the pictures are very graphic, various in character, and also in the skill with which they are presented. The earlier ones appear to us most striking, and there is a monotony in Mr. Davies' style, which would have been less felt if his book had been a hundred pages shorter. Lessons of the greatest importance are afforded to men of every age, especially of that in which, to use our author's words, 'the simple idea of duty, of doing that which is right, leaving the consequences with Him whose will is law, is dying out of the public mind.' Each character will be found, on studious examination, to be a specimen of a large class, which may have undergone some external changes, but has never become extinct. Viewed under this aspect, large masses of human society appear, by their representatives on the hill of Calvary, brought into contrast with Him, who in the most ignominious and keenest suffering, as well as in unceasing and self-denying action, was proved to be without sin. Some are there whose names are held in honorable remembrance. Peter and the rest of the apostles, testifying to all generations of their share in man's common frailty, and directing our hopes to Him who is conquering in the strength and majesty of weakness. Some are there whose names

are associated with our deepest execration, yet these are men of like passions with ourselves, hurried to the fearful distinction they attained by motives not foreign to any human heart. Every character presents to us some lesson of warning, and exhibits some variety of human sin and weakness, but that of Him who is the model of all perfection, the author and the pattern of eternal life. The clouds, some dark and portentous, the exhalations of noisome vapour, and others beautiful and luminous in the glory of reflected light, gather themselves on this solemn evening in the world's history, around the undimmed yet departing lustre of the Sun of Righteousness.

Scripture Symbolism ; or, Tabernacle Architecture. By the Rev. S. Garratt, Minister of Trinity Chapel, Waltham Cross. London : Seeley.

WITH no pretensions to scholarship or originality, Mr. Garratt has produced a little volume, the fervent piety of which, will make it acceptable to the large class of readers, who seek in religious works the increase of their love more than the growth of their knowledge. While generally sober in his expositions, he has not quite escaped the tendency to discover in some scriptural passages more than the inspired writers intended them to express.

Rome in its Ancient Grandeur ; displayed in a Series of Engravings, presenting the Architectural Antiquities of the Imperial City, delineated and accurately measured on the spot. By Antoine Desgoditz, Architect Royal, and Professor of Architecture, Paris. With Copious Notes, Architectural, Classical, and Historical. Under the superintendence of Mr. Charles Taylor. London : Sherwood and Co. Nos. I.—XXIII.

WE give our warm commendation to this well-directed endeavour to render English architects familiar with the elements of classical, architectural beauty. The work of Desgoditz, here reproduced, was executed in the reign of Louis XIV., and has always been in high estimation for its extreme accuracy of delineation and measurement ; but it has never been so accessible as it should be to English students and workmen. The projectors of the present edition have effected several, we think we may say, all, requisite improvements. In the first place, the dimensions are now for the first time given in English instead of French measures, and thus a cause of perplexity and difficulty, which has extensively operated to prevent the patronage of the work in England, has been entirely removed. In the second place, the explanatory portion is not, as in the first English edition, a formal translation of Desgoditz, but has been newly written for the present issue, which will, in this respect, also bear comparison advantageously with its precursor. In the third place, the work is published at a very moderate price, and in a manner the best suited to render its purchase easy. It is now in course of publication, in fortnightly parts, at one shilling each. Every number contains three

BRIEF NOTICES.

engravings, and two pages of letter-press; and the whole and executed in a style which does great credit to Mr. Charl and renders a valuable service to the English public. add that Mr. Taylor has introduced into the letter-pr effective notices of topics of theological and general interest

Who will Live for Ever? An Examination of Luke xx. 3
Notes. By John Howard Hinton, M.A. 8vo. pp. 32.
Houlston and Stoneman.

MR. HINTON'S analytical powers were never exhibited to g
vantage than in this pamphlet, which we have read with
siderable pleasure. It constitutes a valuable contribution
the gravest and most important discussions of the age, and
repay, as it well merits, an attentive perusal. Several pu
having recently appeared, impugning more or less disti
received doctrine of man's proper immortality, Mr. Hinton
led into a careful examination of the controversy, in the
which he says, 'a text of scripture has presented itself to
which, notwithstanding its obvious applicability to the su
not, so far as I can find, been cited in either of them.'
sage occurs in the reply of our Lord to the Sadducees,
Luke xx. 27—38, and affirms respecting the parties s
'Neither can they die any more.' To the elucidation of the
our author's observations are directed, and nothing is omit
can throw light on their grammatical import, or determine
of the modifying considerations supplied by their conte
enquiry is calm and searching. Objections to the author's
clearly stated and fairly met. There is nothing that savors
in his reasoning, nothing that partakes of the arts of contr
seeks meanly to discredit an opponent by misrepresenting
ments. The investigation is conducted, from stage to s
fairness and courtesy,—the clearness and gentlemanly tem
pamphlet being in happy keeping with the conclusiveness o
The result of the whole is, in our judgment, a triumphant v
of man's natural immortality, or in other words, his *non-*
death, so far as causes internal to himself, are concerned.
mend the pamphlet to the careful perusal of our readers,
be glad to find its calm temper, clear style, and searching
imitated by all who take part in so grave a discussion.

Five Tracts on the State-Church. London: 12, Warwick

THESE tracts consist of lectures delivered at the Aldersg
Literary Institution, in the spring of the present year, and
rably adapted to exhibit some of the more prominent poi
church controversy. We have no design to attempt the
task of comparing the merits of the different lectures, nor
into the recent history and present condition of the soc

whose auspices they were delivered. It is enough to remark respecting the former, that each lecture is characteristic of its author, and of the latter, that we purpose, ere long, saying something to our readers on these themes. The lectures before us are five in number: the first by Mr. Tillett, of Norwich, is entitled, 'The Church in Fetters;' the second by the Rev. J. Burnet, 'The Endowment of all Religious Sects;' the third by Mr. Miall, 'What is the Separation of Church and State;' the fourth by the Rev. J. H. Hinton, 'Church Property—Whose is it?' and the last by the Rev. I. P. Mursell, 'The Duty of Christian Citizens in Relation to Church Establishments.' The whole are now issued at the low price of ninepence, and should obtain an immediate and wide circulation. We seriously urge on the Executive Committee of the Society, and on the gentlemen who assist them on the platform, and through the press, to confine themselves strictly to *the one object of the Association*. Inadvertent deviations may occasionally be detected, which none, we are confident, will more regret than the parties in whose productions they may be detected.

Four Lectures on the Contrasts of Ancient and Modern History; delivered at the Manchester Athenæum, Michaelmas, 1846. By Francis W. Newman. London: Taylor and Walton.

THE high character and distinguished scholarship of Mr. Newman, assure a cordial welcome to every production of his pen. With this feeling we opened the small volume before us, and need scarcely say that our judgment on its contents, is in perfect keeping with the expectation it awakened. The themes embraced are intimately familiar to his mind. He is at home amongst them, and writes on their character, relations, and sequences, as one who has lived in their midst, and has been accustomed for years, to contemplate them under all possible aspects. The gentleman and the scholar, the man of cultivated intellect and of liberal studies, is conspicuous in every page. The lectures were delivered in Manchester, during the author's residence in that town, and are now published, as he modestly states, because 'they proved interesting to persons who read the report of them in the local newspapers.' Such contributions to popular instruction are one of the best features of the age, and we strongly recommend our youths to substitute them for the trashy productions to which so much of their time is unhappily given.

Sovereign Goodness the Source of Beneficial Distinctions. By W. Palmer. 12mo. London: Dyer and Co.

THIS volume owes its origin to a sermon preached by the author to his congregation, from 1 Cor. iv. 7, which he was earnestly requested to publish. In preparing for the press, the subject of the sermon has been greatly expanded, and is now issued in the form of a small volume, well adapted to correct some prevalent misapprehensions, and to chasten many professors of religion 'into better views, better feelings, and better conduct.' The author's mode of treating the subjects

which pass under his notice, possesses much novelty. He is not bound by the rules of the school, but draws his illustrations from every quarter, and employs them with an earnestness which awakens sympathy and commands attention. He wields, too, an unsparing weapon, rebukes with severity while he consoles with tenderness, and mingles the language of reproach and the exposure of religious formality, with the largest and most exulting views of Divine mercy. Though not prepared to commit ourselves to every phrase in the volume, we cordially recommend it as well adapted to interest and instruct a numerous and important class of readers.

Reason, Revelation, and Faith. Some Few Thoughts. By a Bengal Civilian. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

A book dated 'Cape Town, June, 1847,' in one hundred and seventy-three sections on all manner of subjects. The conclusion at which the author arrives is, 'that the dogmas of original, or birth sin, and exclusive salvation to professing Christians, are unreasonable, unscriptural, and upheld only by gross and palpable inconsistencies: and that CREDENCE is not FAITH, but that faith is the disposition of angels, an implanted gift of God in ALL men; the knowledge and preference of the good and true, i. e. of God, of God in man; and that reason and revelation are 'the two witnesses' by which God speaks to man,—to that *faith*.' If our readers can understand the meaning of this sentence, and derive any advantage from it, they may have more of the same article by the perusal of the book.

History of Rome for Young Persons. By Mrs. Hamilton Gray. 2 Vols. London: Hatchard.

THE authoress of the 'History of Etruria,' has here given us two most useful volumes. They comprise the history of Rome to the beginning of the empire. Many of the legends which we were taught in our youth are cast aside, and Niebuhr, Livy, Plutarch, and Michelet, harmoniously contribute their materials to the narrative. The work is embellished with a large number of well-executed engravings, and will prove a very valuable acquisition to our rising youth. Mrs. Gray dedicates it to her child. It appears to us rather beyond the capacity of those whom we generally designate as children, but is an excellent history for young persons.

The Philosophy of Religion; or an Illustration of the Moral Laws of the Universe. By Thomas Dick, L.L.D., etc. Glasgow: Collins.
The Philosophy of a Future State. By Thomas Dick, L.L.D., etc. Glasgow: Collins.

DR. DICK's cast of mind is very evident in these volumes. His thorough devotion to the physical sciences, and the preponderance which the external world has had in his studies, perhaps, to some extent, unfit him for ethical and metaphysical subjects, as,

indeed, the title of one of these volumes may show. Surely the philosophy of religion is vastly more than an exposition of the moral laws of the universe. There is, however, a very small portion of either of these volumes devoted to such subjects. The one is intended to display the excellence of the moral precepts of Christianity; the other to illustrate the connection of science with the scenes of a future world; and both are deeply marked by great learning, hearty benevolence, and true Christianity.

Dr. Dick is, himself, a bright example of 'The Christian Philosopher.' In all his works he has sought to make men wiser and better; and we heartily congratulate him and the public, that these new editions are included in Collins's valuable series. They are the very works to be so published.

Arthur Trevlyn, or The Night of the Mind. A Tale. By John B. Goggs. London: Longman and Co.

MR. GOGGS, with a lurking misgiving we suspect as to his own power of interesting his readers, has had recourse to the thrilling situations yielded by the old story of a man's selling himself to the Evil One. His plot is worn out, his characters are either shadows or caricatures, sometimes both; his incidents too 'effective' for us; his style full of sins against taste, seeking to gain strength and succeeding in gaining roughness; and his philosophy, that all evil is the effect of ignorance, which is defined as 'a want of education of things useful to individuals and the world at large!' If such faults can swamp a book, 'Arthur Trevlyn' is doomed.

Elements of Natural Philosophy. By Golding Bird, M.D. London: John Churchill. 1848.

THIS volume, prepared originally with reference to the knowledge required by the English and Scotch medical boards, is very admirably adapted for its purpose, serving as a text-book for expectant graduates. Its value is increased by the large amount of consideration bestowed on electricity and galvanism, sciences daily increasing in importance. In this particular, as in others, it surpasses any similar work we know.

The Critical French Pronouncing Vocabulary. Being a compendious and complete Collection of French and English Lingual Sounds, analogically compared. By Maria de la Voyer. London: R. T. Clarke and Co. 1848.

THIS is a very ingenious attempt, to adapt Walker's method of teaching pronunciation, to the acquisition of French. As an auxiliary to a teacher, it may be valuable, but we doubt the correctness of the two assumptions on which the whole rests, that sounds can be taught by books, and that there is sufficient similarity between those of English and French, to allow of either being acquired by analogical comparison with the other.

Scriptural Views of the Sabbath of God. By the Rev. John Jordan, B A., Vicar of Enstone, Oxon. London: Partridge and Oakey. 1848.

MR. JORDAN maintains the obligation of the sabbath as a primitive institution, of which the principle is not rest for the seventh day, but sanctification of one in seven, as a part of the Mosaic moral law, and as a Christian ordinance in which the alteration of the day, and of the object commemorated is in perfect harmony with the principles of the original sabbath. These views he supports without any material addition to the usual arguments, unless, indeed, a mass of evidence as to the sacredness of the number seven be reckoned such. The preface refers us especially to the chapter on apostolic teaching, as one which will foreclose the argument against all gainsayers; but we have discovered nothing there peculiarly forcible, while all reference to the important passage in Col. ii. 16. is omitted. While, however, persons familiar with the controversy will not resort to this volume for fresh light, it is well suited for the purpose which we suppose Mr. Jordan had in view,—the throwing together, for popular use, the scriptural references to the sabbath. He has collected a large body of evidence as to the secular advantages of the sabbath; has written clearly and earnestly; and has never suffered his own manifestly deep convictions to lead to bitterness to opponents. His book is the production of a gentleman and a Christian, and even where it fails to convince, must leave the impression, that its author is a thoroughly honest, pious man, who believes and therefore speaks.

The Way of Life; extracted from the Works of the Great Reformer, Martin Luther; to which is prefixed an Historical View of the Doctrine of Justification. By the Rev. J. Milner, author of the 'History of the Church of Christ.' London: Baiesler. 1848.

'LUTHER'S words were half battles.' These extracts are interesting as proofs how the reformer carried his earnest and impetuous spirit into all his work. There is a large amount of truth in them, which, at the present time, will make them useful in defence of his beloved doctrine of justification by faith.

Alarm in Sion; or, a few Thoughts on the Present State of Religion. By D. E. Ford. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1848.

MR. FORD'S volume is not so much an inquiry into the causes of the present state of religion, as an exhibition, *ad populum*, of the want of personal devotedness amongst the churches, and an impressive exhibition it is.

Christ—God and Man ; or, a Brief Exhibition of the Scripture Testimony respecting the Person and Two Natures of Christ. London: Religious Tract Society.

‘WE will avoid controversy and seek the truth,’ says the author of this work ; and, accordingly, he gives us his own views without much reference to opponents. This is not the way to *seek* truth, although when found it may thus be exhibited. In his somewhat limited province the author deserves great commendation for having produced in this form a complete collection of the scripture testimony, with many just remarks, and much lucidly-arranged thought. The book is an admirable, though brief, compendium of the evidence proper to an important inquiry.

A Catechism of Biblical Antiquities. In three Parts. Part I., Political Antiquities of the Jews, compiled by permission from the Rev. T. Hartwell Horne’s Introduction to the Bible. For the use of Schools. By S. Bowman, A.B. London: Longman and Co.

THE title of this little volume is sufficient explanation of its purpose, and the source from which it has been prepared is, on the whole, a guarantee for the general accuracy of the information it contains. Those who admire such helps, will find here a good one of the kind, but the best catechism is that made orally by each teacher for himself.

Arithmetic : Designed for the Use of Schools. By the Rev. J. W. Colenso, M.A., late Fellow of St. John’s Coll. Camb. 3rd Edition. London: Longman and Co. 1848.

A VERY comprehensive school arithmetic, the peculiar excellencies of which are, that it gives the learner not only the How, but the Why, of the various operations in clear and exact language, and that it adds an unusually ample number of examples. We take it to be one of the best books of its class.

Antichrist, a Poem : with Notes and Sketches of Oriental Scenes. By the Rev. H. Newton, A.B. London: Seeley.

‘It occurred,’ we are told, ‘to the author,’ while residing in the East, to make the contest between the Archangel Michael and Satan over the body of Moses (Jude v. 9.) the subject of a few verses.’ An explanation of the supposed design of Satan in this contest, gives us a volume of two hundred and eighty pages ; and it is intended to add a second part on ‘The Downfall of Babylon.’ The book in appearance is handsome, the type and paper excellent, and the poetry in some passages not common-place. Still, if the author had compressed his thoughts within the compass of half a dozen pages, and by so doing had supplied a poem suitable for one of our many periodicals, he would have saved the patience of his reader, and the contents of his own purse. The public will

neither read nor buy poetry, in the long run, which is not first rate. The author belongs to the Established and Protestant school. There is some imitation of Milton in his poem, especially the counsels and colloquy of the fallen spirits; and, as it respects the world of the departed, the Elysian fields' passages reminded us of Mr. Sheppard's 'Autumn Dream.'

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

Lectures on the Acts of the Apostles. By John Dick, D.D. 3rd Edition, corrected.

The Church in Earnest. By John Angell James.

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Posthumous Works of the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D.D. Edited by the Rev. W. Hanna. Vol. III.

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An Authenticated Report of the Controversial Discussion between the Rev. John Cumming, D.D., and David French, Esq., on the Differences between Protestantism and Popery. A new edition, with a copious Index. No. I.

The very Joyous, Pleasant, and Refreshing History of the Feats, Exploits, Triumphs, and Achievements of the good Knight without fear and without reproach, the gentle Lord de Bayard. Set forth in English. By Edward Cockburn Kindersley.

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England's Obligations to her Pious Men. A Sermon, preached in the Lion Walk Chapel, Colchester, on Sunday, April 9th, 1848. By T. W. Davids.

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The Revolutions of Earthly Kingdoms in their relation to the stability of that which is Heavenly. A Sermon, delivered April 9th, 1848, at the Croft Chapel, Hastings. By William Davis.

Handbook of Bengal Missions in connexion with the Church of England; together with an account of general Educational Efforts in North India. By the Rev. James Long, Church Missionary in Calcutta.

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Apostolical Succession; or a Challenge to the Clergy generally to produce their pretended Spiritual Pedigrees, and to Michael Augustus Gathercole especially to produce his. By W. Palmer.

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A Catalogue of Works in all departments of English Literature. Classified with a general Alphabetical Index. 2nd edition, corrected to the 1st of January, 1848.

The Great Continental Revolution marking the Expiration of the Times of the Gentiles, A.D. 1847—8; in Reply to a Letter from a Member of a Society of Prophetic Students. By James Hotley Frere, Esq.

The Religion of Moses and the Religion of Jesus essentially the Same. A Lecture delivered by the Rev. Henry Allon, at Union Chapel, Islington, on Sunday Evening, April 18, 1847.

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ENLARGEMENT

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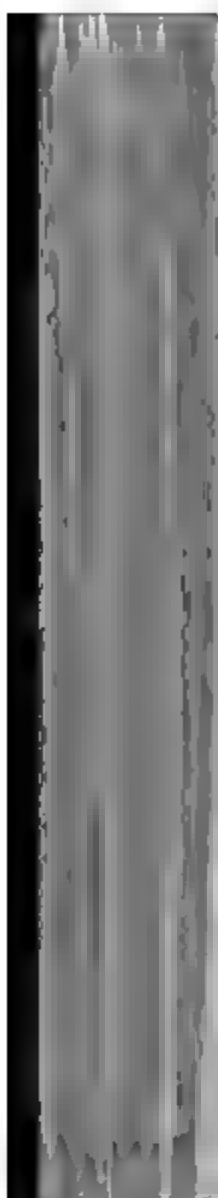
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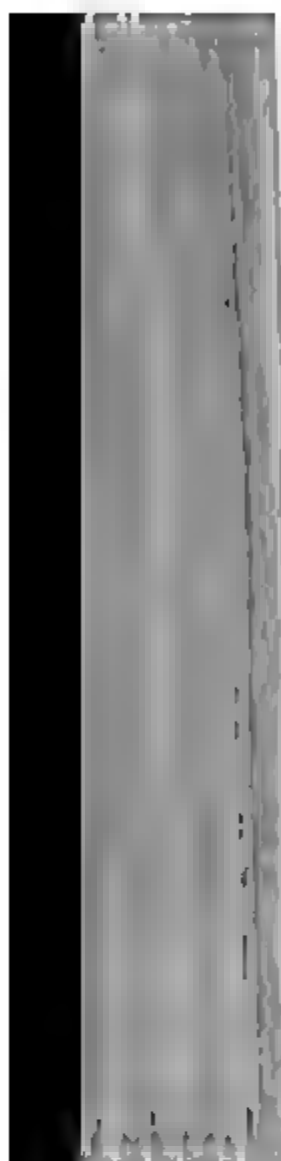
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